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[Daniel Isaac]

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Héros de l'armée et guerrier

**[une analyse critique du commentaire de Moïse
Ibn Chiquitilla sur le livre des Psaumes]**

THÈSE dirigée par :

[Civilité Tauber, Michèle]

[Civilité Martínez-Delgado, José]

Professeure, université de Strasbourg

Professeur, Universidad de Granada

RAPPORTEURS :

[Civilité Cahn, Steven]

[Civilité Ackerman-Liberman, Phillip]

Professeur, University of Cincinnati

Professeur, Vanderbilt University

AUTRES MEMBRES DU JURY :

[Civilité Zawadowska, Marzena]

[Civilité Ángeles Gallego, María]

Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo

[Civilité Vallet, Eric]

Professeure, University of Warsaw

Professeure, Científica Titular Instituto de Lenguas y

CCHS – CSIC

Professeur, université de Strasbourg

Université de Strasbourg

École Doctorale des Humanités

Notes Synthèse

Héros de l'armée et guerrier : une analyse critique du commentaire de Moïse Ibn
Chiquitilla sur le livre des Psaumes

Présenté par Daniel E. M. Isaac

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Résumé en français

La thèse analyse le commentaire du Psaume de Moïse ben Samuel Ha-Kohen Ibn Chiquitilla, né à Cordoue vers le début du XI^e siècle. La thèse étudie l'incorporation de l'herméneutique coranique-arabe dans les méthodes exégétiques d'Ibn Chiquitilla et le situe dans le contexte intellectuel de l'époque. N'étant pas une analyse historique, il se demande s'il existe un lien entre l'intérêt herméneutique des grammairiens et des rhéteurs pour la dichotomie forme-sens et la linguistique pragmatique communicative.

Il analyse leur introduction dans l'exégèse rabbinique par des exégètes ibériques formant ce qui est devenu la méthode d'exégèse *peshat*. Ce terme, introuvable chez Ibn Chiquitilla, est sous-entendu par ses méthodes et son intérêt pour la forme et le sens grammaticaux. Nous proposons de suivre la tradition grammaticale arabe selon laquelle Ibn Chiquitilla ne confond pas le sens avec la grammaire ou la syntaxe, mais l'accepte comme faisant partie d'une tradition reçue. Le sens opère dans des domaines distincts de la grammaire, mais les deux sont réunis pour expliquer l'intention derrière le texte. Cette idée est élargie pour inclure la déviation grammaticale et lexicale et/ou le langage figuré. Nous demandons si les origines de ces déviations peuvent être attribuées à l'exégèse rabbinique de la période talmudique ainsi qu'aux idées philosophiques contemporaines de l'Ibérie médiévale et du monde islamique en général. Ce faisant, il essaie de prouver que les exégètes ibériques sont moins sur l'innovation et plus sur l'introduction de nouvelles méthodes d'exégèse dans le judaïsme rabbinique médiéval.

Résumé en anglaise

The thesis analyses the commentary of the Psalm of Moses ben Samuel Ha-Kohen Ibn Chiquitilla, born in Cordoba around the beginning of the 11th century. The thesis studies the incorporation of Qur'anic-Arabic hermeneutics in the exegetical methods of Ibn Chiquitilla and situates it in the intellectual context of the time. Not being a historical analysis, it questions whether there is a connection between the hermeneutic interest of

grammarians and rhetoricians in the form-meaning dichotomy and communicative pragmatic linguistics.

It analyses their introduction into rabbinic exegesis by Iberian exegetes forming what has become the *peshat* method of exegesis. This term, not found in Ibn Chiquitilla, is implied by his methods and his interest in grammatical form and meaning. We propose to follow the Arabic grammatical tradition according to which Ibn Chiquitilla does not confuse meaning with grammar or syntax, but accepts it as part of a received tradition. Meaning operates in separate areas of grammar, but the two come together to explain the intent behind the text. This idea is expanded to include grammatical and lexical deviation and/or figurative language. We ask whether the origins of these deviations can be traced to the rabbinical exegesis of the Talmudic period as well as contemporary philosophical ideas in medieval Iberia and the Islamic world in general. In doing so, we try to prove that Iberian exegetes are less about innovation and more about introducing new methods of exegesis into medieval Rabbinic Judaism.

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Mots-Cles

Bible, Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, Iberia, Andalus, Judaeo-Arabic, Psalms, pragmatic linguistics, metaphor, figurative language, Arabic rhetoric, Hebrew grammar, Judah Ḥayyûj, Jonah Ibn Janâḥ, Moses Ibn Ezra, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla, Rabbinic pragmatism, *peshat*, *derash*, exegesis, *ḥaqîqa*, *majâz*, *ma'nâ*, *lafz*, *'isti'âra*.

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Daniel Isaac

Héros de l'armée et guerrier : une analyse critique du commentaire de Moïse Ibn
Chiquitilla sur le livre des Psaumes

Directeur de thèse

José Martínez-Delgado et Michèle Tauber

Jury

Philip Ackerman-Libermann

María Ángeles Gallego

Steven Cahn

Eric Vallet

Nadia Vidro

Marzena Zawadowska

Introduction

Introduction

It has long been recognised by modern pragmatic linguistics that comprehension of language is predicated on illocutionary knowledge.¹ By this we mean the necessary knowledge to achieve comprehension of the words written requires an understanding of more than the definition of words. This ‘more than the definition of words’ is predicated on illocutionary knowledge and acknowledged as part of classical Arabic linguistics.² However, where modern pragmatic linguistics looks for a universal theory of language, classical Arabic linguistics imagine an idealised structure, which is the optimal means for expressing oneself clearly and eloquently. The main sources for measuring clarity and eloquence are the forms found in the Qur’ân, *ḥadîth* and pre-Islamic poetry. The form of Arabic used in the Qur’ân is considered the best and consecrated as such through the doctrine of *’ijâz al-Qur’ân* [*inimitability of the Qur’ân*].³

Out of this quasi-religious-legal doctrine Sîbawayhi developed a pragmatic aesthetic-ethical model of grammar, which measured language against the style and form of Qur’ânic Arabic. It did so by comparing the form of the text against an idealised form of speech. It searched for elision and other types of digressions from the idealised form,⁴ which it explained through *taqdîr al-’ir’âb* [*recovering elided terms*].⁵ By measuring the form of the text against the consecration of the Qur’ânic style, as the idealised form of language there developed a sophisticated set of tools for explaining the grammar, syntax

¹ (Bach 2005a, 15–44; H. P. Grice 1975, 41–58).

² (Owens 1988, 45:196).

³ (Alfonso 2008, 9; McKay 1991, 29–26; van Gelder 1981, 82, n. 29)

⁴ (Carter 2016a, 71–72).

⁵ (Levin 1997, 142–66).

and meaning of the Arabic language.⁶ The result of this pragmatic aesthetic-ethical model of grammar was a tripartite division of language into good, acceptable and ugly.⁷

The development of grammar simultaneously brought with it rhetorical analysis. *Taqdîr* was used to assess the modes of expressions to convey meaning much as it was used to assess form analysis. Usually, rhetoricians replaced *taqdîr* [recovery] with the term *majâz* to explain the relationship between literal and figurative language.⁸ This led to a division of meaning into its *ḥaqîqa al-ma'nâ* [proper meaning] and its *majâz al-ma'nâ* [figurative meaning].⁹ This dichotomous relationship between form and meaning meant that figurative language was treated as distinct from other forms of meaning.¹⁰ *Majâz* became an important tool in the hands of theologians and exegetes in their endeavour to reconcile reason and revelation with regard to the attributes and anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the *Qur'ân*.¹¹ These developments in the fields of theology and rhetoric sought to identify the essential ingredients of clear speech and concluded that *faṣâḥa* [speech] and *balâga* [eloquence] were ornamental features of human and divine speech.¹² The reduction of *majâz* to ornament excluded it from the normal parameters for explaining the relationship between form and meaning, via the natural logic of conversation. Not until al-Jurjâni recognised that the unique *naẓm* [arrangement] of the text conveys something cognitively distinct from literal language did Muslim rhetoricians recognise the pragmatic underpinnings of tropical language.¹³

Aims and scope of the research

⁶ (Carter 1973, 146–57).

⁷ (Carter 1973, 146–57).

⁸ (Heinrichs 1984b, 111–40; 1992, 253–84).

⁹ (Wansborough 1970, 261–62; Kouloughli 2014, 15–42).

¹⁰ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 259).

¹¹ (Achtar 2012, 11–12).

¹² (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 258).

¹³ (Kouloughli 2014, 15–42).

The aim of this research is to look at how the aesthetic-ethical model of Qur'ânic hermeneutics was absorbed into Iberian Biblical exegesis. Rather than approaching the question as an historical phenomenon, we approach the question anthropologically, through the lens of etic and emic knowledge.¹⁴ This insider-outsider approach asks whether the absorption of Qur'ânic hermeneutics by Iberian exegetes successfully integrates new etic knowledge with traditional emic knowledge. We ask if the adoptions of pragmatic linguistics as a form of etic knowledge based in Qur'ânic hermeneutics imposes new semantic meaning on words and texts contrary to the traditional meaning found either in Rabbinic hermeneutics or oral transmission. In doing so, we look for evidence of an awareness on the part of Iberian exegetes that meaning is found in tradition.

The study attempts to break new ground in terms of material discussed. The first is a close discussion of a wide selection of Iberian material; analyses of the published works by the major authors of the period, Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq, Dunash Ibn Labraṭ, Judah Ḥayyûj and Jonah Ibn Janâḥ, whose writings have been available for many centuries. It also includes more recent publications of Ḥayyûj and Ibn Janâḥ as well as of their acolytes and critics in new scientific editions. The study also includes a detailed study of the writing of their immediate successors, Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, Judah Ibn Bal'am and Tanḥûm Yerushalmi. Of these three, Moses Ibn Chiquitilla is the least studied, with none of his major works seeing publication until very recently, and in the case of his largest surviving work, his Psalm commentary, almost nothing has been published on it.¹⁵ For this reason, the investigation is built around the works of Ibn Chiquitilla, but it also includes comparisons with the unpublished commentaries on Psalms by Judah Ibn Bal'am, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi and the published writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra.

The second contribution of this study is an analysis of Biblical exegesis through the prism of anthropology, looking at how insider members describe their exegetical methods. Specifically, we look at how they make sense of etic (new) knowledge in terms that

¹⁴ (Drory 2000, 25:1–11; 1993, 277–302)

¹⁵ See a summary of the works on Ibn Chiquitilla following.

validate emic (old) knowledge. Whereas previous studies have asked this question on a more general level,¹⁶ in this study we look at specific examples from the writings of Ibn Chiquitilla and peers that reflect the exegetical, grammatical and rhetorical sides of their commentaries. We look at the nature of their debate and ask whether their integration of etic knowledge with emic knowledge succeeds. We look at how this dynamic process ignores certain hermeneutics from the old knowledge or selects only those elements of old knowledge that match the aims of new knowledge.

In chapter 1 we present Ibn Chiquitilla's life in its historic setting, and describe what survives of what he wrote, and the key figures that appear in his writings and whose writings he appears. We show how he belonged to circle of scholars, with a keen interest in understanding the science of Hebrew grammar. This paves the way for a closer look at the changes in the methods of Iberian exegetes and those of the traditional world of Talmudic exegesis in chapter 2.

In chapter 2 we examine Ibn Chiquitilla's use of Rabbinic exegesis as a source for the meaning of words and his selective use of their literary conclusions. At the same time, we note that his analytical method is distinct from theirs. Finally, we show how the introduction of 'foreign' Arab hermeneutics in the field of rhetoric and philosophy alters the exegetical conclusions of Ibn Chiquitilla to conform to the rational outlook of period, without violating the received meaning of words.

In chapter 3 we take a close look at the modes and methods of Arabic grammar and Qur'anic rhetoric as they pertain to Ibn Chiquitilla. Through the prism of pragmatic linguistic theory, we show how the hermeneutical theories and aesthetic ideas of Arabic and Qur'anic exegesis penetrated Ibn Chiquitilla's analysis of the grammatical structure of Biblical Hebrew. At the same time, we show how the grammatical structure and an adequate translation of the text underdetermine the communicative intent behind the Biblical text. In the case of Ibn Chiquitilla Arabic grammar and syntax, and Qur'anic rhetoric supply the hermeneutical basis by which the Biblical text is given a coherent

¹⁶ (Drory 2000; Alfonso 2008)

morpho-syntactic analysis. We conclude that for Ibn Chiquitilla, grammatical analysis functions independently of meaning, which is largely inherited from the speakers of the language.

In chapter 4, we examine Ibn Chiquitilla's form analysis of the *'idâfa* [*annexed*] construct in Hebrew according to methods aesthetic-ethical assumptions of Arabic grammarians and rhetoricians. We compare him to other Iberian exegetes and show how they incorporate their Arab counterparts' assumptions leading to a form analysis that reflects their aesthetic-ethical assumptions about what is 'good grammar.' We compare Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion to other Iberian exegetes who disagree with him and show that almost always the dispute is whether the *taqdîr* [*recovery*] presented is the most coherent analysis of the sentence's grammar in light of its meaning.

In chapter 5 we examine more closely Ibn Chiquitilla's use of terms for figurative language to explain the intent behind the literal language of the Bible. We show his fixation with finding either the conceptual or literal meaning that lies within figurative language leads him to ignore what is being described by the metaphor, its tenor. The terms examined include *majâz*, *'isti'âra*, *tašbîh*, *tamfîl*, various terms for hyperbole and synonyms.

Chapter 1

Psalm Commentary

The state of research on Ibn Chiquitilla remains poor in quantity, but not quality. The first two attempts to study Ibn Chiquitilla's work were carried out by Poznański.¹⁷ Poznański included the text of the commentary to Psalm 8 in his monograph on Ibn Chiquitilla.¹⁸ Otherwise the main focus of his work was identifying Ibn Chiquitilla's life, his works the authors cited by him and those who cited him. Questions on grammar, messianism and authorship of Psalms were the focus of his work. More recently, Uriel Simon added a

¹⁷ (Poznański 1895; 1912, 59–60).

¹⁸ (Poznański 1912, 59–60).

detailed analysis of Ibn Chiquitilla's attitude to Psalms mostly through the writings of Ibn Ezra.¹⁹ Several editions of his grammatical work, *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* [*The Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*] have been produced, each adding more information than the next.²⁰ Bacher also published a commentary on Job, which he attributed to Ibn Chiquitilla.²¹

Finkel re-published and corrected Poznański's version of Psalm 8, along with a modern Hebrew translation and added in texts and translations of Psalm 3 and Psalm 4. More recently Perez published selections of Psalms found in western libraries,²² adding a few more examples of Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary. Finally, Delgado and Saidi produced a version of Psalm 68 with a Spanish translation.²³ As a result of the limited research on Ibn Chiquitilla, only four Psalms from the largest manuscript have been published. A more detailed discussion of each manuscript, and other works which have survived appears below.

Of Ibn Chiquitilla's surviving commentaries on the Bible, the longest single text is his Psalm commentary. Nine manuscripts containing Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary have survived. No. 1 has been known for some time and was identified by Poznański. Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 8 were identified and published by M. Perez. Nos. 4, 6, and 7 were identified in the course of my research as from Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Psalms. Allony identified no. 9 as by Ibn Chiquitilla, but this is now doubtful.²⁴ No edition exists of his commentary. Many of the pages are either illegible or only partly-legible making reading them difficult. Since the manuscripts are not well-preserved, wherever possible I attempted to reconstruct the missing text. The following manuscripts were consulted and are available online at The Friedberg Geniza Project,

¹⁹ (Simon 1991, chap. 3).

²⁰ (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916; J. Martínez Delgado 2008b; Eldar 1998; Maman and Ben-Porat 2014).

²¹ (Bacher, Derenbourg, and Derenbourg 1899). See discussion of its authorship below.

²² See discussion below.

²³ (Finkel 1936, 153–62; J. Martínez Delgado and Saidi 2007, 73–100; Poznański 1912, 59–60).

²⁴ Reference to follow below.

<https://fgp.genizah.org/FgpFrames.aspx?mode=home>. Any other manuscripts cited were also taken from The Friedberg Geniza Project.

1) Evr-Arab. I 3583. (119 folios). This is a unique copy, which preserves complete commentaries on 89 Psalms out of the 150 that make up the Hebrew Psalter. The text is approximately 19 lines per folio, and is written in oriental, semi-cursive, square script on paper sized at 19.50 × 11.50 cm written space. It dates from the second half of 13th century and is occasionally punctuated.²⁵ The text is stained, mutilated and missing large sections. A number of folios are illegible and all attempts to read them were abandoned. The commentary on Psalms 5, 12, 19, 27, 42, 44, 49, 69, 74, 78, 104, 109, 119, 131, 132, and 144 is incomplete, while numbers 11, 43, 70-73, 79-103, 110-18, 133-140 and 145-150 have been lost entirely. The text has not been preserved in any order and the correct original sequence appears to be: 1r-6v: Psalm 1-5; 42r-v: Psalm 5; 7r-8v: Psalm 5-7; 49r-v: Psalm 7; 9r-12v: Psalm 7-9; 48r-v: Psalm 9; 13r-14v: Psalm 10 15r-22v: Psalm 12-19; 24r-25v: Psalm 19-20; 31r-v: Psalm 20-22; 54r-v: Psalm 22; 32r-33v: Psalm 22-25; 57r-v: Psalm 26; 34r-v Psalm 26-7; r-29v: Psalm 27-31; 35r-40v: Psalm 31-35; 41r-v: Psalm 35-36; 91r-v: Psalm 36; 43r-47v: Psalm 36-39; 50r-52v: Psalm 39-40; 71r-v: Psalm 40; 53r-v: Psalm 40-41; 56r-v: Psalm 41-42; 58r-61v: Psalm 44-48; 55r-v: Psalm 49; 62r-70v: Psalm 49-57; 74r-77v: Psalm 57-60; 72r-73v: Psalm 60; 78r-83v: Psalm 60-66; 85r-90v: Psalm 66-68; 84r-v: Psalm 66-69; 91r-v: Psalm 69; 93r-104v: Psalm 74-78; 104r-105v: Psalm 104-105; 120r-v: Psalm 105; 109r-111v: Psalm 105-107; 106r-108v: Psalm 107-109; 112r-119v: Psalm 119-132; 23r-v: Psalm 141-144.²⁶

2) Cambridge T-S Ar 21.23: Psalm 4:9-5:9, Psalm 8. The manuscript consists of two folios in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 18 × 25 cm. written space, with 15 lines. It is stained, mutilated and missing text. It is partially vocalised and was published with a modern Hebrew translation.²⁷ Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583 and

²⁵ For palaeographic information and dating of the manuscripts, I relied on the information collated on the portal of The Friedberg Jewish Manuscripts Society, online at <https://fjms.genizah.org/index.html?lang=eng&UIT=> (accessed on 23/2/2021), unless stated otherwise.

²⁶ This list was taken from Martínez-Delgado's list with some minor modifications (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 252).

²⁷ (Perez 1996).

adds missing text to Psalm 4:9 as well as Psalm 5:1-7. The overlapping text include a number of minor textual variations, as well as a slight reordering of Ibn Chiquitilla's comments to Psalm 5:7.

3) Cambridge T-S Ar. 1c3: Psalms 9:17-10:13. The manuscript consists of two folios, 20 lines each, in oriental, semi-cursive, square script, on damaged paper sized at 18.06 × 25.01 cm. written space. It was published with a modern Hebrew translation by M. Perez.²⁸ Its content overlaps with Evr-Arab. I 3583.

4) JTS ENA 2464.45: Psalm 75:1-10; Psalms 77:19-78:9. This manuscript is comprised of two folios of 20 lines written in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper. The folios are blurred, faded and torn. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583. The text of manuscript no. 4 moves the position of Ibn Chiquitilla's comments to Psalm 78:1 from where it appears at the end of Psalm 77 in Evr-Arab. I 3583 to its correct position at the beginning of Psalm 78. Aside from this adjustment, the remaining variations are limited to either additions or omissions of single words or letters.

5) British Library OR 5562 D Sch. 6856 folios 53-54. The manuscript is comprised of two folios that cover Psalm 51, Psalms. 52:1-6 and Psalm. 60:2-7. The folios are 19-20 lines long, in oriental, semi-cursive square script on paper sized at 8.856 × 12.763 cm. written space. It is partially vocalised, with many pages blurred, faded, missing or stained. A full description and publication with a modern Hebrew translation was produced by Perez.²⁹ Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583.

6) JTS ENA 2819.2: Psalm 3:9-4:9. The manuscripts comprises one folio, 15 lines, written in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 17.7 × 13 cm. written space. The fragment is faded, missing, torn and cut. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583, with only a few additional letters added to the text.

7) JTS ENA 2934.29-30: Psalm 35:23 – 36; 40:9 – 41:6. This manuscript consists of one folio, 20 lines, written in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 12.9 × 17.5 cm.

²⁸ (Perez 1991b).

²⁹ (Perez 1991d).

written space. It is blurred, faded, torn and defective. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583, with only a few additional letters added to the text.

8) Oxford heb e 99.43: Psalm 55:19 – 23; 58:5 – 10.³⁰ The manuscript is written on one folio of 15 to 16 lines, in oriental, Syrian, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 12.01 × 17.8 cm. written space. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583. There are some missing sentences, as well as one sentence that M. Perez relocated when he published the text with a Hebrew translation.³¹

9) Mosseri Moss. III, 5 (Alt C 5): Psalm 34:10. Allony identified and published this fragment of Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary.³² The text parallels part of a section of Psalm 34:10 found in Evr-Arab. I 3583, but does not match it. However, the style and technical language of Mosseri Moss. III, 5 is not too different from Evr-Arab. I 3583.³³ The text may be either another version of Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary or by another author.

Based on the size, description of the manuscript, differences in the text and the scribal hand, No.1 is distinct from the other manuscripts with which it overlaps. Additionally, Nos. 2 and 6 belong to one manuscript, forming one continuous text. The remaining manuscripts are not related to either of these manuscripts or each other.

The following manuscripts, JTS ENA 3173, Evr-Arab. I 3676,³⁴ 3677³⁵ and 4307³⁶ have been suggested by Delgado and Fenton, as part of an alternative version of Ibn

³⁰ (Perez 1992b, 10).

³¹ (Perez 1992b).

³² (Allony 1949).

³³ (Perez 1991b, 13, n. 10).

³⁴ Eppenstein and Bacher identified it as by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (Eppenstein 1903a, 287; Bacher 1904, 45). Delgado tentatively suggests it might be a second version (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 251).

³⁵ Folio 5r records the vocalisation of annexed nouns, *mənāṭ* with a *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) as indicating an ellipsis. It cites Ibn Janāḥ's work *al-Mustalḥaq* to Ps. 132:2 (*al-Mustalḥaq*, Ar. 175, Eng. 328), which shares Ibn Chiquitilla view that Ex. 15:2, Psalm 16:5 and Psalm 132:2, *infras* are elliptical.

It (*mənāṭ*) is not annexed as the *L* (*Lāmēḏ*) separates the annexation (from it). Say that its meaning is like the construction *Šənāṭū*, which is (vocalised with a) *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*), like *zimrāṭ* (Ex. 15:2)

Evr.-Arab. I 3677, 5r.

³⁶ (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 251).

וליס הו מצ'אף לאן אללאם תפצל אלאצ'אפה וקיל אנה
מעני עלי בניה שנתי וד'לך הו קמץ ומת'לה עזי וזמרת יה
(שמות טו:ב).

Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary, rather than by either Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (d. 1291 Fustat, Egypt)³⁷ or Ibn Bal'am. To this we may add Mosseri, II, 67 (Alt: 2nd Series: C 67). Currently, part of Tanḥûm's commentary to Psalms 16-29 has been published by Eppenstein, with nothing as yet published of Ibn Bal'am on Psalms. Moreover, a reference to Psalm 16:6 in Evr-Arab. I 3677 - found in the text on Psalm 132 - shares the same opinion as what is found in Ibn Chiquitilla's text in Evr-Arab. I 3583, but it does not match the language.³⁸ It may belong to any of the above authors making the matter of identification uncertain until all three versions of Psalms have been examined.

Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary is organised in a similar style to other Mediaeval Biblical commentaries such as those belonging to Rashi (1040-1105) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (born 1089/1092 to died 1164-1167).³⁹ Its content is primarily semantic, morphological, syntactic and exegetical and includes translations of the meaning of words. As opposed to the commentaries of other exegetes, Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary contains less philosophical digressions than Ibn Ezra's with a greater focus on grammar and rhetoric.⁴⁰ Where Ibn Chiquitilla does shares similarities with his predecessors, it is his general content and aim. For example, Ḥayyûj's earlier commentary, *al-Nutaf* is similar in aim, although it was unknown to Ibn Chiquitilla.⁴¹ It focus on the continuation of grammatical and rhetorical debates that flow from his main grammatical works, *Ḥarûf al-Lîn* and *Kitâb Dawât al-Miṭlayn*.⁴² In the case of Ibn Chiquitilla, we may add to this, a general aim to explain the grammar and rhetoric of the text and the intervening contributions by Jonah Ibn Janâḥ and Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla to the study of grammar, with a tendency on the part of Ibn Chiquitilla to favour Ḥayyûj's opinion over the other two.⁴³

³⁷ For a discussion of his work, (Dascalu 2016a, 9–42).

³⁸ (Eppenstein 1903a, 289).

³⁹ (Josephina 2010).

⁴⁰ Compare Ibn Ezra and Ibn Chiquitilla's solution to Ps. 8:3, *infra*.

⁴¹ (Basal 2001, 77, 79; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 254).

⁴² [פקד מן דבר אבואב סאיר] אנהא לגתהם פי תאליף חרוף אללין וכתאב דואת אל[מתלין] [I have already mentioned the other features of their language in chapters of the composition *Ḥarûf al-Lîn* and *Kitâb Dawât al-Miṭlayn*], (*al-Nutaf*, 78-79). For more examples, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 256, n. 23).

⁴³ For the growth of an intellectual rivalry between Saragossa and Granada in the generation of Ibn Naḡrîla, see (Vardi 2016, 437–67). On Ibn Naḡrîla's contribution to grammatical debates (Poznański 1909, 253–67; Del Valle Rodriguez 2009, 195–200).

Ibn Chiquitilla's Birth and Dates

Almost nothing is known about the life of Moses ben Samuel Ha-Kohen Ibn Chiquitilla. The only source in which he writes about himself is his Hebrew translation of the grammatical treatise *Kitâb al-Lîn*, by Judah Ḥayyûj (approx. 945-1000).⁴⁴ In it he says he is Cordoban.

Then the Lord stirred up the spirit of a man of understanding, a desirable young man, delighting in the law of the Lord, (blessed of the Lord be his land!), R. Isaac ha-Na'im son of R. Salomon ha-Nasi, (the blessing of the Lord be upon them, may they both be remembered for good!), ... And R. Isaac (may he be remembered for good!), requested me, Moses ha-Kohen the son of R. Samuel ha-Kohen (Paradise be his rest!), of the city of Cordova, to translate for him this book into Hebrew, and this accordingly have I done.⁴⁵

אז העיר ה' את רוח איש תבונה בחור חמד בתורת ה' הפצו.
מבורכת ה' ארצו. ר' יצחק הנעים ברבי שלמה הנשיא.
ברכת ה' עליהם. ולטוב יזכו שניהם. ... ובקש ר' יצחק זה
זכור לטוב ממני אני משה הכהן ברבי שמואל הכהן נ"ע
דמדינת קרטבה שאתרגם לו הספר הזה בלשון עברית וכן
עשיתי:

⁴⁴ (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, 2–3). On Ḥayyûj's life and biography, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010c) and for evidence he was student of Menahem Ibn Sarûq, see (Gaash 2019, 299, n. 21). The translation itself has yet to receive a critical edition since the one produced by Nutt, which was based upon a 13th century manuscript. This version is problematic, as it shows signs of stylistic modifications common to post-12th century translations. According, Gottstein's theory for dating Hebrew translation, those that were composed after the 12th century use the ambiguous demonstrative pronoun, sometimes in correct agreement with classical Arabic and sometimes not, (Gottstein 1951). Confirmation of the post-12th century date for Nutt's edition was provided by Delgado, upon his finding a fragment of an older version of Ibn Chiquitilla's translation, see (Martínez Delgado 2002, 130). A further difficulty with Nutt's edition is that he did not have access to the original Arabic, first published by Jastrow (Jastrow 1897). A critical edition of the Arabic was published by Wated (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 129; Sivan and Wated 2011) and a Spanish translation was produced by J. M. Delgado (Ḥayyuj and Delgado 2004).

⁴⁵ (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, Heb. 2-3; Eng. 2-3).

Aside from this statement Moses Ibn Ezra's (died after 1138) *al-Muḥâḍara*, adds that Ibn Chiquitilla moved from Cordoba to Saragossa: משה בן ג'קטלה אלקרטבי ת'ם אלסרקסטי [Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, the Cordoban, thereafter Saragossan].⁴⁶ We may add to this that Ibn Chiquitilla's younger contemporary, Judah Ibn Bal'am (c. second half of the 11th century) appears nowhere in Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Psalms, but does claims in his commentary on Jos. 10:2 to have either met or corresponded with Ibn Chiquitilla.⁴⁷ This would date the end of Ibn Chiquitilla's life prior to the end of the 11th century.⁴⁸

Support for Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Bal'am meeting is found in the following apocryphal story, recorded by a 13th century Damascene Qara'ite scholar in his list of Biblical Hebrew masters. It supports the claim for personal animus between Ibn Bal'am and Ibn Chiquitilla, but the source is not without elements of inaccuracy and fantasy.⁴⁹

Ibn Bal'am was a student of Ibn Janâh, one of the great scholars of language and law. He refuted Ibn Chiquitilla in a number of places. He wrote a commentary on, *al-Tajnîs, al-Ḥarûf al-Ma'ânî*,⁵⁰ and mentions in his books that he composed other books which I have not found among anyone in Damascus. Ibn Chiquitilla was one of the greatest sages of jurisprudence and philology, commented on the twenty-four books (of the Bible), was a philosopher and refuted Ibn

בן בלעם תלמיד בן גנאח מן אלעלמא אלכבאר פי אללגה ואלפקה ורד עלי גקטלה פי עדה אמאכן ולה [לפט] אלמקרא ואלתגנסי וחרוף אלמעאני ודכר פי כתאבה אנה צנף כתבא לם אגדהא ענד אחד בדמשק בן גקטלה וכאן עאלמא כבירא פי אלפקה וללגה ופסר אלד' וכ' ספר וכאן פילסוף ורד עלי בן בלעם אלדי כאן עלי מא יקאל אנה רייס וכאן בן בלעם חזאנא קדאמה וכאן מג[י]ד בלעם(ם)[ב] (פי) אלשטרנג פתאכר עשיה יום ען אלצלחה באלגמע שגלא בה פצלה בן בלעם פנזל ליצלי פוגד בן בלעם ביצלי פקאל ואל אבה יוי אלהיך לשמוע אל בלעם פסמעה תם אשתגל בלעם וברז בה ותעקב(ה) בן גקטלה ומא אבקי (מא) ומא תרך

⁴⁶ (A. S. Halkin 1975, 68; M. ben Y. Ibn Ezra and Abumalham Mas 1985, 63). Hereafter, *Muḥâḍara*. For Moses Ibn Ezra's biography, see (Brann 2010).

⁴⁷ (Ibn Bal'am and Poznański 2013, 17). Ibn Bal'am was alive in 1085, having left his native Seville for Toledo, (J. Martínez Delgado 2010d). On the pronunciation of his name, as either Bil'am, Bal'am or Bal'âm, see (Allony 1979a, 35–52; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246, n4).

⁴⁸ An inventory of works preceding and succeeding Ibn Chiquitilla has been provided in Appendix A. Included are those works with either direct or indirect evidence for its use by Ibn Chiquitilla. Others sources indicate that Ibn Chiquitilla probably saw them, but did not cite them. Of those sources following Ibn Chiquitilla, the list includes those in which he was directly known and indirectly know. These are arranged chronologically and geographically.

⁴⁹ See (Ibn Bal'am and Perez 1970, 3, n. 25).

⁵⁰ Both published by Abramson, (Abramson 1975).

Bal'am; it is said that he was a leader (of community prayer) and that Ibn Bal'am was (first) precentor who took precedence over him; he was also a very good chess player.⁵¹ One afternoon, he arrived late to public prayer because he was busy with a particular chess match, forcing Ibn Bal'am to be responsible for conducting the prayer. He arrived, found Ibn Bal'am praying and said to him, "*the Lord, your God, does not want to listen to Bil'am*" (Deut. 23:69), and he proceeded to take command. Later, Ibn Bal'am perfected himself led the prayer and surpassed his performance; he looked for Ibn Chiquitilla's mistakes and did not miss any of them or let him escape them, even at times branding him a heretic and at other times as tedious, saying *he dived for [a pearl], and brought up a pebble*; other times he criticised him for his mistakes.⁵²

שיא פי חקה אלא תארה יסבה אלי אלונאדקה ותארה אלי
אלתכלף ויקול גאץ פאטלע חגרה ותארה יסבה (אלא
אללט) אלגלט⁵³

The above story is not without inaccuracy. The most dubious claim, the suggestion Ibn Bal'am was a student of Ibn Janâḥ is impossible as Ibn Bal'am was alive almost a century after Ibn Janâḥ's birth.⁵⁴ Alternatively, the source may mean that Ibn Bal'am favoured Ibn Janâḥ's opinions, whilst Ibn Chiquitilla favoured Ḥayyûj.⁵⁵ Additionally, the 13th century Damascene Qara'ite's description of Ibn Chiquitilla includes substantiated and

⁵¹ On the role of chess in all classes of Castilian culture in 10th century, see (Constable 2007, 302–3). Apocryphal sources describe Abraham Ibn Ezra as a chess-player. One example includes a poem attributed to him spuriously, see (Hoellandreski 1864, 7–9; Waermischa 1725, 5–6). The text can also be found here with a Latin and English translation, <https://opensiddur.org/prayers/lunisolar/commemorative-days/nittel-nacht/haruzim-on-how-to-play-chess-by-avraham-ibn-ezra/>. It is based on the edition produced by the Ben-Yehuda Project.

⁵² Modified from a translation by Delgado, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246–47).

⁵³ (Yahalom 2006, 39).

⁵⁴ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010g).

⁵⁵ Some evidence for this is born out from the discussion found in Ps. 40:3, Evr.-Arab. 3583 I, 52v, 71r.

unsubstantiated claims. No record of Ibn Chiquitilla being either a judge or philosopher is recorded in earlier sources, and Moses Ibn Ezra and Abraham Ibn Ezra only describe him as a grammarian, commentator and poet. This suggests they are embellishments by the author to further puncture Ibn Chiquitilla's ego. However, the claim that Ibn Chiquitilla wrote commentaries on all twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible maybe accurate.

Taking the lack of Ibn Bal'am's Biblical commentaries in Ibn Chiquitilla's extant writings as our starting point, we can perhaps pin his birth prior to 1013, based on external evidence and internal evidence found in his Psalm commentary. The external evidence for an earlier date is the historical event of his time following the political collapse of the Cordoban Caliphate after *al-fitān al-kubrā* (July 1013),⁵⁶ and the beginning of the period known as the party kings [*ṭā'ifa*]. This matches with patterns of emigration to Saragossa by many other Jews and non-Jews and what was already recorded in *al-Muḥāḍara*.⁵⁷

Another source of evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's dates derive from the internal evidence provided by his Psalm commentary. Ibn Chiquitilla was probably middle-aged by the time he wrote his commentary on Psalms. He had already written his one grammatical work, *Kitāb al-Taḍkīr wal-Ta'nīṭ* [*The Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*].

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82r

in the *Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*
along with the mention of another's opinion
about it, and our reply to it.

פי כתאב אלתד'כיר ואלתאנ'ית' מע ד'כרנא איצ'א קול גירנא פיה
ורדנא עליה.

⁵⁶ The city was besieged by the Berber troops of prince Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, in July 1013, see (Lévi-Provençal 1950, vol. 2, vol. II, 281 nn. 4; 293; III, 138; J. Martínez Delgado 2019a, 40:189).

⁵⁷ According to Ṣā'id Ibn 'Aḥmad al-Andalusī there were a large number of emigres in that period from Cordoba to Saragossa, see (Ibn Ṣā'id al-Ḳurṭubī and Cheikho 1912, 89). Ibn Janāḥ was among theses and wrote all of his major and minor works on grammar and possibly his treatise on pharmacology in Saragossa (Bos and Käs 2016; Bos et al. 2020; Fenton 2016, 108; J. Martínez Delgado 2019a, 40:203; 2020, 12). An inventory of his works appears in Appendix A.

Another reference found to *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* is his gloss on Psalm 119:176. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 112r

“*A lost sheep (ŠēH)*” (Psalms 119:176). Meaning one who strays from the flock, and cannot find a way back to it. It is masculine and feminine. I have already explained its proper form in the book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns.

כשה אויבד (תהלים קיט:קעו) יעני אלשארד מן אלקטיעה ולא יהתדי אלי אלעודה אליהא ויכון מונת'א ומד'כרא. וקד ביינא חקיקה ד'לך פי כתאב אלתד'כיר אלת'אניה.

The text to which he refers is preserved in manuscript and was published by Maman and Ben-Porat. It states:

bəŠēH (Psalms 119:175) is also masculine and feminine.

וקד אראד בשה איצ'א אלד'כר ואלאנת'י⁵⁸

Another reference implied by Ibn Chiquitilla's remarks on Psalm 3:3 parallels a fragment of *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* published by Maman and Ben-Porat. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 5r

And “*deliverance (yəŠû'āṭāH)*” (Psalms 3:3). An additional H (*Hē*) following what has already been marked feminine by a T (*Tāw*) preceding it. It is in place of the H (*Hē*) *yəŠû'ā*. The additional T (*Tāw*) is like the addition (one) in *niṔLaṭā* (2 Sam. 1:26), *GiB'āṭāH* (Judges 20:31) and *Hā-RāMāṭāH* (1 Sam. 1:19). Just as a H (*Hē*) is

וישועתה (תהלים ג:ג) מזיד אלהא בעד חצול מעני אלת'אנית פי אלתא קבלהא וצאר פי מוצ'ע הא ישועה. וזידת אלתא עליה כמא זיד פי נפלאתה אהבתך (שמואל ב א:כו). ואחת⁵⁹ גבעתה (שופטים כ:לא) הרמתה (שמואל א א:יט) כמא זידת פי אלמד'כר פי ביתה ולילה ויבא החדרה (בראשית מג:ל).

⁵⁸ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 295, Heb. 303 n. 91).

⁵⁹ Manuscript אחת.

added to masculine nouns *BeṭâH*, *LayLâH* and “*haḤaḌRâH*” (Gen. 43:30).”

The text to which he refers is preserved in manuscript and was published by Maman and Ben-Porat. It states:

Afterwards, they add a H (*Hē*), they say
niP̄LaṭâH (2 Sam. 1:26), *yəṢû' āṭâH* (Jon. 2:10),
baṣārāṭâH (Ps. 120:1) and *heḥbā' aṭâH* (Josh.
 6:17).

ת'ם זאדוא אלהא פקאלוא נפלאהא אהבתך לי וכדילך ישועתה
 ליוי' בצרתה לי כי החבאתה⁶⁰

A further example connecting Ibn Chiquitilla Psalm commentary to *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* is his comments on the root Š-Ḥ-T in Psalm 107:20. He writes:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 106v-107r

“*Their pits*” (Ps. 107:20). [Perhaps it is] from [...] their destruction. It's singular form is *ŠəḤîṭ* or *ŠəḤîṭâ* from the form *Pe'al* or *Pə'ilah*. It is possible it is from the root [aṣl] Š-Ḥ-T; “*He who digs a pit (ŠaḤAT)*” (Prov. 26:27). Or from *ŠəḤîṭ* following the pattern *KeRîṭ*, and “*and go into hiding by the Wadi Cherith (KeRîṭ)*” (1 Kings 7:3) from “*dug a pit for me*” (Psalms 57:7), “*digs a pit*” (Ex. 21:33). Its plural is *ŠəḤîṭôṭ* and its morphological pattern is *Pe'ilṬôṭ*.

ומשחיתותם (תהלים קז:כ) יג' [וז אן יכון] מן [...] [107 א] מן
 אפסאדהם ויכון ואחדה שחית או שחיתה פעל או פעילה ויג'וז אן
 יכון מן אצל שחת כורה שחת (משלי כז:כז) פיכון שחית פעלית
 על וזן כרית⁶¹ ונחל כרית (מלכים א יז:ג) מן כרו לפני (תהלים
 נז:ז) כי יכרה איש (שמות כא:לג) וג'מעה שחיתות וזונה
 פעילותות.

In *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* he states that:

⁶⁰ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 292, Heb. 299 n. 80).

⁶¹ מss ברית.

LaṢaḤAT (Prov. 26:27) is the feminine of “will fall in it” (*Ibid.*). Perhaps, “and never see the grave? (*ṢāḤAT*)” (Psalms 49:10). Also, *LaṢaḤAT* (Job 7:17). Their T (*Tāw*) is part of the root. It is from *niṢḤAT* (Jer. 13:7).

שחת ללתאנית' בה יפול ואמא לא יראה השחת וכד' [לך לשחת]
קראתי אבי אתה פתאהמא אצליה לאנה מן נשחת לא אשחית⁶²

Other proof for the late composition of Psalms are references to early commentaries in his Psalm commentary. On Exodus he writes:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 35v

“*The breast piece shall be held in place*” (Ex. 28:28), based upon our explanation of it in our other excursus. We explained it is not a weave, as he (Ibn Janāḥ) explained it. We will repeat it here for the benefit of one who perhaps has not realised it is a plural.

ומן הד'א וירכסו את החשן (שמות כח:כח) ועלי מא פסרנאה פי
בעי' כ'טבנא ובינא אנה ליס חבכא כמא פסר פיה ונחן נעידה
הנא למן רבמא לם יקע אליה ד'לך אלמג'מוע.

Isaiah:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 45v

I have already explained it in my commentary on Isaiah (Is. 1:6).

קד ביינאה עליה פי שרחנא ספר ישעיה

Jeremiah:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44v

⁶² (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 291, Heb. 298).

As we explained it identically in, “*for God’s purpose is fulfilled against (qāmā) Babylon*” (Jer. 51:29) and others. מא ביינא מת'לה פי כי קמה על בבל מחשבות ייי (ירמיה נא:כט) ואצחאבה.

The Twelve Minor Prophets:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 37v

As I explained in, “*the primaeval hills sink low. His are the ancient routes*” (Hab. 3:6) and in other places. ועלי מא ביינא פי קו' שחו גבעות עולם הליכת עולם לו (חבקוק ג:ו) וגירה.

An Arabic translation of Job twice:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 41r

We have already said in our translation of the (Book of) Job וכנא קד קלנא פי כתאב [ש]רחנא איוב

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44r

I have mentioned this in my commentary on Job וקד ד'כרנא ד'לך פי שרח איוב.

Three other references indicate that he may have already written commentaries to Leviticus and Kings:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 38v

The meaning (*i.e.*, 2 Kings 23:22, Lev. 7:9) for we explained them ‘*toil*’ and ‘*be formed,*’ as in made and be made. אלמעני לאנא נפסרהמא עמל ומעמולה אי צנע ומצנועה.

Joshua:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 118r-v.

I have already made this point, notwithstanding what I have entered into about “*side of the House*” (Ez. 10:3) and “*north of the torrent*” (Jos. 17:9)

ואמא קלנא הד'א אלקול פיה מן מא קלנא מן דון אקהאמהא פי
מימין לבית (יחזקאל יג) מצפון לנחל (יהושע יז:ט)

However, this could be an internal reference to elsewhere in his Psalm commentary, as he repeats his example from Ez. 10:3 in his glosses on Psalms 58:5; 61:1 and 132:4, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 75r, 78v, 119v. Elsewhere, he alludes to asyndetic sentences in his gloss on Psalm 2:7. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 3r.

It omits 'ašer with 'el exactly like the phrase, “*is for them whose ('el) heart is set upon their detestable things and their abominations*” (Ezra 11:21) and (equivalent to) “*is for them whose ('ašer 'el) heart is set upon their detestable things and their abominations,*” as I have demonstrated over there. (*i.e.*, an asyndetic sentence). The omission of 'ašer from sentences is common, “*all whose spirit had been roused by God*” (Ezra 1:5), “*You mighty acts, to all who are to come*” (Ps. 71:18).

וחדף אשר מע אל (תהלים ב:ז) מת'ל קולה ואל לב שקוציהם
ותועבותיהם לבם הולך (יחזקאל יא:כא) ואשר אל לב שקוציהם
ותועבותיהם עלי מא דל עליה מוצ'עה. ואמא חד'ף אשר מן
אלכלאם פכת'יר לכל העיר האלהים (עזרא א:ה) לכל יבא
גבורותיך (תהלים עא:יח).

On Proverbs:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 50r.

Now let us recall what we opined about it, “*The heart of the righteous man rehearsed his answer;*” (Prov. 16:28).

וקד ג'רי אן נד'כר מא ענדנא פי קו' לב צדיק יהגה לענות (משלי
טו:כח)

These final three references are probably internal references to other sections of his Psalm commentary that are missing, but from Judah Ibn Bal'am's remarks (see below) he probably wrote one on Joshua too.

Of those non-Jewish authors cited by Ibn Chiquitilla no relevant information on his dates can be gleaned from them as they all lived long before his birth. They are a Christian interpretation, which Delgado identified as that of Jerome (c. 342–347-420);⁶³ the Christian translator, Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qûṭī (approx. 889/90 or 989)⁶⁴ and pre-Islamic Arab

⁶³ וראיתָ ענֵד אלנצארי [I have seen that the Christian interprets], Evr.-Arab. I 3583,10v. (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 262).

⁶⁴ ווגדת הד'א אלפסוק פי שרה חפין' בן אלבר אלקוטי [I found this verse in the translation of Ḥafṣ bin Albar al-Qûṭī.], Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 68v matching (Urvoy 1994, IV–V). Ibn Chiquitilla quotes him on Ps. 55:22, *infra*. (Urvoy 1994, 93). For an analysis of the textual history and structure of his translation and revision's to Urvoy's edition, see (Van Koningsveld 2017, 401–4).

poets.⁶⁵ Also, classical Rabbinic sources (though many go uncited)⁶⁶ and Aramaic Targûms (but not the Aramaic to the book of Psalms, which had yet to reach Iberia) are of no help in dating him.⁶⁷ Delgado suggests he supplemented his work with glossaries from

⁶⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla cites Arabic poetry on four separate occasions: Three times to explain Imaginative Ascription [*'isti'âra*], and once to illustrate syntax. The examples of Imaginative Ascription are found in Ps. 68:18, Ps. 76:5: and Ps. 77:3, and syntactic usage in Ps. 74:8.

Then he proceeds to address the land of Syria and the kingdom's throne, I mean Jerusalem. He states; "*You released a bountiful rain, O God; when Your own land languished.*" (Ps. 68:10) This is like the Arab aphorism; '*God waters the innocent land with rain clouds.*'

ת'ם בדא יכ'תטב לארץ' אלשאם ומנבר אלמ'לך אעני ירושלם
פקאל גשם נדבות תניף אלהים נחלתך (תהלים סח:י) והד'א
קקול ערב. סק'י אלה ארצ'א ברא בדא צוב גמאמה.

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 86r. He identifies this line as similar in theme to other literature referring to the blessing of rain clouds - as in the funeral poem of Mu'tammîn Ibn Nûwayra, brother of the execute *ṣahâb* [companion] of Muḥammad, Mâlik Ibn Nûwayra) at the beginning of the Caliphate, (Goldziher 1910, 22, n. 4).

An Arab poet said; '*Therefore he asks of God a means of sustenance, for in God is wealth, God is better for you than the equipment of war*'

וקד קאל בעין' שערא אלערב פאסתרזק אללה פפי אללה גני
אללה כ'יר לך מן אב חרב עלי מעני אן אלאב אחרב

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 95r. Samuel Poznański following Goldzier identifies this as Zamaḡšari, (Poznański 1895, 111, 170; 1912, 52). However, the verse appears in 'Abû 'Alî 'Isma'îl b. al-Qâsim al-Qâli al-Baḡdâdî, *Kitâb al-Amâlî*, (Al-Qâli and Bakrî 1950, 1/191).

An [Arab] poet says, '*Our souls flow out along the sharp-edged sword blades, and do not flow out other than the sword blades.*'

וקאל אלשאער תסיל עלי חד אלסיוף נפוסנא וליס עלי גיר
אלסיוף תסיל

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 98r, (El-Shamy 2012, 16; Arberry 1965, l. 11, page 31). Identified in (Poznański 1912, 52). It is also cited by Moses Ibn Ezra (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997b, Appendix 4, 409 n. 3).

"*They resolved, 'Let us destroy them altogether!'*"

Some says it is the imperfect *Qāl* form derived from Y-N-H, for it states "*Deadly sword* (ha-YôNâ)" (Jer. 46:16). I say that is from "*kith and kin* (*Nînām*)" (Is. 14:22)" and omits the verb preceding it as if it said, '*let us destroy them altogether.*' Meaning to annihilate their progeny with them. The Arabs do the same: they demarcate the object with the direct object and say '*the quiver*' to fire the arrow, marking its case endings with the *mansûb*, meaning '*fire the quiver*'. And also '*the food*' they mean '*feed (them) the food*'. Their poet says '*Dispose and prepare yourself for death, death is going to meet you.*' As in '*prepare*' or '*prepare yourself*'.

[92 א] וקד אמרו בלבם ניגם יחד (תהלים עד:ח) קיל פיה
אנה מסתקבל מן ינה כ'פיף אד' קאל קיל חרב היונה (ירמיהו
מו:טז) ואנא אקול אנה מן גין ונכד (ישעיהו יד:כב) ואכ'תצר
אלפעל קבלה פכאנה קאל נשמיד ניגם יחד אי נסתאצל נסלהם
מעא ואלערב תפעל ד'לך תנצב אלמפעול פתקול אלקרטאס
לרמאה אלסהאם באלנצב ע'לי מעני אציבו אלקרטאס וכד'לך
אלטעאם יענון אטעמוא אלטעאם וקאל שאערהם חיאזימך
ללמות פאן אלמות לאקיך יריד שד או אשדד חיאזימך

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 92r The same version appears in the Anonymous Psalm Commentary, it may have been lifted from Ibn Chiquitilla, (Perez 2002b, n. 55). The reference is to Ibn Naḡrîlla and Ibn Janâḥ (*Ibid.* n. 57). On the meaning of this phrase see Lane, (Lane 1863, 71). Poznański identifies the various readings; "*The meter of verses حيازيك للموت فان الموت لاقيك is Hazaj. However, as Prof. Goldziher kindly informs me, this verse in TA and LA s. V. حزم is first quoted with اشدد so that the application is omitted, but Zamakhshari has the verse without اشدد in 'Asas al-balaga I, 133.*" (Poznański 1912, 51). Recent scholarship shows that the Geniza might preserve older or variant traditions (Ahmed 2018, 212–33).

⁶⁶ See sections on the hermeneutical differences between Iberian Exegesis and Rabbinic Exegesis in chapter 3 and 5, *supra*.

⁶⁷ קאל יונתן בן עוזיאל ענד שרחה [Jonathan ben 'Uzzi'el states in his translation], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 15r.

Iberia, but we could not find any explicit references.⁶⁸ Other commentators on the Book of Psalms were available to Ibn Chiquitilla aside from Se'adyah's *tafsîr*, which is cited on Psalm 10:2.⁶⁹ Salmon ben Jeruḥam (10th)⁷⁰ and the late 10th-11th century Baṣran Qara'ites Jepheth b. Eli had already written commentaries on Psalms.⁷¹ However, our comparison with these Qara'ite authors yielded no result and from our analysis of Ibn Chiquitilla's approach to *'idâfa* [annexation], it seems he was unfamiliar with their writings.⁷²

Our best internal evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's date of birth are those Jewish sources he cites. Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq (c. 910/20-970)⁷³ and Dunash Ibn Labraṭ (b. 920-5 d. 985)⁷⁴ lived far too early for him to have interacted with them. Se'adyah (882-942),⁷⁵ Judah Ḥayyûj (approx. 945-1000),⁷⁶ Jonah Ibn Janâḥ (b. 985/990)⁷⁷ are mentioned by their Arabic honorifics, as *al-Fayûmî* [from *Fayûm*],⁷⁸ 'Abû Zakarîya' and 'Abû Walîd respectively,⁷⁹ although the latter two are also referred to by their works, *al-Lîn* and *al-Mustalḥaq*. The first two were dead by 1000, whilst Ibn Janâḥ though alive during Ibn Chiquitilla's life-time was from the previous generation. Considering Ibn Bal'am was

⁶⁸ On the use of the book *'Ôklâ wə-'Ôklâ*, see Delgado's discussion. However, no direct link between it and what survives of this text and Ibn Chiquitilla was found, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2009a, 158–96; 2012, 255, n. 21; 2019b, 192).

⁶⁹

The Fayûmî said that the phrase “*In the schemes they (the wicked) devise*” (Ps. 10:2) means [ya'nî] that *'the poor are caught in the schemes which the wicked devise.'* קאל אלפיומי אן קו' במזמות זו חשבו (תהלים י:ב) אנה יעני יתפשו העניים במזמות זו חשבו הרשעים

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 13r. An edition of this commentary was published by Qafih, (Qafih 1966, 67).

⁷⁰ An edition of chapters 42-72 has been published, see (Marwick 1956).

⁷¹ (Bargès J. J. L. 1861). Hereafter, *Jepheth b. Eli*. For his life and works, see (Gil 1992, 68, 790, n. 90; Poznański 1906, 20–30; Nemoy 1952, 83–84; Stroumsa 1995, 204–7).

⁷² Ibn Chiquitilla does not appear to have known the writings of any of the Qara'ites authors, including the 10th century writer Salmon ben Jeruḥam. Despite an initial attempt to look for commonality between the approach of Ibn Chiquitilla and those of Salmon ben Jeruḥam and Jepheth b. Eli to the subject of prayer and biblical authorship, I could find nothing. For Salmon ben Jeruḥam's life and works, see (Gil 1992, 787–90, n. 7; Poznański 1906, 18–20; Nemoy 1952, 69–71). For a summary and discussion of Qara'ite Bible translations, see (Polliack 1996; 1997; 2006). On biblical authorship, (Zawanowska 2014, 7–37)

⁷³ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010h).

⁷⁴ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010a).

⁷⁵ (Ben-Shammai 2010).

⁷⁶ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010c).

⁷⁷ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010g).

⁷⁸ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 13r.

⁷⁹ Ibn Chiquitilla calls Ibn Janâḥ צאהב אלמסתלהק [*the author al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 57r-v אבו אלוליד [*Abû Walîd author of Kitâb al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 106r. He may mean to belittle Ibn Janâḥ's *magnum opus Kitâb al-Tanqîḥ*.

alive around 1085, and claims to have either met or corresponded with Ibn Chiquitilla, we can comfortably assume that Ibn Chiquitilla was born sometime after 1000 making him a much younger contemporary of Ibn Janâḥ.

Other authors are referred to either by their work or through allusions are more helpful to dating Ibn Chiquitilla. Samuel Ibn Naḡrīla (b. 993 died after 1056)⁸⁰ is cited through his lost work *Rasâ'il al-Rifâq* [*The Epistle of the Companions*],⁸¹ which was written against Ibn Janâḥ. Further evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's activity in the mid-11th century can be drawn from his poetry in Hebrew and Arabic.⁸² Included in this collection of poems is a dedication to either Samuel Ibn Naḡrīla or his son Jehoseph (1035-1066).⁸³

⁸⁰ (Alfonso 2010c).

⁸¹ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 57r. A reference to אלמפסר [*the author*] may refer to Ibn Naḡrīla, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82r. On the identify of this source, see (Poznański 1912). Also, a rejection of Ibn Naḡrīla's opinion is anonymously mentioned in by Ibn Chiquitilla in his comments on Ps. 60:2

A scholar opined that “*when he fought with Aram-Naharaim*” means “*when men fight each other*” (Ex. 21:2), and is an expression for war. He supports this with “*and lay in wait in the wadi*” (1 Sam. 15:5). This is contrary to the opinion which derived it from the root 'R-B with a weak first radical ' [ʾāleḇ]; meaning ‘ambush.’ This is a weak explanation for two reasons.

וקאל בעץ קום פי בהצותו את ארם נהרים (תהלים ס:ב) אנה מן מעני כי ינצו אנשים (שמות כא:כב) והו עבארה ען אלהרב ואייד ד'לך במא קאלה וירב בנחל (שמואל א טו:ה) מצ'אדא למן ג'עלה מן ארב לין אלפא פי מעני אלכמון והו קול צ'ע'יף מן וג'הין

Evr.-Arab. I 3583 71r. The explanation is attributed to *Rasâ'il al-Rifâq* by Judah Ibn Bal'am in his commentary on 1 Sam. 16:5, see (Poznański 1909, 263–64). Another source, which indicates familiarity with Ibn Naḡrīla's *Rasâ'il al-Rifâq* is found in a discussion of the transitivity of the *nīḇ'al* form *niLḥam* (fight) in Ps. 56:3, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 69v. He says that:

If the word *milḥamâ* (war) is written with a (following particle) B (*Beṭ*), 'al or 'im, then the war is against those who are joined (to it); “*and attack it*” (Josh. 10:31, 2 Sam. 12:29, 1 Kings 20:1), “*to attack it*” (Deut. 20:10) and “*fought the (eṭ) Ephraimites*” (Judg. 12:4). An explanation for 'eṭ in place of 'im is like “*God, strive with ('im) my adversaries,*” (Ps. 35:1). It (*milḥamâ*) may be transitive without an intermediary as we find in the *Nīḇ'al* form; I mean, “*they attack me without cause*” (Ps. 109:3), wherein 'eṭ has two objects, but is connect the word *milḥamâ* with a L (*Lāmēḏ*). Consequently, the war, when joined with, is prosecuted against Him as it states “*will battle for you*” (Ex. 14:14), “*fighting for them*” (Ex. 14:25) and “*for many are my adversaries, O Exalted One.*” (Ps. 56:3).

לאן לגה מלחמה אד'א קארנהא אלבא או על או עם פאלחרב ואקע עלי מן יתצל בה אחדהא וילחם בה (יהושע י:לא), שמואל ב יב:כט, מלכים א כ:א) להלחם עליה (דברים כ:י דברים כ:יט) וילחם את אפרים (שפטים יב:ד) ותבין את מכאן עם מת'ל לחם את לחמו (תהלים לה:א) עם ועלי אנה יג'וז פי הד'א תעדיה בלא וסיט כמא וג'דנא בנא אלנפעאל מנה אעני וילחמוני חנם (תהלים קט:ג) פתכן את הנא עלי אלמעפולין ואד'א אנצ'אף אלי ל[ג]ה מלחמה אללאם פאלחרב עמן תתצל בה ואקעה עלי צ'דה כק' ייי ילחם לכם (שמות יד:יד) נלחם להם (שמות יד:כה) כי רבים לחמים לי מרום (תהלים נו:ג)

A parallel discussion of particles and transitivity is found in Ibn Bal'am's commentary on Micah 2:4, in which he cites Ibn Naḡrīla's comments from *Rasâ'il al-Rifâq*, (Ibn Djanah and Derenbourg 1880, XXXIX).

⁸² (Poznański 1924b).

⁸³ (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246; Schirmann and Fleischer 1997, 350–54; H. Brody 1937, 3:78–80). For a description of Jehoseph Ibn Naḡrīla's life, see (Alfonso 2010b)

Another source which reaffirms Ibn Chiquitilla's life-time as overlapping with scholars from the early to mid-11th century is a reference to Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1020/21-1052/57/58/1070),⁸⁴ as *ba'ḍa' ahl al-piyyûṭ* [one of the poets].⁸⁵ He is criticised for defining *šinān* as “angels” in his poem *Šin 'ānîm* (angels).⁸⁶

Evr.-Arab., 3583 I 87v

<p>“Thousands upon thousands (<i>ŠiNāN</i>)” (Psalms 68:18) ... A poet errored (<i>ḡalaṭ</i>) and thought <i>šinān</i> the proper name for angels, but the angels are “God’s chariots.”</p>	<p>ושנאן (תהלים סח:יח) ... וקד גלט בעי' אהל אלפיוט פג'על שנאן מן אסמא אלמלאיכה ואנמא אלמלאיכה רכב אלהים (תהלים סח:יח).</p>
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Ibn Chiquitilla's inclusion of a critical citation by Solomon Ibn Gabirol offers support for dating Ibn Chiquitilla's birth to first half of the 11th century. Ibn Gabirol was born in Malaga after his parents fled Cordoba. As with so many other Jewish and non-Jewish émigrés, he eventually arrived in Saragossa following *al-ḡitan al-kubrâ*. The parallels between Ibn Chiquitilla the lives of Ibn Gabirol's and so many other scholars forced to emigrate after 1013 make a plausible case for his inclusion among them.⁸⁷

Elsewhere, in a gloss on Psalm 38:6, Ibn Chiquitilla criticises an anonymous opinion by calling him *šarḥ al-mufasssir* [the exegete's translation]. The reference accompanies an interpretation of the metaphor of the dead flies on Eccl. 10:1, which Ibn Chiquitilla rejects.⁸⁸ He writes in that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 45v.

⁸⁴ (Cano 2010).

⁸⁵ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 88v.

⁸⁶ The poem was published with an explanation of its historical background by Raphael Loewe, see (Loewe 1988, 114–33).

⁸⁷ (Loewe 1988, 120). According to Moses Ibn Ezra, Solomon Ibn Gabirol lived in Saragossa (*Muḥâḍara* 68 = 63). According to Šā'id Ibn 'Aḥmad al-Andalusî (1029-70) he was a citizen of Saragossa, and part of large number of emigres in that period, see (Ibn Šā'id al-Ḥurṭubî and Cheikho 1912, 89). For an English translation, see (Finkel 1927b, 53), and for further information on Ibn Gabirol's life, see (Finkel 1927b, 46; Loewe 1989, 17–18; Fenton 2016, 106–44; Vardi 2016, 437–67; J. Martínez Delgado 2020, 12).

⁸⁸ ראינא פי הד' אלפסוק מן כ'לל שרה אלמפסר לה ארדנא אן נביין גרצ'נא פיה [Yet, we see for this verse an error in the explanation of *al-mufasssir*. We will explain its intention [*ḡaraḍ*] here.], Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 46r.

He is not wise in spite of what he was prompted to acquire, wisdom, and to excel at obtaining it. He (*al-mufasssir*) said; if he possesses excellent qualities, he will not be perfect without blemish and nor will much praise free him from censure. However, this is not so simple for him, as it is about righteousness [*faḍl*] and it (righteousness) despises it (foolishness), because neither does his righteousness mix with his impurity. Nor does his goodness mix with his evil - like dead flies mixed in with fragrant oil turns it is malodorous and putrid. This is the parable [*mummaṭṭīlan*] of the dead flies, which make the noble perfumers' oil malodorous. He indicates how great (the affect) of a small transgression is upon wisdom than a touch sobriety for the foolish.

והו דון אלחכים מע מא חת' עלי תכסב אלחכמה ופצ'ל
חאמלהא. קאל ואנה ואן כאן ד'ו אלפצ'איל לא יסלם מן
נקץ' ורב אלמחאמד לא יכ'לו מן ד'ם.

פאן ד'לך לא ינבגי אן יהון ענדה בהמא הו עליה מן אלפצ'ל
ולא יזהדה פיה לאן פצ'לה לא יכ'תלט בנקצה וחסנה לא
ימתזג' בעיבה כמא ימתזג' אלד'באב אלמ[ית] באלדהן
אלד'כי פיעוד כלה נתנא' אסנא' פיקול לד'לך ממת'לא
אלד'באב אלמית ינתן בהא דהן אלעטאר אלג'ליל אד' נס'
עליה אכת'ר ממא יסקט מן אלחכמה ואלוקאר אלג'לה
אלקליל.

His criticism is directed at an interpretation of the metaphor of the dead flies found in Ibn Janâḥ (b. 985/990),⁸⁹ and Isaac Ibn Ġiyyât (b. Lucena 1038- d. Cordoba 1089).⁹⁰ Ibn Janâḥ writes in *'Uṣûl* that:

Yabî'a is also a metaphor [*'isti'âra*] here, to spread the smell in the wind. "*Dead flies turn the perfumer's ointment fetid and malodorous.*" (Eccl. 10:1). It states, flies which fall into the perfumer's precious ointment destroy the smell, and is malodorous, as in his speaking and uttering over it destroys it ...

יביע הנא אסתעארה איצ'א למא נס אלאיחה עלי ד'
אלראיחה. זבובי מות יבאיש יביע שמן רוקח (קהלת
י:א). יקול אן אלד'באב אלד'י יסקט פי דהן אלעטאר אלנפס
אלג'ליל יפסאדה ראיחה וינתנהא פכאנהא תנטק ותנאדי
עליה בפסאדה ... וקולה זבובי מות יבאיש יביע שמן ורוקח
יקר אנמא הו מת'ל צ'רבה עלי קולה וחוטא אחד יאבד טובה
הרבה (קהלת ט:יח). שבה אפסאדה ללכ'יראת באפסאד
אלד'באב אלסאקט פי אלדהן אלטיב אלד'כי אלאיחה ד'לך

⁸⁹ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010g).

⁹⁰ (Alfonso 2010a).

Regarding the phrase “*Dead flies turn the precious perfumer’s ointment fetid and malodorous.*”: it is analogous [*maṭal*] to the verbs of “*A single sinner destroys much good*” (Eccl. 9:18). It compares [*ṣabiha*] the loss of the righteous to the loss caused by the fly in the precious ointment of this perfumer’s oil. A little loss for the foolish is greater than for the honoured sage.

אלדהן ובאפסאד קליל מן אלג'הל כת'ירא מן חאל ד'י
אלחכמה ואלג'לאל.⁹¹

Ibn Ġiyyât adopts this explanation in his commentary, *al-Zuhd*. He writes that:

Comme la mouche morte infecte fait fermenter
l’huile de parfumeur, un peu de sottise corrompt
beaucoup de sagesse et de dignité

וכמא אן אלד'באב אלמית ינתן וינפט' דהאן אלעטאר,
וכד'לך יפסד אלג'ליל כל אלחכמה ואלוקאר אלסכ'ף
אלקליל.⁹²

Ibn Chiquitilla’s presents the opinion anonymously, *ṣarḥ al-mufassir* [*the exegete’s translation*] and so it may refer to Ibn Janâḥ’s remarks.⁹³ However, Ibn Chiquitilla does not usually use *al-mufassir* to describe Ibn Janâḥ, preferring to cite him either by his work *al-Mustalḥaq*, his name ‘Abû Walîd, or without attribution.⁹⁴ If so, then *al-mufassir* does not refer to Ibn Janâḥ, but Ibn Ġiyyât’s translation and commentary on Ecclesiastes.⁹⁵ Since Ibn Ġiyyât was born in 1038, assuming he did not compose his translation and commentary before he was 20, then the terminus a quo for his commentary on Ecclesiastes could not be much before 1060, if not later. This would then place Ibn

⁹¹ (‘Uṣûl 403, 20-31 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 282). Also Is. 64:1. *Ibid.* 100, 4-7 = *Ibid.*

⁹² See *trans.* (Zafrani and André Caquot 1989, Ar. 64, Fr. 81).

⁹³ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 46r. An additional reference to בעד אלמפסר [*following the exegete*] may refer to Ibn Naġrîla Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82r. For use of *al-mufassir* to refer to Ibn Janâḥ in the writings of Ḥannan’el b. Samuel, (Fenton 1990, 38).

⁹⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla calls Ibn Janâḥ צאחב אלמסתלהק [*the author al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 57r-v אבו אלוליד [*‘Abû Walîd author of Kitâb al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 106r.

⁹⁵ The term *al-mufassir* is the participle of the *maṣdar*, *tafsîr* meaning either “*translation*” or “*exegesis*.”

Chiquitilla towards the middle to end of the 11th century. However, considering that Ibn Chiquitilla self-references commentaries on other books of the Bible in his Psalms commentary,⁹⁶ it stands to reason that he must have been older by the time he wrote his Psalm commentary, pushing his date of birth back towards the start of the 11th century. In all probability, the description of the *mufasssir*'s achievements refers to the extensive writings of Ibn Janâḥ, whose works on the Hebrew language are far more extensive than Ibn Ġiyyât. Either way, it does not alter the conclusion that the most likely data for Ibn Chiquitilla's birth was around the beginning of 11th century, possibly prior to 1013, in Cordoba.

The Name Chiquitilla

The meaning of Ibn Chiquitilla's patronym, is described by Yehudi Ibn Sheshaṭ (active between 1060-1090),⁹⁷ as a pun, which according to Delgado, does not derive from the Roman word *chica* 'little blind one,' but the Latin *caecus*.⁹⁸ Ibn Sheshaṭ borrows the word "light (*ma'ôr*)" from Gen. 1:16, *the great light (ha-ma'ôr ha-gâḏôl)*, to form a pun on Isaac Ibn Chiquitilla's family name.⁹⁹ He writes, *הלא גדולכם בן ציקטלה \ האור מאור שמש אפלה* (*Is not the greatest among you IG/ The light of the sun, a clouded sun?*), with "clouded" being a reference to blindness.¹⁰⁰ In this translation, the word *gâḏôl* (*great*) could refer to his age and/or to his fame.

⁹⁶ *Infra*, 'Other works by Ibn Chiquitilla.'

⁹⁷ A student of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010i).

⁹⁸ Simonet translates *chica*, as either "mist" or "fog." (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 247; Simonet 1888, 161; Sheshet and Varela Moreno 1981, 13*). Poznański erroneously thought it meant 'little.' (Poznański 1924a, 599; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 247).

⁹⁹ (Á. Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona Borrás 2016, 65–70). He was a student of Menaḥem an important 10th century Hebrew poet and grammarian, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010f).

¹⁰⁰ On this translation Delgado writes, "Simonet translated *chica* as 'mist or fog,' which is a direct translation of the Hebrew term *'afela* used by Ibn Šešat and also alluded to the etymology of *caecus* established by Pedro de Alcalá" (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 247).

Other works by Ibn Chiquitilla

Aside from his Psalm commentary, the next longest surviving work attributed to Ibn Chiquitilla is a translation of the book of Job published by Bacher from the Oxford manuscript, MS. Huntington 511 (Neubauer 125).¹⁰¹ Bacher's proof for attributing the translation to Ibn Chiquitilla is its inclusion of his Ibn Chiquitilla's name in the first folio¹⁰² matching citations of Ibn Chiquitilla found in his Psalm commentary and Ibn Ezra.¹⁰³ However, Bacher's identification of the Job translation with Ibn Chiquitilla is by no means certain. Whilst, Poznański cautiously agreed with Bacher's identification,¹⁰⁴ Finkel rejected it, viewing the text as a digest of multiple author's opinions. We agree with Finkel's assessment of the text's authorship and his reason for rejecting Ibn Chiquitilla.

Finkel's argument flows from a contradiction between the Anonymous Psalm Commentary's citation of Psalm 90:8 and the comments attributed to Ibn Chiquitilla in the Job translation. This anonymous author claims that Ibn Chiquitilla translated the root 'L-M as an active *Qal* form, when it is only found in the passive *Nip'al*.¹⁰⁵ Finkel concludes that the translator's comments on the passive form of this root in Job 33:25 must be by another author, as such inconsistency from an expert grammarian like Ibn Chiquitilla is unlikely. Finkel suggests the incongruence between the translator and Ibn Chiquitilla is the product of combining multiple authors. Perez accepts the viability of this thesis.¹⁰⁶

To this we add new evidence in favour the Job commentary being an anthology. The comments on Psalm 90:8 match Ibn Chiquitilla's identification of an inverted *'idâfa*

¹⁰¹ (Bacher 1908).

¹⁰² (Bacher 1908, 1).

¹⁰³ (Bacher 1908, 3–6; 1895, 309–10).

¹⁰⁴ (Poznański 1895, 13–20).

¹⁰⁵ (Finkel 1936, 153).

¹⁰⁶ (Finkel 1936, 153; Perez 1991d, 31, n. 6). Perez cites Abraham Ibn Ezra's opinion to Nahum 2:4, as a possible proof in favour of Bacher's opinion. However, this text does not originate with the Job translation, but with Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss to Ps. 1:1, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 1a. From this omission, Perez concludes that Ibn Ezra did not know Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets (Perez 2002, 253–55, nn. 1–3).

[*annexation*] , but not the actual error.¹⁰⁷ Since this text matches part of the citation found in the Anonymous Psalm commentary to Psalm 90:8, it seems likely the rest is not Ibn Chiquitilla's view. Otherwise, Ibn Chiquitilla changed his mind, contradicted himself, erred, or explained his reasoning in some other place. Unfortunately, Ibn Chiquitilla's actual comments on Psalm 90:8 do not survive in the original to confirm one way or another.

What is clear is that the Job translation published in Bacher does contains some of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinions. Perez identified a fragment in T-S Misc 29.35a, as belonging to Ibn Chiquitilla's translation of Job 7:5, which is nearly identical to what Bacher published. A comparison of the two version is presented below.

	T-S Misc 29.35a	Bacher
R. Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, God have mercy on him explained in (the book of) Job He said that [<i>'my flesh is covered in maggots</i>]. <i>My body is earth and my skin is broken and festering.</i> He said in the translation [<i>šarḥ</i>], I (Ibn Chiquitilla) said my body for <i>Gû[š]</i> in the	פסר ר' משה אבן ג'קטילה רח' אללה פי איוב קאל קד [לבס בדני] אלרמה וג'סדי אלתראב ותקטע ג'לדי תסאמי וקאל פי אלשרח וקלת פי וגוש עפר וג'סדי לאן גו[ש] פי לגה אלאואיל ז"ל ג'סד אלשי אד' יקולו על ארץ עמים אאורה לתלות [אגוש]ה לשרוף (תלמוד שבת טו:ב) [פכאנה קאל וגושי]	וקד לבס בדני אלרמה וג'סדי אלתראב ותקטע ג'לדי ותמאסי. ¹⁰⁸ תפסיר: וקלת פי גוש [וג'סדי לאן גוש] פי לגה אלאואיל ג'סד אלשי כקו' אגושא לשרוף פכאנה קאל גושי. ¹⁰⁹ <i>'my flesh is covered in maggots. My body is earth and my skin is broken and festering.'</i> <i>Tafsîr: I said for Gûš [my body as Gûš] in the language of the Rabbis is the body of something as it says</i>

¹⁰⁷ He states:

that is to say 'šîr Šiggāyôn of David.' It is a subject of annexation, annexed to it [muḏâf 'ilayh] in place of an annexed [muḏâf] as if it said "and take something for your starving households." (Gen. 42:33), meaning 'and take rations for your starving household'

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 48v.

¹⁰⁸ This is found in the margin of MS. Huntington 511 30r.

¹⁰⁹ (Bacher 1908, 266).

פכאנה קאל שיר שגיון לדוד פאקאם אלמצ'אף אליה מקאם
אלמצ'אף כמא קאל ואת רעבון בתיכם קחו ולכו (בראשית מב:לג)
יעני ואת שבר רעבון בתיכם

language of the Rabbis of
blessed memory is the body
of something as they say
about the people's land "*in
the air in abeyance*" (and)
"*clump of earth to be burned*"
(TB *Shabbath* 15b). [as if to
say 'my body'.

"*clump of earth to be
burned*" as if to say
'my body.'

Propitiously, Ibn Chiquitilla cites his own translation of the final phrase to Job 7:5 in his Psalm commentary on verses Psalm 35:20.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 41r

We have already said in our translation of the
(Book of Job) regarding "*my skin is broken*"
(Job 7:5), (means) cracked and analogous to
"*cracked earth*," (Ps 35:20), a meaning which is
also applicable in the present case (cracked
skin), as a result of the passing of time and
ageing.

וכנא קד קלנא פי כתאב [ש]רחנא איוב פי עורי רגע (איוב
ז:ה) תשקק וקרנא בה ועל רגעי ארץ (תהלים לה:כ) אי
שקאק אלארץ' ונקול פיה ההנא איצ'א מע אלאחיאן
ודקאיק אלזמאן.¹¹⁰

The above fragment varies slightly from Bacher's text, it employs the term ותקטע [*wa-taqatṭa* 'a], whilst in Ibn Chiquitilla's text he states תשקק [*tašaqqa*]. The meaning is the same in all three texts, so either the word variation is evidence of two versions, a scribal error or the two versions have different manuscript pedigrees. In addition to the citation from Job 7:5, a second citation from Job 24:1 is also mentioned by Ibn Chiquitilla, but it is missing from Bacher's translation.¹¹¹

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44r.

¹¹⁰ Also so (Bacher 1908, 17).

¹¹¹ Compare this to (Bacher 1908, 39).

However, “*cannot foresee His actions* [lit. days]” (Job 24:1) means in my opinion ‘*possession [of land]*,’ as in “*to the port they desired*” (Psalms 107:30), *i.e.*, ‘the land of their desire.’ I have mentioned this in my commentary on Job.

ואמא לא חזו ימיו (איוב כד:א) פהו ענדי והו מן אלחיאזה ומנה אל מחזו חפצם (תהלים קז:ל) אי אלי חזו מרגובהם וקד ד'כרנא ד'לך פי שרח איוב.

An alternative solution to the discrepancy between the Job translation published by Bacher and Ibn Chiquitilla's citation from his translation is that Ibn Chiquitilla refers to a translation and commentary. Providentially, a child's exercise book preserves two citations from Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on the Book of Job.¹¹²

Cambridge, CUL: T-S K6.170 1v

Ibn Chiquitilla said in another/his later commentary on (the Book of) Job. Perhaps Keziah (Job 42:14) was kept safe in secluded quarters. Derived from the “*two corners*” (Ex. 26:24). Rabbi Sa'dâl said that the verse transmitted the custom of the Ancients as the daughters were famous and they did not write (their names), until they were married.¹¹³ Ibn Chiquitilla said, “*their father gave them estates together with their brothers.*” (Job 42:15) It has two possibilities. Moreover, he mentioned it in his translation. Rabbi Sa'dâl said: an another (solution) is found in, “*who gives his possession in his lifetime.*”¹¹⁴

קאל אבן ג'קטילה פי אכ'ר תפסירה לאיוב ואמא קציעה (איוב מב:יד) פהי אלמצונה פי אלזואיא מכל'דור משתקא מן לשני המקצועות (שמות כו:כד). קאל אלרב סעדאל יחול הד'א אלקול מנהג אלאואיל אן כאנת אלבנאת משהוראת ולא יכתבין חתי יתזוגן. קאל בן ג'קטילה ואמא קולה ויתן להם אביהם נחלה בתוך אחיהם¹¹⁵ (איוב מב:טו) פ'חתמלה וג'הין ת'ם דכ'רהא פי תפסירה. קאל אלרב סעדאל וג'ד מן אכ'ר לאנה מי {ח} לק נסכיו בחיו

¹¹² For translations *supra*.

¹¹³ In which case the naming of Job's daughters Jemimah, Keziah and Keren-Happuch in 42:14 only occurred once they were married.

¹¹⁴ TB *Bava Meši'a* 75b.

¹¹⁵ Mss. אמהם.

A first glance the solution is straightforward. The citation refers to a commentary, as it only mentions a *tafsîr* [commentary]. However, Ibn Chiquitilla, in his Psalm's commentary, calls his work on Job a *šarḥ*, and provides only a translation. If this all refers to the same work, then the different terms support the conclusion Ibn Chiquitilla wrote both a commentary and translation to Job. Furthermore, the text seems to indicate that there was more than one version of the text "*another/his later*." This too may explain the discrepancies in the above translations found in Bacher's publication and Ibn Chiquitilla's own citation. Incidentally, the name Sa'dâl bar Obadiah appears as that of the scribe in the manuscript of Ibn Chiquitilla's translation of Job published by Bacher.¹¹⁶ Could this be the same man? What is the child's relation to him? Could the second text referenced by the child mean the manuscript examined by Bacher that contains Se'adyah's translation of Job followed by Ibn Chiquitilla's? Without knowing the answers to these questions, we cannot be certain on the nature of Ibn Chiquitilla's Job commentary and what parts of the anthology belong to him.

Furthermore, a rigid reading of *tafsîr* and *šarḥ*, as commentary and translation respectively is untenable as these do not comport with lists from other sources within Ibn Chiquitilla found in a 13th century merchant book list.¹¹⁷ Additionally, the inclusion of a *ta'wîl* [interpretation], in the form of the מנהג אלאואיל [custom of the Ancients] further supports Ibn Chiquitilla's composition of both a commentary and translation on Job.¹¹⁸ We may also add as an aside the so-called division between *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* is undermined by Ibn Chiquitilla's own description of Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qûṭî translation of Psalms as a *šarḥ*, ווג'דת הד'א אלפסוק פי שרח חפץ' בן אלבר אלקוטי [I found this verse in the translations of Ḥafṣ

¹¹⁶ (Bacher 1882b, 1).

¹¹⁷ (Allony 1964, 173).

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of *ta'wîl*, see section Figurative Exegesis: Use of Rabbinic *ta'wîl*, *infra*.

Albar al-Qûṭī].¹¹⁹ The most likely conclusion is that the terms *tafsîr* and *ṣarḥ* are interchangeable and cannot tell us about the nature of the Job commentary on their own.

There is also mention of interpretations of Isaiah, the Twelve Minor Prophets, and a translation of the *haphṭarah*¹²⁰ of Habakkuk in the 13th century book list.

T.S NS. 312/84

(Selected) interpretations [*tafsîr*] of Isaiah, the Twelve Minor Prophets and a translation [*ṣarḥ*] of the *haphṭarah* of Habakkuk by Rabbi Moses Ben Chiquitilla z”l

[א1] ומעאני ישעיהו ותרי עשר ושרח הפטרה חבקוק

לר' משה בן ג'קטילה ז"ל

An abridgement¹²¹ of Hayyûj by Ibn Chiquitilla, may God have mercy upon him

[ב1] מכתצור¹²² חיוג' לבן ג'קטילה רחמה אללה¹²³

Based on our knowledge of Ibn Chiquitilla's extant works, the exact meaning of the terms *tafsîr* and *ṣarḥ* are difficult to determine. If we accept the reference to Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets matches what was published by M. Perez,¹²⁴ and that further selections from this text exist in Geniza material,¹²⁵ then what does the *haphṭarah* of Habakkuk refer to and how does it differ from the *tafsîr* on Isaiah?

A lexical analysis of the terms *tafsîr* and *ṣarḥ* is ambiguous, as they can mean either commentary or translation.¹²⁶ Furthermore, the list mentions the *tafsîr* to Isaiah and the

¹¹⁹ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 69r. The moment when a shift in nomenclature, in which *tafsîr* goes from meaning translation to commentary and *ṣarḥ* commentary to translation in later Judaeo-Arabic writings is uncertain, (Vollandt 2011). One difference between Se'adyah's *tafsîr* and *ṣarḥ* was the inability of later generations to understand the syntax and language. Hary links this change to a view that greater sanctity is found in preserving the literal form of the Biblical text in the *ṣarḥ*, whereas the *tafsîr* largely reflects Classical Arabic syntax, see (Hary 2009, 38:56–57). Another use of *ṣarḥ* is for the expansive translation in Aramaic by Pseudo-Jonathan ben 'Uzziel. קאל ינותן בן עוזיאל ענד שרחה [Jonathan ben 'Uzzi'el states in his translation], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 15r.

¹²⁰ Portions from Prophets recited on the Sabbath and Festivals by Rabbanite Jews.

¹²¹ Or probably his translation of Hayyûj, see (Allony 1979a, 42).

¹²² Mss. מכתצור(א).

¹²³ (Allony 1964, 173).

¹²⁴ Micah 7:3-20, Nahum and Habakkuk 1:1-9 (Perez 2002a).

¹²⁵ See, (Allony 1967, 389–98; E. N. Adler and Broydé 1900, 52–62; Poznański 1901a, 325–26).

¹²⁶ See, (Mann Jacob 1921, 178, n.1).

Twelve Minor Prophets separately from Ibn Chiquitilla's *šarḥ* to the *haphṭarah* of Habakkuk and commentaries on others Biblical books. Propitiously, an anthologist preserves citations of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion to the Twelve Minor Prophets, as part of a series of *haphṭaroth* (pl. of *haphṭarah*). He writes that:

Evr-Ar. 4204 I, 4v, 9r, 14v, 21v, 22v

Ben Chiquitilla said, "[Ah,] *you who trample*" (Amos 2:7). He described them as plundering the land, over the heads of the poor and contemplating stealing the land, therefore, ...

[4ב] ובן ג'קטילה יקול **השוואפים** וג' (עמוס ב:ז) וצפהם באנהם יגתנמון אלתראב אלדי עלי רווס אלמסאכין ויתשופון אלי אכ'ד'ה אלתראב למא ואגתצ'בא(!)

It states, "*and make the humble walk a twisted course!*" (Amos. 2:7) it has the same intent. Meaning they pervert the judgement of the poor from the true path to a false one. The text is approximately, '*twist from truth to falsehood.*'

וקולה **ודרך ענוים יטו** (עמוס ב:ז) הו מן אלמעני יעני אנהם ימילו חכם אלענוים מן טריק אלחק אלי טריק אלבאטל ותקדיר אלנץ יטו מאמת לשקר

"*I planned,*" (Hos. 12:11) intending like, "*what I planned to do to them.*" (Num. 33:56).¹²⁷

[9א] ... ובן ג'קטילה קאל **אדמה** (הושע יב:יא) קצד מת'ל והיה כאשר דמיתי לשות (במדבר לג:נו)

Ben Chiquitilla said: "*(Those who ate) your bread Have planted snares under you. He is bereft of understanding!*" (Ob. 1:7). Meaning '*your poor shall come*' like a flow of? ... as if it said, '*those who planted snares under your bread.*' It states, "*He is bereft of understanding.*" (Ob. 1:7) changes (to the first person) the acceptance of the proclamation as it says afterwards, "*I will make the wise vanish from Edom.*" (Ob. 1:8)

[14ב] בן ג'קטילה יקול **לחמך ישימו מזור תחתך** (עבדיה א:ז) יעני יבוא דלונך (!) כאלג'רא שקמא (!) פכאנה קאל ישימו מזור תחת לחמך וקולה **אין תבונה בו** (עבדיה א:ז) עאטף ען אלקבול אלמכ'אטב כמא יקאל אכ'ר ד'לך **והאבדתי חכמים מאדום** (עבדיה א:ח)

Ibn Chiquitilla said: "*those who dispossessed them*" (Ob. 1:17), God bequeathed them.

[21ב] וקאל בן ג'קטילה מורשיהם (עבדיה א:יז) מא ורת'הם אללה.

¹²⁷ I.e., the imperfect form has the perfect meaning.

Ibn Chiquitilla said: it states “Zarephath” (Ob.
1:20) Franconia and “Sepharad” (*Ibid.*) al-
Andalus.

[22א] וקאל בן ג'קטילה קיל פי צרפת (עבדיה א:כ)
אפרנגה¹²⁸ וספרד (עבדיה א:כ) אלאנדלס

These match the style of his commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets published by Perez, but do not overlap with it.¹²⁹ Alone they shed no light on the meaning of *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* in the above book list. However, a citation from Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Isaiah is preserved in another Geniza fragment reused as 'scrap-paper' for teaching a child reading.¹³⁰ It states:

T-S Ar. 1b 27, 1r.

“And adopt the name of “Israel.” (Is. 44:5). Ibn
Chiquitilla said: (the word) “this” is repeated
multiple times for emphasis.

ובשם ישראל יכנה (ישעיהו מד:ה) ובן ג'קטילה יקול
ותכרירה זה מרארא.¹³¹

The content of this citation from Ibn Chiquitilla is clearly in the format of a commentary and supplies physical evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's own reference to his commentary [*šarḥ*] on the book of Isaiah ישעיה ספר, “see I have already explained [*bayyana*] it in my commentary [*šarḥina*] on Isaiah (Is. 1:6).”¹³² If the book list is precise about the type of literature it describes then it's most likely explanation is that Ibn Chiquitilla wrote commentaries [*tafsîr*] on Biblical books and that either he wrote a separate translation [*šarḥ*] of weekly *haphṭaroth*, or that his comments were appended to translations made by others.¹³³

¹²⁸ On the identification of *Afranj* or *firanj*, Land of the Franks with modern France and Southern Italy, see (Gil 1974, 310–11).

¹²⁹ See, (Perez 2002a).

¹³⁰ On the use of old documents as 'scrap-paper' to teach children to read, see (Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 57).

¹³¹ Mss. מרארא.

¹³² Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 45v.

¹³³ *Šarḥ* is used for his translations of Job, but without the term *bayyantu* [*I explained*] *infra*.

Evidence for the appending of his commentary on Isaiah to weekly *haphṭarah* can be seen by the way in which his opinion is cited on glosses to Isaiah 50:4, Isaiah 51:17 and Isaiah 60:6.

Evr-Ar. 4209 I, 22v, 51r, 66r-v

One of the translators says, “*to speak timely words to the weary.*” (Is. 50:4) ... derived from *La ‘ûṭ* [ב22] קאל בעץ' אלשארחין לעות את יעף (ישעיהו נ:ד) ... משתק לעות מן יודעי העתים (אסתר א:יג) ואלו ד'לך ד'הב בן ג'קטילה איצ'א קאל לעות (ישעיהו נ:ד) יעני תלקין אלנבי ולעות משתק מן עת עלי מעני נקלתה. *is the opinion of Ben Chiquitilla when he said, “to speak timely,”* (Is. 50:4) meaning the instruction of the prophet and *La ‘ûṭ* is derived from ‘*et* (time) according to the sense, as I have reported.¹³⁴

Ben Chiquitilla said: “*have drunk the cup of His wrath,*” (Is. 51:17) is a tiara from *quba ‘at*. It has been said that it is *kôḥa ‘* with a K [*Kâp*]. It has been said that its meaning is approximately the same with (the letter J) *Jîm* (i.e., Hebrew *G, Gîmmel*) “*heights (migāḇā ‘ôṭ)*” (Num. 23:9). Its meaning here is an overflowing cup.¹³⁵ [א51] וקאל בן ג'קטילה קובעת כוס (ישעיהו נא:יז) היא אלקלנסיה ומנה קובע וקד' קיל כובע באלכ'לאף וקד' קיל פי מענאה באלג'ים ומגבעות (במדבר כג:ט) ומענאה מתקארב ומענאה הנא כאס מתרעה פאיצ'ה

Ben Chiquitilla said: “*a company*” (Is. 60:6) means a troop, as it says “*the troop of Jehu*” (2 Kings 9:17). [א66] ובן ג'קטילה קאל שפעת (ישעיהו ס:ו) מענאה זחמה כמא קאל שפעת יהוא (מלכים ב ט:יז)

“*Dromedaries of Midian*” (Is. 60:6).¹³⁶ Also, כד'לך קאל אבן ג'קטילה אבכאר אלג'מל¹³⁸ והם ג'מעא בכרה קלה ת'ם קאל ואמא קול מן קאל אנה ג'מע בכר

¹³⁴ I.e., *La ‘ûṭ* derives from the root ‘-T-T.

¹³⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla compares the palatals K, Q and G and deduces a shared etymological sense for the words *Quba ‘at*, *Kôḥa ‘* and *miGāḇā ‘ôṭ*, “*tiara*” and “*cup*.” On the creation of synonyms in Hebrew on the bases of phonemic similarity, see an anonymous book on permutations of Hebrew letters published by Eldar, (Eldar 1988, 485, nn. 4–5, 497, 505).

¹³⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla implies an ellipsis because the morphology of the word, “*a company*” is in the annexed form ending in a *ṭ* (*Ṭaw*). A more detailed analysis of this in Ibn Chiquitilla is presented under the section *‘idāfa*, *infra* and includes his opinion to Is. 60:6 in his gloss to Ps 74:19.

¹³⁸ Mss אלגבלץ.

are a group of swift dromedaries. Then he said,
perhaps the one who says he gathered young
dromedaries. The B (*Bēṭ*) is pleonastic, but I am
not concerned by this opinion.¹³⁷

הגמל ואן אלבי זאידה פלא ארי ד'לך [ב66] בהד'ה
אלקור

The language of the above passage includes short statements of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion interspersed with the anthologist's own opinion.¹³⁹ If the anthologist is a faithful transmitter of Ibn Chiquitilla, then the latter's commentary on Isaiah was focused on grammar, rhetoric, translations of difficult words and phrases, and matches the style of his Psalms commentary. Many more citations by the anthologist on *haphṭaroth* confirm Ibn Chiquitilla wrote a running commentary on Isaiah.¹⁴⁰ One example of Ibn Chiquitilla's preponderant interest in grammatical questions can be found in a citation by the anonymous anthologist on Is. 19:3.

Evr.-Arab. II 458, 36r

Ibn Chiquitilla z"l said "*drain*" (Is. 19:3), to
remove, is a *Ni ṭāl* from "*strip the earth bare*"
(Is. 24:). Its basic form is with a *Daḡeš* in the Q
[*Qôṭ*].¹⁴¹

[30a] ואבן ג'קטילה ז"ל קאל ונבקה (ישעיהו יט:ג)
ותתכרג' והי אנפעאל מן בוקק הארץ ובולקה (ישעיהו
כד:א) ואצלה ונבקה בתשדיד אלקורף

The above citation shows that the *haphṭaroth* were more than translations. If the above example and others described earlier are reflective of the content of the documents found in the book list, then *tafsîr* and *ṣarḥ* may have been used by merchants to distinguish

¹³⁷ I.e., B (*Bēṭ*) in front of the word *Bikrî*.

¹³⁹ Not all references to Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion are clearly demarcated.

¹⁴⁰ Isaiah commentary: Evr.-Arab. I 1704; Evr.-Arab. I 1705; Evr.-Arab. I 4209; Evr.-Arab. I 4236; Evr.-Arab. II 458 and Evr.-Arab. II 3046.

¹⁴¹ Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the paradigm of the word *Nāḡaqâ* as from the root B-Q-Q. The N (*Nûn*) marks the *Ni ṭāl*, third person fem. sing. form. The expected form ought to have been *Nāḡaqâ* or *Nāḡaqqâ*. Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad. Loc.*

between biblical commentaries and the weekly *haphṭarah* with an accompanying commentary and a translation.¹⁴²

In addition to the above citations there are numerous references to him by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (d. 1291 Fustat, Egypt)¹⁴³ in his commentaries on Psalms.¹⁴⁴ A further two examples from his commentary were identified by Poznański on Ecclesiastes 8:1 and 10:17,¹⁴⁵ and as well as from Joshua and Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.¹⁴⁶ Ibn Balʿam¹⁴⁷ and An Anonymous Psalm Commentary from written between 1105-1128¹⁴⁸ add more references and new information not supplied by Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary. However, none of these seem to include direct quotations, when matched to extant material found in Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary. The same can be said of the numerous citations by Abraham Ibn Ezra.¹⁴⁹

Ibn Chiquitilla did not just write commentaries on the Bible. He wrote one grammatical work, *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* [*The Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*] prior to his Psalm commentary.¹⁵⁰ It was first published in part by Allony and more recently by

¹⁴² One other reference to a Rabbi Moses appears in the anthologist comments on a *haphṭarah*, 1 Kings 6:6, Evr.-Arab. I 4236, 67v. The reference to a Moses in 1 Kings 18:1 on 83r may be the Biblical Moses, but the actual comments to the text are illegible in both instances.

¹⁴³ (Dascalu 2016).

¹⁴⁴ Evr.-Arab. I 4554 and Evr.-Arab. I 1699, see (Wechsler and Tanḥûm ben Joseph of Jerusalem 2010, 6–7, n. 18).

¹⁴⁵ (Poznański 1895, 62). On Tanḥûm's familiarity with Ibn Chiquitilla's commentaries, see (Poznański 1895, 126, 155; 1900, 45–61; 1912; Dascalu 2019a, 39).

¹⁴⁶ *Infra*.

¹⁴⁷ (Fuchs 1893; Ibn Balʿam and Poznański 2013; Poznański 1924b; Ibn Balʿam and Perez 1970; Perez 1981a; 1991a; 1991c; 1992c; Ibn Balʿam, Goshen-Gottstein, and Perez 1992; Perez 1993b; 1997a; 1997b; 1999; 1998; Ibn Balʿam and Perez 2000; 2002).

¹⁴⁸ Most of the text was published in part by Finkel, with additional fragments identified by Perez, see (Finkel 1927a; Perez 2002b, 241).

¹⁴⁹ (Poznański 1895, 26). Simon has also discussed the relationship between Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Ezra in an article republished in “*Ear, Discern.*” and chapter 3 of “*Four Approaches to Psalms*” (Simon 2013, 224–48; 1991). More examples are discussed in the following chapters.

¹⁵⁰ He cites it in a gloss to Ps. 63:5.

in the *Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns* along with the mention of another's opinion about it, and our reply to it. פי כתאב אלתד'כיר ואלתאנ'ת' מע ד'כרנא איצ'א קול גירנא פיה ורדנא עליה.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82r. Another reference is alluded in his remarks on Ps. 119:176. He writes that:

I have already explained its proper form in the book of Feminine and Masculine Nouns. וקד ביינא חקיקה ד'לך פי כתאב אלתד'כיר אלת'אניה.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 112r.

Martínez-Delgado, Eldar and Mamam and Ben-Porat with additional material.¹⁵¹ The book follows the grammatical theories of Ḥayyūj and is divided into two parts, a grammatical discussion covering several chapters and a dictionary. The dictionary discusses gender anomalies in plural Biblical noun forms and an explanation of them. It discusses either their inflection or usage in such cases where the masculine or feminine noun has the plural form usually associated with the opposite gender or in which the nouns are ambiguous, taking both masculine and feminine form. In addition to this, the book includes an analysis of cases in which the usual verb-noun agreement among person, gender and number is violated. It does not include definitions and translations of words, but seems to have been written as an aide-memoire for poets and/or as part of Biblical lexicography.¹⁵²

Earlier we mentioned Ibn Chiquitilla's poetry.¹⁵³ What remains was first published by Haim Brody, Judah Ratzaby and then later collated with additional material by Schirmann and Fleischer.¹⁵⁴ Almost all the poetic productions that we know are religious, which prevents us developing a thorough understanding of Ibn Chiquitilla's repertoire. An example of his religious poetry is his poem, *mi-tiḡrāt kapēkā*; the worshippers' hope for salvation rests on their identification with the suffering servant of God as described in Is. 53:4-5.¹⁵⁵ One exception to his religious poetry that survives is a dedication to either Samuel Ibn Naḡrīla or his son Jehoseph (1035-1066).¹⁵⁶ Delgado suggests that he was either friendly with Jehoseph, or that he was Ibn Chiquitilla's patron.¹⁵⁷ Aside from these

¹⁵¹ (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916; J. Martínez Delgado 2008b; Eldar 1998; Maman and Ben-Porat 2014).

¹⁵² (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 121–22; 2008a, 216, 233).

¹⁵³ Judah al-Ḥarīzī references him once in his *Taḥkemônî*, (Schirmann and Fleischer 1997, 352, n. 35).

I said: they are talking about the heroes of poetry,
which were in al-Andalus ... none like the ancient
poetry of R. Moses Ha-Kohen.

אמרתי לו: הם מדברים על גבורי השיר אשר היו בספרד. ... ולא
כשירי ר' משה הכהן עתיקים

(Kaminka 1899, 39).

¹⁵⁴ (H. Brody 1937, 3:67–89; Ratzaby 1949, 280–89; Schirmann 1995, 350–54).

¹⁵⁵ (Simon 1991, 114). Ibn Ezra reports that Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the servant of God in Is. 52:13 with the time of Hezekiah, see (Haas 2020, 61; Simon 2013, 233ff).

¹⁵⁶ (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246; Schirmann 1995, 350–54; H. Brody 1937, 3:67–89).

¹⁵⁷ “We know that most of his verses were dedicated to the Jewish viziers of Granada. You can either think of a friendly bond or reduce it to a situation of patronage.” (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 126).

two poems, his other surviving works include a fascination with linguistic ornamentation, word play, *Gəmaṭrîa* (*alphanumeric code*), and Biblical and Rabbinic allusions.¹⁵⁸

Finally, Ibn Chiquitilla translated Ḥayyūj's book of grammar, *Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ* (*Sepher ha-Niqqud*) for the benefit of the son of the Nasi (*president*) of South French Jewry, R. Isaac ha-Na'im son of R. Solomon ha-Nasi. Ibn Chiquitilla seems to have been among the first to translate and perhaps to familiarise South France with Iberian grammatical and exegetical culture founded on Ḥayyūj's theories.¹⁵⁹

Then the Lord stirred up the spirit of a man of understanding, a desirable young man, delighting in the law of the Lord, (blessed of the Lord be his land!), R. Isaac ha-Na'im son of R. Salomon ha-Nasi, (the blessing of the Lord be upon them, may they both be remembered for good!), and he sought to understand the meaning of the book composed by R. Jehuda, son of R. David of the city of Fez, surnamed Hayug, and to surmount the difficulties of it. And nothing was found in all the language more difficult and obscure than the verbs and nouns containing the letters א, ה, ו, י known in Arabic as 4 „weak letters,” whether at their beginning, middle, or end, and also the verbs of which the second and third radicals are the same, called in Arabic ذوات المثليين. Accordingly the author selected these for explanation, because when this is done, the other secrets of the Hebrew language will be revealed to anyone who can

אז העיר ה' את רוח איש תבונה בחור חמד בתורת ה' חפצו. מבורכת ה' ארצו. ר' יצחק הנעים ברבי שלמה הנשיא. ברכת ה' עליהם. ולטוב יזכו שניהם. ובקש להבין עניני הספר אשר חבר ר' יהודה ברבי דוד דמדינת פאס המכונה חיוג ולעמוד על סודו. ולא נמצא בכל הלשון עמוקים ונפלאים מן הפעלים והשמות אשר יהיו בהם אותיות א'ה'ו'י. יש כשיהיו בתחלתם. ויש כשיהיו בתוכם. ויש כשיהיו בסופם. והאותיות האלה ידועות בלשון ערבית חרוף אללין. וגם הפעלים אשר יהיה תוכם וסופם שתי אותיות כפולות דומות זאת לאזת וקראים בלשון ערבית ד'ואת אל מת'לין: ועל כן בחר המחבר לגלות רזיהם ולבאר סודיהם כי בהגלות רזי אלה יגלו שאר רזי לשון בעברית למבין דבר מתוך דבר ולנוהר מן הקצת על הכל. כענין שנ' תן לחכם ויחכם עוד: ולפי שלא מצאנו כל כנויי לשון ערבית בלשון הקדש. אם מפני שהיא אין עמנו כולה. ואם מפני שלא שותה לשונם ללשוננו המלים ולא דמתה אליה בכל הדברים לא נכון שתהיה מלה כנגד מלה כי אם בסבה ועלילה שיסבבו למלה ערבית שהיתה בספר המחבר הרבה מלים בלשון עברית עד שיתבאר הענין ויכון בלב הקורא כמו שהו בלשון ראשין. ובקש ר' יצחק זה זכור לטוב ממני אני משה

¹⁵⁸ (H. Brody 1937, 3:67–89; Schirrmann 1995, 350–54; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 119–57).

¹⁵⁹ See, (J. Martínez Delgado 2002). For the Arabic original and both translations, see (Sivan and Wated 2011; Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, XI; J. Martínez Delgado 2002). For the use of the term Nāsi in Narbonne by the 11–12th centuries, see (Jeremy Cohen 1977, 75).

argue from one thing to another, from the particular to the general; as it is said „Give instruction to a wise man and he will be yet wiser.“ (Pr. 9. 9) And inasmuch as we do not find all the expressions used in Arabic in the holy tongue, either because we do not possess the latter in its fulness, or that the former does not correspond to our language in all its idioms, each word cannot be adequately rendered without circumlocution and management, so that for one Arabic phrase of our author several words must be employed to bring out the full meaning of the original and fix it in the mind of the reader. - And R. Isaac (may he be remembered for good!), requested me, Moses ha-Kohen the son of R. Samuel ha-Kohen (Paradise be his rest!), of the city of Cordova, to translate for him this book into Hebrew, and this accordingly have I done.¹⁶⁰

הכהן ברבי שמואל הכהן נ"ע דממדינת קרטה שאתרגם לו
זה הספר בלשון עברית וכן עשיתי:

From this text, we learn that he knew Latin and Romance languages, which he includes in many additional explanatory glosses.¹⁶¹ Additionally, according to Kaplan he developed his own grammatical terminology distinct from the terms used by Abraham Ibn Ezra in his translation of Ḥayyūj's text,¹⁶² thereby contributing new grammatical terms to the Hebrew lexicon.

Citations of Ibn Chiquitilla Through the Ages

¹⁶⁰ (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, Heb. 2-3; Eng. 2-3).

¹⁶¹ (Poznański 1895; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 120).

¹⁶² (Ewald and Dukes 1844).

The most important secondary source for Ibn Chiquitilla's opinions is the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra. He praises him as “*one of the grammarians*,” and “*the greatest grammarian*.”¹⁶³ He cites Ibn Chiquitilla by name 156 times through the course of his commentaries and many more times, anonymously.¹⁶⁴ For example, in his commentary on Ps. 106:37, Ibn Chiquitilla states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 111r.

<p>And “<i>ŠeDîm (idols)</i>” (Ps. 106:37) is an attribute (analogous) to the pattern of “<i>Zedîm (arrogant)</i>” (Mal. 3:15). It is a description of the idols; meaning one of the <i>idols</i> ravaged them [Ar. him] with either severe punishment or the intelligent freely worshipped them, as it stole their [Ar. its] reason, depriving the mind of a choice about it.</p> <p>It is a weak medial, and perhaps from, “<i>that destroys (YāŠûD) at noon</i>” (Ps. 91:6) following the pattern <i>YāQûM</i>.</p> <p>The poets construct <i>ŠôD</i> as <i>ŠôDô</i> like <i>Sôdô</i> as <i>SôDô</i>. Now if it were from the root Š-D-D then it (the suffix) would be joined to <i>ŠuDDô</i> like ‘<i>uZZô</i> and <i>RuBBô</i>.</p>	<p>ושדים (תהלים קו:לז) צפה עלי זנה זדים (מלאכי ג:טו) והו מן צפאת אלאות' [ן] יעני אנהא סאלבה אלאראח באלעקובה עזא עעזא או אלעקול באכ'תיאר עבאדיתהא אד' סלב עקלה ועדם לבה אלמכת'אר להא.</p> <p>ויכון מעתל אלעין ורבמא כאן מנה ישוד צהרים (תהלים צא:ו) עלי מת'ל יקום</p> <p>וקד אצ'אף אהל אלפיוט שוד עלי שודו מת'ל סוד עלי סודו ולו כאן מן שדד לאצ'יף עלי שדו מת'ל עזו ורבו</p>
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¹⁶³ *Moznāyîm*, (M. S. Goodman 2016b, 9–10). On the reference to Ibn Chiquitilla as “*one of the great commentators*,” see (Poznański 1895, 55, nn. 10–11).

¹⁶⁴ Poznański identified 156 references, (Poznański 1895, 55; Simon 1991, 116), but our own casual comparison indicates many more example are to be found. For example, Ibn Ezra adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's view of Ps. 66:18 anonymously, *infra*.

Perhaps, *ŠeDîm* is weak from Š-W-D without an example like, “*Brazenly (he-’eZâ) she says to him*” (Prov. 7:13) (and “*Would they were inscribed in a record (wə-yûHāQû)*” (Job 19:23).

ורבמא כאן שדים מכ'פפא מן שוד מחד'וף אלמת'ל
מת'ל העזה פניה (משלי ז:יג) מי יתן בספר ויוחקו
(איוב יט:כג).

Ibn Ezra anonymously adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's view. He states that:

“*The sacrifice to idols (ŠeDîm).*” As in their ויזבחו לשדים - כמו מחשבתם כמו: חנניה הנביא.
(false) thoughts, like (the false prophet) ויש אומרים: לשדים - שישודו הדעת, כמו: ישוד
Hananiah the prophet (Jer. 28:5). Some say צהרים.
ŠeDîm are so called because they waste the
mind. Compare this to the word *yāŠûD* in
that wasted at noonday (Ps. 91:6).

The majority of anonymous citations are accurate summaries of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion, although Ibn Ezra is not always scrupulous in his presentation of who said what. Sometimes Ibn Ezra rejects one opinion of Ibn Chiquitilla's only to adopt his alternative opinion as his own without attribution.¹⁶⁵ Despite these acts of plagiarism, Ibn Ezra remains one of the best sources for Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion outside of original source material. He offers a measured assessment of Ibn Chiquitilla, accepting the possibility of multiple opinions even as he criticises him.¹⁶⁶

The existence of many more examples of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion goes unattributed by Ibn Ezra. U. Simon confirms that Poznański's identification of statements introduced by Ibn Ezra as “*those who say,*” does not refer to a group of scholars, but Ibn Chiquitilla.¹⁶⁷ Some of these anonymous citations include the opinions of other commentators and

¹⁶⁵ See discussion of Ps. 16:5-6 and Moses hitting the rock, *infra*. Also, see (Poznański 1895, 55–58).

¹⁶⁶ (Poznański 1895, 56).

¹⁶⁷ (Simon 1991, 122).

grammarians such as Ibn Janâḥ and Ibn Balʿam.¹⁶⁸ An accurate assessment of Ibn Ezra's sources remains elusive, whilst Ibn Balʿam's Psalms commentary remains unpublished, so no attempt was made in this dissertation to identify sources in Ibn Ezra. Nonetheless, with increased access to Ibn Chiquitilla it is clear his influence on Ibn Ezra was greater than previously known.

After Ibn Ezra, the next most important repository of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion was Ibn Chiquitilla's younger contemporary Ibn Balʿam (c. 1085). His criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla reflects the on-going debate in Iberia about the appropriateness of the new Qur'ānic-based hermeneutics, as applied to traditional categories of belief in supernatural miracles in Rabbinic literature. In consequence a personal rivalry arose between Ibn Balʿam and Ibn Chiquitilla, in which the former describes the words of Ibn Chiquitilla as “*contrary to truth*,”¹⁶⁹ “*ridiculous*,”¹⁷⁰ “*untenable*,”¹⁷¹ “*false*”¹⁷² and “*strange*.”¹⁷³ He accused him of being “*pretentious*” [Ar. *mastûr*],¹⁷⁴ a believer in the Eternity of the Universe, for interpreting Psalm 102:27, as God being incapable of utterly destroying the heavens and earth.¹⁷⁵ Ibn Balʿam writes in his commentary on Psalm 51:1 that:

<p>“<i>Though the heavens should melt away like smoke</i>” (Is. 51:6) ... When Ibn Chiquitilla saw this matter and shockingly thought that the heavens render an actual judgement and destruction upon them, he said that (the verse) alludes to the creation which comprises the heavenly spheres and the centre. He said these</p>	<p>כי שמים כעשר נמלחו (ישעיה נא:ו) ... ולמא ראי אבן ג'קטילה הד'א ואסתעט'ם אן תדכ'ל אלסמאואת תחת אלכון ואלפסאד קאל אנה ישיר אלי אלכ'לק אלד'י יחוויה אלפלך ואלמרכז קאל ד'לך פי קול אלנץ המה יאבדו ואת תעמד [ו]כלם כבגד יבלו (תהלים קב:כז) ומנע וקוע אלתלאשי עלי אלסמאואת ואלארץ' וצרף ד'לך אלי אלסכונין (?) אעני אלכ'לק והד'א אלאעתקאד הו ללדהריה ונחן נתברא</p>
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¹⁶⁸ For example, Ibn Ezra cites both Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Balʿam's opinion to Is. 23:10 anonymously. However, we learn their authorship from Ibn Balʿam's commentary on Isaiah, see (*Ibn Balʿam, Isaiah*. 117).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibn Balʿam, Isaiah*, 67). עכס לחקיקה

¹⁷⁰ *Ibn Balʿam, Isaiah*, 117). והד'א הד'יאן

¹⁷¹ *Ibn Balʿam and Perez* 1970, Ar. 27, Heb. 77, 119). והד'א כלאם פארג

¹⁷² (Poznański 1895, 52). וקד אכ'טא אבן ג'קטילה

¹⁷³ (Poznański 1895, 52). והד'א מן אוחש תפסיר

¹⁷⁴ *Ibn Balʿam, Isaiah*, 216). Presumably meant sarcastically, as *mastur* means concealed, chaste, blameless and of good reputation.

¹⁷⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla's comments on Ps. 102 have not survived.

things regarding the verse, “*they shall perish, but You shall endure; they shall all wear out like a garment.*” (Psalms 102:27). He thought complete destruction of the heavens and earth impossible, therefore he distorted the matter towards those dwelling in them, I mean creation. This belief is that of the eternalist [*dahriyya*]. We are shaken by this and separate ourselves from it, because God, may he be praised and honoured, created them, and their destruction is no harder than their creation *ex nihilo*.¹⁷⁶

מנה לאן אללה עז וג'ל קד אכ'ברנא אנה כ'אלקהא וליס
אתלאפהא באעט'ם מן כ'לקהא מן ליס¹⁷⁷

It seems hardly likely that Ibn Chiquitilla believed God not to be omnipotent and matter eternal. He probably understood the spheres *etc.* in Is. 51:6 and Psalm 102:27, as metaphors for God's action in form of hyperbole.¹⁷⁸

Elsewhere, Ibn Bal'am ruled out Ibn Chiquitilla's historicisation of the Messianic prophecies to the time of Hezekiah.¹⁷⁹ Poznański speculated that the cause of his animus was personal,¹⁸⁰ though perhaps one should not put much stock in such sharp-tongued rebukes.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ Poznański calls him an atheist (Poznański 1895, 52). However the meaning of the term *dahr* is an “eternalist,” see (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 75).

¹⁷⁷ (Ibn Bal'am, *Isaiah*, 207).

¹⁷⁸ Maimonides calls the passage from Isaiah 51:3-6 hyperbole, (*The Guide*, II, 29).

¹⁷⁹ The subject of authorship of Psalms and Biblical books in general during the Mediaeval period is also discussed by Ta-Shama and Viesel, see (Polliack 1997; Steiner 2006, 243–62; Ta-Shama 1997, 417–23; Viesel 2010; 2016, 103–58; Zawanowska 2014, 7–37).

¹⁸⁰ Ibn Bal'am writes in his commentary on Is. 53:12 that:

Ibn Chiquitilla links these things to King Hezekiah. If only, and I knew when Hezekiah was “*smitten and afflicted by God*” (Ps. 53:4), (and) “*he was maltreated, yet he was submissive, He did not open his mouth;*” (Is. 53:7). His (commentary) is surprising!

ואבן ג'קטילה צרפהא אלי חזקיהו אלמלך פיא לית שערי מתי
כאן חזקיהו נגוע מכה אלהים (ישעיהו נג:ד) ונגש והוא נענה
לא יפתח פיו (ישעיהו נג:ז) אן הד'א מנה עג'בא

(Ibn Bal'am, *Isaiah*, 216). Also see his remarks to Is. 60:12 (*Ibid.* 236).

¹⁸¹ It was certainly not unusual of Iberian exegetes to be sharp tongued, see (Simon 1990a).

Earlier, we questioned the veracity of the Damascene description of Ibn Bal‘am and Ibn Chiquitilla. Yet, in Jos. 10:12, Ibn Bal‘am’s own account gives the impression either he lived in the same town as Ibn Chiquitilla or met him at some point.¹⁸² He writes that;

“*Stand still, O sun, at Gibeon, O moon, in the Valley of Aijalon!*” (Jos. 10:12) ... I say that God, may He be exulted, stopped the eastern movement which causes the rotation of all the stars from east to west, and the latter came to a standstill when this (movement) stopped. Ibn Chiquitilla believes that (the eastern movement in which all the stars rotate from east to west) did not stop in order to ensure the continuance of daylight, and there was just a penumbra. I asked him, “*Is the penumbra a result of a cause i.e., the sun?*” He replied, “*Yes.*” I said to him, “*If the cause disappears then of necessity does not the effect disappear?*” He answered: “*Herein resides the miracle! The light continued even though (the source) glowed upon had set.*” I said to him, “*what brings you to this opinion?*” He replied, “*stopping perpetual motion is impossible.*” All this contradicts the Biblical text explicitly, which is “*Stand still, O sun, at Gibeon, O moon.*”

פאקול אן אללה תעאלי אנמא אוקף אלחרכה אלמשרקיה
אלתי תדיר ג'מיע אלאפלאך מן אלמשרק אלי מגרב פוקף
בוקופהא ג'מיעא. ואבן ג'קטילה יעתקד אנהא לם תקף ואן
אלפי בקי פקט לצ'רורה דואם אלצ'ו ולקד קלת לה מרה הל
אלפי אלאת'ר מן מות'ר הי אלשמס פקאל נעם קלת לה
פאד'א זאל אלמות'ר פבצ'רורה מא יזול את'רה פאג'אב אן
אלמעג'ז הנא. אן יבקי אלצ'ו ועלי אן אלמצ'י בה קד גרב
פקלה לה מא אלד'י יחמלך ען הד'א אלאעתקאד. פקאל אן
וקוף אלחרכה אלדאימה לא יג'וז. והד'א כלה רד ללגין
אלואצ'ח אלד'י הו וידום השמש וירה עמד (יהושע
י:יב).¹⁸³

Ibn Bal‘am and Ibn Chiquitilla debate whether the events described at Gibeon, in the valley of Aijalon constitute a miracle,¹⁸⁴ and if it occurs without perpetual motion being

¹⁸² (A. Halkin 1966, 795).

¹⁸³ *Ibn Bal‘am, Joshua*, 10:12, (Ibn Bal‘am and Poznański 2013, 17; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 112; 2012, 260).

¹⁸⁴ (D. Schwartz 1999, 35–38).

interrupted.¹⁸⁵ In Ibn Bal‘am’s opinion, Ibn Chiquitilla’s rejection of the interruption of perpetual motion is an example of extreme rationalism, and contradicts Scripture.¹⁸⁶

Schwartz, working without Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion deduces that he qualified his statement on perpetual motion with the following proviso, “*that God created nature perfect, and breaking it damages the perfection of God’s creation. As such Ibn Bal‘am does not bother to respond to Ibn Chiquitilla’s final claim.*”¹⁸⁷ From this discussion, Schwartz identifies two debates taking place in the 10-11th centuries; (1) God’s omnipotence vs. the theological claim, the perfection of God’s actions and (2) God’s omnipotence vs. the rational philosophical view of perfect motion. Of these two positions, which did Ibn Chiquitilla adopt? Did he advocate for the perfection of God’s creation, as Schwartz suggests? Or, did he adopt the extreme rational position of the philosophers, as Ibn Bal‘am claims?¹⁸⁸ Something of Ibn Chiquitilla’s view on miracles is preserved in his gloss on Psalm 106:3. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 109a-110b.

<p>God had just commanded him (Moses) with the statement “<i>take [the rod]</i>” (Num. 20:8)] and it is inconceivable that He only commanded him to</p>	<p>כאן אללה קד אמרה בקו' קח א[ת המטה (במדבר כ:ח)] ולם יאמרה אלא ליצ'רב בהא לא מחאלה. פאן קאל קאיל פאי שי יהתאג' מע אלצ'רב ללכ'טאב או אל[צ'רב] מעה.</p>
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¹⁸⁵ According to Aristotle (*Physics* I, 7, VIII, 252a) motion is perpetual (Barnes 1984, 324, 420). God and the universe are both conceived of as eternal and neither a creative nor emergent innovative change in existence ever occurs. Existence for Aristotle is neither disturbed nor interrupted, and nothing is produced contrary to either the laws or the ordinary course of nature. In Plato’s theology, the deity is conceived of as eternal, but the universe is viewed as created. God, however, cannot produce existence *ex nihilo*; the universe, therefore was created from a pre-existing matter that is itself eternal, (Reines 1974, 245). It follows that the celestial spheres are in perpetual motion and any interference in their movement must be miraculous. Causing a celestial sphere to halt its natural motion would result in the transformation of the inanimate object into an animate object. In the view of Maimonides this is dependent on *creatio ex nihilo*, (Kreisel 1984, 110; Reines 1974, 254; Langermann 2004a, 155–58).

¹⁸⁶ A similar debate on this topic is found in Samuel ben Hôphni’s commentary on the Torah. He sides with Ibn Bal‘am’s view that a natural interpretation contradicts scripture and adds that a miracle which is natural is impossible to see, thus negating its purpose, see (Greenbaum 1978, 332–34). This too was Se‘adyah’s view. He “*defines miracles as a subduction of the elements of nature, or as a change in the essence,*” (Kreisel 1984, 99–101). For additional references to miracles in Se‘adyah and Ibn Bal‘am, see (Greenbaum 1978, 334, nn. 94–6).

¹⁸⁷ (D. Schwartz 1999, 36). The severity of this attack by Ibn Bal‘am led Poznański to doubt whether he really knew Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentary directly, (Poznański 1895, 51–54). Perez and Tsoref’s respective studies on grammatical disputes and authorship of Psalms as well as the material presented in this chapter and chapters 3 and 4, show that Ibn Bal‘am not only knew Ibn Chiquitilla’s works well, but was sometimes a reasoned critic of him, see (Ibn Bal‘am and Perez 1970, 3, n. 25; Perez 1981a, 53–58; 1997a, 43–51; Tsoref 2016, 1–18).

¹⁸⁸ (D. Schwartz 1999, 37–38).

strike it (the rock).¹⁸⁹ If someone other than God said something, why would he need words with the blow or (just) the [blow] with it? Say to him that God, may He be exalted, makes the miracles by violating the customary rules prior to their occurrence by three means, only speech, only action, and speech and action together.

What took place after only speaking is like what happens after the speech of Moses, peace be upon him; “*By this you shall know that it was the Lord etc.*” (Num. 16:28) to the rebellious Korah and his company. Similarly, what happened after Joshua’s speech, “*Stand still, O Sun, at Gibeon*” (Jos. 10:12). Following the speech of Elijah, “*let this child’s life return to his body!*” (I King 17:21)

And what happened after action only, “*So he cried out to the LORD, and the LORD showed him a piece of wood; he threw it into the water.*” (Ex. 16:25) “*and he cut off a stick and threw it in, and he made the axe head float.*” (2 Kings 6:6)

What happens through actions and words together; “*Bring me a new dish and put salt in it, And threw salt in it. And he said; “Thus said the Lord: I heal this water, no longer shall death and bereavement come from it”* (2 Kings 2:20-1).

Now, if God wishes speech instead of throwing the salt, then there would have been no need for the salt to fix the water. However, God commanded picking up the salt with speech; the

קיל לה אן אללה תע' קד ג'על לכ'רוק אלעאדא
אלמעג'זאת קבל חדות'הא ג' אסבאב קולא פקט ופעלא
פקט וקולא ופעלא מעא

פמא חדת' בעד אלקול פקט מת'ל מא חדת' בעד קול משה
עאלס' בזאת תדעון פי יי שלחני וג' (במדבר טז:כח) מן
כאינה קרח ושיעתה ומת'ל מא חדת' בעד קול יהושע
שמש בגבעון דום (יהושע י:יב) יבעד קול אליהו תשב נא
נפש הילד על קרבו (מלכים א יז:כא).

ומא חדת' בעד אלפעל פקט מת'ל ויצעק אל יי ויורהו עץ
וישלך אל המים (שמות טו:כח) ויקצב עץ וישלך שמה
ויצף הברזל (מלכים ב ו:ו).

ומא חדת' באלקול ואלפעל מעא קו' קחו לי¹⁹⁰ צלוחית
חדשה וישלך שם מלח ויאמר (כה אמר יי רפאתי למים)
האלה לא יהיה משם עוד מות ומשלכת (מלכים ב:כ-כא)

פלו שא אללה לאג'ז'י אלקול מן דון טרח אלמלה אד' ליס
אלמלה מוג'בא לקואם אלמא לכן אמר אללה אג'נא
אלמלה ען [110 ב] אלקול כמא [פהם אל] חדיד בטרף

¹⁸⁹ The waters would flow by word and action and only appear to be the cause of the miracle.

¹⁹⁰ Ms. לייקח

sharp mind [realises] that this point is unnecessary and only demonstrates the miracle happened.

Also, Elisha said, “*Shoot! And he shot. Then he said, “An arrow of victory for the Lord! An arrow of victory over Aram!”* (2 Kings 13:17).

It is clear that he wished to gather [...] together in this story, I mean the addition of speech, therefore, it is similar to the words of Elisha, ‘*thus said the Lord, to this rock; bring forth its waters!*’ since he (Moses) exceeded the proper bounds [...] when he included ambiguity in it, which we said is the reason for this.

Or perhaps because he became agitated and hit the rock twice as it states; “*and struck the rock twice with his rod*” (Num. 20:11). He tried to correct it with the excuse “*because they rebelled against him.*” (Psalms 106:33)

“*And he uttered*” (Psalms 106:33). God (was angry) at the words and the unnecessary interpolation of his (Moses’), for an excuse is like trying to curry favour with God with elevation offerings, peace offerings, and repairs to the House (*i.e.*, Temple). This example is not an invocation; a “*rash utterance*” (Num. 30:7), however, is when she proscribes herself, as she harms herself. If not for the oath and promise, hence, he (the husband) can dispense with the wife and the vow, unlike the father, who

אלעוד אלד'י לא יוג'ב לה ד'לך לכנא דליל עלי מא יחדת' מן אלמעג'ז

וכד'לך ויאמר אלישע ירה ויור ויאמר חץ תשועה ליי וחץ בארם (מלכים ב יג:יז)

פאראד אלבארי אן יג'מע אל[...ן ג'מיעא פ[י] הד'א אלקצה אעני אלצ'ם אלמכ'אטבה פיקול מת'ל קול אלישע כה אמר יי אל סלע הזה להוציא מימיו פלמא תעדאה אלי [...]ה ממא יד[כ']לה אללבס אלד'י קלנא חסב ד'לך [ע]ליה.

ורב[מ]א אנה מן אג'ל ד'לך אהתאג' אלי אעאדה אלצ'רב כמא קאל ויך את הסלע במטהו פעמים (במדבר כ:יא) וקד אקאם לה אלעד'ר פי קו' כי המרו את רוחו (תהלים קו:לג).

ויבטא (תהלים קו:לג) אללה מן אלכלאם ואלחשו אלמסתגני ענה לאן אל[עד']ר יכון פי מא יתקרב בה אלי אללה כאלעולות ואלשלמים ולבדק הבית פליס מת'ל הד'א יסמ[י] מבטא (במדבר ל:ז) לכן למא כאנת פי גנא ען תחרימהא עלי נפסהא למא יצ'ר בהא לולא אלימין ואלאלתזאם וד'לך תצרף פי אלמראה מע אלנ[דר] מן דון אלרג'ל אלד'י תצרף פיה מענאה אלנז[ר] ואלשבועה פקאל ...

dispenses with it;¹⁹¹ meaning the vows and oaths,
for its states ...

Schwartz is correct to presume that Ibn Chiquitilla's own view on the rationalisation of miracles is more nuanced than what Ibn Bal'am presents in his gloss on Jos. 10:12. According to Ibn Chiquitilla, God does not need to violate the laws of nature by means of either speech, action, or both in combination. Rather He alters Nature in advance with the function of the speech and/or action for the benefit of the onlookers. For example, according to Ibn Chiquitilla Moses sinned because he spoke in either too vague or obscure language to the Children of Israel, as a consequence of his anger. This led to a misconception on the part of the Children of Israel that God was incapable of bringing water out from the rock without Moses' help.¹⁹² The decisive sentence is וַיִּקְהֲלוּ מִן־הָעָם וְאַהֲרֹן (Num. 20:10). *"Moses and Aaron assembled the congregation in front of the rock; and he said to them, 'Listen, you rebels, are we supposed to bring water out of this rock for them?'"* (Num. 20:10). The meaning of the verb *nôšî'* is difficult to explain, as the preformative of the Hebrew could mean a rhetorical question, *'are we supposed to bring water out of this rock for them'?* It could be translated as either, *"Can we (Moses and Aaron) produce water?"*, *"Shall we (Moses and Aaron) produce water?"* or *"Should we (Moses and Aaron) produce water?"* Whatever Ibn Chiquitilla thought, Moses misled the Children of Israel that God's power alone could not bring forth water from the rock. Alternatively, Moses hit the rock twice misleading the people into thinking God could not perform the miracle without a contribution from him. In this explanation, his sin is his excuse that he became angry with the Children of Israel for rebelling against him.¹⁹³ The same argument is applied to list of other miracles that appear in the gloss, to which we shall return later.

¹⁹¹ Following the *Sifre* Numbers 153:7, *ad. loc.*

¹⁹² Also, see (Margaliot 1983, 212).

¹⁹³ This is also Ibn Ezra's view, which he does not attribute to Ibn Chiquitilla, see (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 171–72). Maimonides adopts this view in *Avot*, Eight chapter, 4. Moses was punished for hitting the rock and getting angry, (Margaliot 1983, 206, n.31).

Included in Ibn Ezra's gloss on Num. 20:8 is a summary of both the rejected and accepted opinions of Ibn Chiquitilla. For the rejected view, Ibn Ezra writes that:

Rabbi Moses Ibn Chiquitilla Ha-Sefardi said: some miracles are performed by speech, others by actions and speech, as in the salt of Elisha. God command (Moses) to take the staff and strike the rock as he did in the case of the rock (at Horeb).¹⁹⁴ He adds the word "*and speak to them (we-dibartēm)*" – so that the water flowed by hitting and speaking. Because Israel angered (him), (Moses) said '*are we supposed to bring water out of this rock for them*'? He did not think we had the ability to bring forth water from the rock, except by the power of God. Now Moses did not explain himself well, so the people thought what he said was that God cannot bring water from a rock. This is the meaning of "*you did not sanctify me*" (Deut. 32:51). He brings a proof from the poet who says, "*for they embittered his spirit, and he spoke rashly with his lips*" (Psalms 106:26).¹⁹⁵ Behold, the sin was his speech, not the blow.

ויאמר ר' משה הכהן ז"ל הספרדי, יש אותות נעשות בדבור, ויש בפועל ודבור, כמו מלח אלישע. והשם צוה שיקח המטה להכות בסלע כמשפט הצור, והוסיף מלת ודברתם להוציא המים במכה ובדבור. ובעבור שהכעיסו ישראל, אמר להם המן הסלע הזה נוציא לכם מים? והיתה דעתו, כי אין יכולת בנו להוציא מים מהסלע, כי אם בכח השם. והנה לא פירש דבורו היטב, וחשבו אנשים בלבם, כי דבור, שלא יוכל השם להוציא מים מן הסלע. וזה טעם אשר לא קדשתם אותי (דבר' לב, נא). והביא ראיה מדברי המשורר שאמר, כי המרו את רוחו ויבטא בשפתיו (תה' קו, לג). והנה החטא היה בבטואו לא במכה.

Ibn Ezra's explanation of Ibn Chiquitilla's adds one additional point implied by Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss on Psalm 106:3, "*He did not think we had the ability to bring forth water from the rock, except by the power of God.*"¹⁹⁶ This extends Moses's sin to his lack

¹⁹⁴ Ex. 17:6.

¹⁹⁵ The verse from Psalms does not survive in Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary.

¹⁹⁶ Ibn Ezra takes Ibn Chiquitilla's view to be that Moses and Aaron are the subject of *nôšî'*, in which case Aaron did not sin, he writes וְלָמָּה נִעְנַשׁ אֶהְרֹן "*why was Aaron punished?*," see (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 170–71). Alternatively, M. Margalioth suggests the subject is Moses and God, '*are we (Moses and God) supposed to bring water out of this rock for them*', see (Margalioth 1983, 213).

of faith in God's power to change Nature. Moses too did not see that the purpose of him striking the rock was to make the miracle visible to the Children of Israel. This answer responds to the problem that an invisible miracle serves no purpose.¹⁹⁷ Ibn Chiquitilla seems to ascribe to the theory of the “*noble lie*” proposed by the Islamic *falâsifah* to encourage belief; religion functions as an indispensable preserve of social morality.¹⁹⁸

Ibn Chiquitilla's rejects miracles [Ar. *mu'jizât*] as a violation of the perfection of nature, “*the customary rules* [Ar. *kurûq 'âdat*].” This necessitates a reduction of the miraculous event to a natural cause. The prophet's words and/or actions draw attention to God's power and are the necessary ‘performative magic’ to convince the ignorant. Included in this list are the following events; Moses hitting the rock (Num. 20:8), Moses' speech to the rebellious Korah (Num. 16:28), the valley of Aijalon (Jos. 10:12), Elijah's resuscitation of the widow's boy (1 Kings 17:21), Moses and Elijah doctoring the waters (Ex. 16:25, 2 Kings 6:6), Elijah throwing salt into the water (2 Kings 2:20-1) and the arrow shot by Elijah (2 Kings 13:17). He divides these up according to the actions of the prophet as follows; speech (Num. 16:28, Jos. 10:12, 1 Kings 17:21), action (Ex. 16:25, 2 Kings 6:6) and both (2 Kings 2:20-1 and 2 Kings 13:17).

What is missing from Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation is what natural act lies behind the ‘performative magic.’ The case of Aijalon was discussed in Ibn Bal'am, yet, in Ibn Chiquitilla's list of miracles found in his gloss on Psalm 106:3, no explanation of how each miraculous act was naturalised is elaborated. For example, Moses' speech to the rebellious Korah in Num. 16:28 announces God's punishment as forthcoming, but it is unclear if something was created in advanced in verse 30.¹⁹⁹ A similar ambiguity arises

¹⁹⁷ This argument is raised against the rationalists by Samuel ben Hôphni in his commentary on the Pentateuch, (Greenbaum 1978, 332–34).

¹⁹⁸ (Kreisel 1984, 103). For the philosopher's view of religion, (Ibn Tufayl and Goodman 2003, 1:37).

¹⁹⁹ Ibn Ezra alludes to a view that something new was created, when he rejects an anonymous opinion. He states that:

“*Bring forth*” (Num. 16:30). Some say that the word *bring forth* refers to the bringing forth of something that was never in existence. I have already explained the word is related to the form “*and hack them*” (Ez. 23:47). Many cities have been split open, and those

בריאה. י"א שהיא תורה על המצא מה שלא היה. וכבר פירשתי, שאין המלה רק מגזרת וברא אותה (יחזקאל כג, מז). וכבר נבעקו מדינות רבות וירדו הדרים בהן שאולה והנה פירושה כטעם גזרה.

for other miracles. Was the resuscitation of the widow's boy (1 Kings 17:21) a medical treatment?²⁰⁰ How was the sweetening of the waters in Ex. 15:25 and 2 Kings 2:20-1 achieved? Are they the result of Moses and Elijah doctoring the water using the natural properties of a plant?²⁰¹ Did the iron float in 2 Kings 6:6 because it was held up by natural means?²⁰² In the case of Elisha, his chastisement of King Joash in 2 Kings 13:1 for firing more than one arrow demonstrates signs are really unnecessary.²⁰³ Ibn Chiquitilla's

who dwelt in them have gone down to the pit. The meaning of *bārā* is cut.

(A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, vol. III, 162). Ibn Chiquitilla may have shared Ibn Ezra's view that nothing new was created, and espoused the view that it was a natural event. Another view that naturalises miracles is that of Gersonides, who ascribes miracles to the Active Intellect. This leads him to deny the possibility of changes in the heavenly order, such as the halting of the sun. Instead, the Active Intellect is below the Mover of the spheres, and powerless to change the motions of the spheres ruled by them. He limits miracles to the changes in the substances accomplished by the Active Intellect in the way they would change naturally over a long period of time, see (Kreisel 1984, 125–26). Moreover, in his long gloss on Josh. 10:12, *ad. loc.*, he rejects a supernatural explanation for the miracle at the valley of Aijalon as that would have meant Joshua was a greater prophet than Moses for his ability to stop perpetual motion. Since such a belief is heretical and contrary to Nature, Gersonides prefers a natural explanation for the miracle, (Nehorai 1994, 97–98), which he presents at length in his philosophical work *Milhamôt HaShēm* (*Ma'amar* 6, Part 2, Chp. 12), see (D. Schwartz 1999, 42–47, 54).

²⁰⁰ See Maimonides' view below and Gersonides's commentary on Kings, *ad. loc.*

²⁰¹ Ibn Ezra cites two opinions. One that describes the event as miraculous, the other as medicinally sweetened. "And he cried" (Ex. 15:25). We do not know what type of tree this was. Only it was a miracle. If the waters had been stationary, we could have said it was medicinally sweetened. The correct view is that of the Sages (*i.e.*, a miracle. See *Yalqut Shimoni* on Ex. 15:25.).

ויצעק. זה העץ לא ידענו מה היה, רק דבר פלא היה. ואילו היו המים עומדים, היינו אומרים דרך רפואה היה ונכון הוא מה שאז"ל:

(A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, vol. II, 101, n. 90). This appears to be Ibn Chiquitilla's view on Ex. 15:25 and probably 2 Kings 2:20-1.

²⁰² Gersonides reduces the miracle to a lucky shot and the preparation of a wooden frame that kept the metal afloat. He writes that:

That is to say, he cut and measured it in order to insert the (frame) into the groove of the metal. It would be in the shape of a hand. Behold, this is the miracle; when he threw it there (into the river), it entered the groove of the metal and the metal affixed to it.

ר"ל שכב' חתך ותקנו במדה שיוכל להכנס בנקב הברזל ויהיה לו כמו יד והנה היה המופת הזה שכאשר השליכו שמה נכנס בנקב הברזל ונתקיים בו הברזל

(Commentary on 2 Kings 6:6 (*ad. loc.*))

²⁰³ The arrow is a sign that God will deliver victory to Joash against Aram at Aphek. Gersonides identifies the miracle with Joash's subsequent victory over Aram three times in verse 19, but explains Elijah's anger as Joash firing more than once. Implied is that God does not need the sign at all to defeat the Arameans. He writes in his commentary on 2 Kings 13:17 that:

"Shoot!" and he shot. Then he said, "An arrow of victory" (2 Kings 13:17). He alerted him that with this strength that he acquired from Elisha he would succeed in his war against Aram. This is the arrow he fired now. It is a sign of it. He said that he would

ויאמר אלישע ירה ויור ויאמר חץ תשווע לה' - העיר אותו כי בכחו זה שקנה מידי אלישע ינצח במלחמת ארם וזה החץ שירה עתה הוא סימן לזה ואמר שיכבם באפק עד כלה הנה בחר שהיתה המלחמה באפק כי משם יתכן לו יותר לנצחם וכבר זכרנו

failure to explain the relationship between the ‘performative magic’ and the miracles, points towards the view that miracles are embedded *a priori* in Nature.²⁰⁴ This is a version of the “*noble lie*,” in which the sharp mind understands the text to be made of concentric circles with the masses failing to comprehend the deeper meaning of the text.²⁰⁵

Ibn Chiquitilla’s adoption a version of the “*noble lie*” matches part of Ibn Ezra’s opinion in *Sepher Ha-’Ibbûr* (*Book of the Calendar*).²⁰⁶ Ibn Ezra establishes two epistemological criteria for comprehending miracles: (1) the intellect is the determinate of the truth of an event, and that the senses are easily misled and (2) the theological view that no prophet produces a miracle that violates either the sense perception or the consideration of the intellect.²⁰⁷ Of these views, Ibn Chiquitilla’s adoption of the “*noble lie*” adheres to the first.

What is more apparent is Ibn Chiquitilla’s rejection of the middle position adopted by Ibn Ezra, the prophet is the author of miracles.²⁰⁸ In Abraham Ibn Ezra writes in his commentary on Num. 20:8 that:

smite them in Aphek completely. He chose the location of Aphek for the battle, because from there it would be easier to achieve victory. We have already mentioned that God, when He performs miracles, does so in a manner which reduces to a minimum strangeness.

שהש"י כשיעשה המופתים יעשה באופן אשר בו יהיה בהם יותר מעט מן הזרות:

Gersonides view on miracle conforms to his limitation of a miracle to a natural cause. Subsequent commentators have tried to identify Gersonides’ view with the strand of radical rationalism found in Ibn Ezra, see (D. Schwartz 1999, 42–47, 54).

²⁰⁴ Kasher identifies two views in Maimonides, what she calls the Rabbinic resolution found in his Commentary on the *Mishnah*; the standing still of the sun was commanded before the completion of creation, and with reservations the naturalist view in *The Guide* II, 29, see (H. Kasher 1999, 25–52).

²⁰⁵ I thank Phil Libermann-Ackerman for this suggestion.

²⁰⁶ (Halberstam 1874, 10, 7a).

²⁰⁷ (Friedländer and Ibn Ezra 1877, 4:79–80). Schwartz observes, Ibn Ezra retains these two views, making a decisive view difficult to determine, (D. Schwartz 1999, 40). Abarbanel attacks Ibn Ezra, Maimonides and Gersonides for their extreme rationalisation of miracles, see (D. Schwartz 1999, 54–55). On Abarbanel view of Ibn Ezra’s exegesis as extreme rationalism, see (D. Schwartz 1991, 614).

²⁰⁸ Also in his explanation of the miracle of the valley of Aijalon, see (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, III, 307).

Know that when the “part” knows the All (*ha-Kol*), it conjoins with the All, and through the All it creates signs and wonders (variant: and it creates all the signs and wonders).²⁰⁹

דע כי כאשר ידע החלק את הכל, ידבק בכל, ויחדש בכל אותות ומופתים (נ"א ויחדש כל המופתים והאותות)²¹⁰

In Ibn Ezra's thought God is identical with the world in its essential unity. To avoid pantheism, Moses attains knowledge of how all the creatures are connected to the Creator. It is this ability, which allows him to work miracles. Ibn Ezra's thought, follows from his ontological position on the ladder of being. “*While man, from one standpoint, belongs to the world of generation and corruption, his soul is on a higher ontological level than the celestial bodies.*”²¹¹ The prophet receives God's power, and his soul can control the natural forces resulting from the motion of the heavenly bodies. This view identifies man, rather than God, as the proximate agent of miracles.²¹² For example, Ibn Da'ūd says the prophet's soul, in resembling the Separate Intellect, has a natural ability to work his will even on the heavenly bodies, speeding up the process by which particular matter receives, and divests itself of forms. He sees no reason for interpreting the account of Joshua's halting the sun at Gibeon as figurative.²¹³

The compatibility of the prophet as the author of the miracles and the “*noble lie*” proposed by Ibn Chiquitilla is irreconcilable. Moses Ibn Ezra cautions that Ibn Chiquitilla caused controversy because of his *lawṭa* [weakness], despite his excellent grammatical knowledge.²¹⁴ He writes that:

²⁰⁹ *Trans.* (Kreisel 1984, 117).

²¹⁰ (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, vol. III, 170–1).

²¹¹ (Kreisel 1984, 117–18).

²¹² (Kreisel 1984, 115).

²¹³ (Kreisel 1984, 116; Weil 1966, 73). Abraham Ibn Da'ūd adopts al-Ġazzālī's philosophical argument that the prophet can greatly speed up the process by which particular matter receives, and divests itself of form, see (Kreisel 1984, 115–16).

²¹⁴ An Anonymous Psalms Commentary from the 12th century cites multiple authors to Psalms, including Ibn Chiquitilla. The text was published in part by Finkel, with additional unpublished fragments identified by Perez, see (Finkel 1927a; Perez 2002b). It contains material on Psalms 75 through 78 that matches Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary, with additional material found in Evr-Arab. I 3734, 1r-1v, 2r-v Evr.-Arab. I 1409, 9r. 11r-12v. There are also citations of Ibn Chiquitilla's grammatical opinion to Psalms 73 through 74 and 93:3 which

Ibn Chiquitilla was of the first rank among scholars and linguists as well as among experts in the turns and refinements of the language and one of the most famous authors, outstanding among orators and poets in the two languages [i.e., Hebrew and Arabic], despite the fact that he had a weakness [*lawṭa*] that was detrimental to his privileged position.²¹⁵

משה בן ג'קטלה אלקרטבי ת'ם אלסרקסטי כאן מן צדור
אהל אלעלם ורג'אל אללגה ואעלאם אלתפנן ומשאהיר
אלמולפין, ומן איצה אלכ'טבה ואלשערא באללגתין, עלי
לות'ה כאנת בה, אכ'לת במרכזה פי מראתב אלג'לה²¹⁶

In addition to Ibn Chiquitilla attitude to miracles, the *lawṭa* to which Ibn Ezra speaks may well also refer to several problems, which Simon summarises as follows.

It may well be that the social difficulties to which Moses Ibn Ezra alludes stemmed from the excessive intellectualism that underlies Ibn Gīqatilah's commentary on the Bible, expressed in many ways: his tendency to restrict to the minimum the deviation of miracles from natural law (attacked by his younger opponent R. Judah Ibn Balaam as one of "his deceptive and corrupt opinions"); his attempts to establish the date of prophecies and make them refer to historical events that occurred in proximity to their utterance rather than to the messianic era (on this account he was accused by Ibn Balaam of tending to undermine the faith in the future redemption); his free use of Christian commentaries and translation of the Bible, while objecting strongly only to Christological interpretations; and his view of the psalms as prayers and poems rather than prophecies.²¹⁷

otherwise do not survive, (see Synopsis, *infra*). Isaac Ibn Barūn (12th century), also preserves a recommendation of Ibn Chiquitilla's book on Masculine and Feminine Nouns, and his view on verbal transitivity, see (Kokovtsov 1970, 8, 12; Wechter 1964, 7, nn. 76, 34, 49). On Ibn Barūn's life, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010e).

²¹⁵ (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246).

²¹⁶ (*Muḥāḍara*, 68 = 63).

²¹⁷ (Simon 1991, 113–14; Ashtor 1992, 2:259; Poznański 1895, 27). In his gloss on Ps. 65:14, Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

And *Kar* (Ps. 65:14) is an equivocal term [*muštariḳ*]
It can be interpreted as 'meadows', for example, "*the meadows (kar) are covered*" (Is. 30:23), '*lamb, sheep,*' with sheep's (*karīm*) milk" (Deut. 34:14).

וכר (תהלים סה:יד) מן אלאסמא אלמשתרכה פיכון שרחהא
מרג'א מת'ל לבשו כרים כר נרחב (ישעיהו ל:כג) וחמלא וחמלאן
עם חלב כרים (דברים לב:יד) יוג'יבא שלחו כרים מושל ארץ
(ישעיה טז:א) וקיל יתצ'אעף ובכרכרות (ישעיהו ס:כ) ויעתקד

However, not all of Ibn Chiquitilla's successors were so reticent about his unorthodox views. Maimonides (1135-1204) quoted Ibn Chiquitilla directly, as opposed to citing him from a second-hand source.²¹⁸ In his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, on the verse, "*the wolf shall dwell with the lamb*" (Is. 11:6), he writes that "*our understanding of this matter has been anticipated by rational commentators such as Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Bal'am.*"²¹⁹ Neither exegete's opinion survives on the verse, but in all probability, Maimonides is praising their interpretation of the verse, "*The wolf shall dwell with the lamb,*" as figurative.²²⁰

On the topic of miracles, Maimonides shares the same general preference for a rational and natural explanation of miracles as Ibn Chiquitilla. However, his attitude is conflicted and evolving.²²¹ In his *Guide* 2:35, he writes that:

ruler' "*dispatch a ruler (kar) to rule the land*" (Is. 16:1); and used in duplicate, "*rulers karkarôl*" (Is. 66:20). The Christians foolishly believe that (the phrase); "*dispatch as ruler*" (Is. 16:1), (means) a lamb, (which they think) alludes to the Messiah. This is nonsense. And 'camel-saddle' "*inside her camel's saddle*" (Gen. 31:34).

סכ'פא אלנצארי פי שלחו כר (ישעיהו טז:א) כ'רופא יכנון בה ען אלמסיח והד'א כבאטל וקתב אלג'מא כר הגמל (בראשית לא:לד)

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 83r. Modified from Delgado's translation, (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 262). Ibn Ezra adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation. לְמָשִׁיחַ, (*messiah*) is the translation found in the Targûm of Jonathan ben 'Uzzi'el, *ad. loc.* Identification of Jesus with the metaphor of the lamb is a common theme in Christian exegesis on John 1:29, John 1:36, 1 Cor. 5:7, and the prayer *Agnus Dei*. See (Roberts 1968, 41–56; Sandmel 2005, 57).

²¹⁸ (Poznański 1895, 59).

²¹⁹ (Shailat 1987, 359; Polinsky 1982, 49). Only Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Bal'am are mentioned by name by Maimonides in his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead.

²²⁰ Maimonides discuss this verse in *The Guide* Part III, Chapter 11 and the laws of Kings 12:1. He too identifies the verse as figurative, וגר זאב עם כבש ונמר עם גדי ירבע משל וחידה (*The wolf shall dwell, the leopard will lie down with the young goat,* "a parable and riddle). This is also the opinion of Ibn Ezra, דרך משל מהשלום שיהיה בימי, "*The peace that will be in his days is now figuratively described.*" (Friedlaender 1878, *ad. loc.*). Ibn Chiquitilla interprets this passage as referring to Hezekiah on account of it being the continuation of the prophecy in the previous chapter, (Friedlaender 1878, *ad. loc.*).

²²¹ Maimonides' view on miracles has been the subject of extensive study. For example, (Heller 1958, 112–27; Reines 1974; Kreisel 1984; Nehorai 1994; D. Schwartz 1999; H. Kasher 1999; Langermann 2004a). A more in-depth study that considers Ibn Chiquitilla's view is a *desideratum*.

you should not be led astray by what is said with
 regard to the light of the sun standing still for
Joshua for certain hours – namely – *And he said*
in the sight of Israel – for it does not say *all*
Israel, as it said with reference to *Moses*.²²²

ולא יגלטך מא ג'א פי ת'באת צ'ו אלשמס ליהושע תלך
 אלסאעאת ויאמר לעיני ישראל לאנה לם יקל כל ישראל
 כמא ג'א פי משה²²³

In Maimonides' opinion what Joshua saw and the people saw differed. At Aijalon only a few people (the soldiers in the valley) perceived the additional light, and then perhaps only in their imagination.²²⁴ By contrast, everyone saw the miracles performed by Moses as he was unique among the prophets.²²⁵ However, in *The Guide* III, 4, Maimonides rejects any miracle involving the heavens taking place. Kreisel interprets this as the perfection of the heavens.²²⁶ According to this reasoning, Maimonides interprets figuratively all miracles involving celestial bodies, such as the sun halting in its course for Joshua and the heavens opening up for Ezekiel.²²⁷ Alternatively in his Essay on the Resurrection of the Dead, he claims there was a physical miracle, visible to only a few individuals and for a short time.²²⁸ Did he consider Ibn Chiquitilla's view that the penumbra, the shaded outer region of the shadow was the physical cause for the fighters in the valley of Aijalon perceiving extra light? Did he ascribe it to the perfection of creation *and* the "noble lie"? The lack of clarity on the part of Maimonides has troubled successive generations of interpreters of *The Guide*.²²⁹

²²² *Italics*. original (Pines 1963, vols 2, 368). However, in his commentary on 'Abôl Maimonides adopts the traditional interpretation, see (M. Schwartz 2002, vols 1, 383 n. 11).

²²³ (Munk 1964, vols 2, 76).

²²⁴ (D. Schwartz 1999, 40).

²²⁵ (Nehorai 1994, 97–98).

²²⁶ "The basis for Maimonides' rejection of the occurrence of any miracle involving even a temporary suspension of the heavenly motions can be traced to his position that the heavens are superior to man and were not created for his sake. Their motion is perfect. Through it they govern the sublunar." (Kreisel 1984, 110).

²²⁷ (Kreisel 1984, 110).

²²⁸ (Shailat 1987, 372; Heller 1958, 112–27).

²²⁹ One rational opinion is that of Narboni (14th Provence), who explains the events at Aijalon, as the final light visible at the end of summer. That is to say, that because of the great victory it appeared to the fighters, as if the day was extra-long as in the summer. He writes:

That the day, there at Gibeon was as great as in the summertime.

שהיום ההוא היה אצלם בגבעון כגדול שבימי הקיץ שם.

To this we may add one final question regarding Ibn Chiquitilla's view on miracles. Maimonides adopts a rational analysis of the widow's son and Elijah, in *Guide* 1:42.²³⁰ He writes that:

Some of the men²³¹ of al-Andalus interpret the verse as meaning that his breath was suspended so that no breath at all could be perceived in him – as happens to people struck with apoplexy or with asphyxia deriving from the womb, so that it is not known if the one in question is dead or alive and the doubt remains a day or two.²³²

וקד קאל בעי' אלאנדלסיין אנה תעטל נפסה חתי לם ידרך לה נפס
אצלא כמא יעתרי בעי' אלמסכותין ופי אכ'תנאק אלרחם חתי לא
יעלם הל הו מית או חי וידום הד'א אלשך אליום ואליומין²³³

Unfortunately, Ibn Chiquitilla says nothing in his gloss on Ps. 106:3. Even so, many more 'hidden' examples of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinions probably influence Maimonides.

The enduring influence of Ibn Chiquitilla on the house of Maimonides continued in subsequent generations. Among the pietist circles of Abraham b. Maimonides and his descendants. His father-in-law, Ḥannanel b. Samuel (12-13th) cites Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion in his commentaries on various *haphṭaroth*.²³⁴ David b. Joshua Maimonides' (circa. 1335-1415) use of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion in *Al-Murshid 'ila al-Tafarrud wal-Murfid 'ila al-Tajarrud* (*The Guide to Detachment*).²³⁵ Citations from Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion appears in several explanation. David b. Joshua Maimonides cites Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion on the *Šəmînîṭ* (Psalms 6:1). He writes that:

(Nehorai 1994, 98). This being consistent with Narboni's naturalistic interpretation of miracles, see (Kriesel 1994, 132). For a discussion of *The Guide*'s view in successive generations, see (D. Schwartz 1999, 40–54).

²³⁰ (Simon 1991, 114). On the widespread adoption of this opinion in France, see (Munk 1964, vols 1, 149, n. 1; Qafih 1977, 63).

²³¹ The Arabic, *ba'ada*, can mean one or more commentators. Since the rationalisation matches Ibn Chiquitilla's general attitude to miracles, perhaps it should be amended to "One of the men."

²³² (Pines 1963, vols 1, 92).

²³³ (Munk 1964, pt. I, 42).

²³⁴ OR 2584, 90v, (Fenton 1990, 38).

²³⁵ The last known direct descendant of Moses Maimonides, see (Fenton 2009, 103). The Arabic text was published by Fenton, (Fenton 1982) with an English and a Hebrew translation, (Fenton 1987, Ar. 52-54 Heb. 53-55).

Likewise, the *šamînîṭ* (Psalms 4:1) refers to a musical instrument composed of eight strings, *i.e.* four double chords, the treble, bass, second and third strings, which are set in accordance with the four corresponding natures.²³⁶

וכד'לך שמינית אסם אלה אלמוסיקי, ד'את ת'מאן אותאר
עלי סביל אלתצ'ע'ף לל'ארבה אותאר, אעני אלזיר ואלבם
ואלמת'ני ואלמת'לת', ואלמצ'ועה באזא אל'ארבע טבאיע
אלמנאסבה להא.

Ibn Chiquitilla too identifies the eight-strings of the *Šamînîṭ* with the 4 doubled-strings of the Arabic *ʿūd*. Each string corresponds to one of the *murabbaʿât*, (*the tetrads, or the four-fold strings*).²³⁷ Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

²³⁶ (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129).

²³⁷ The *murabbaʿât*, [*the tetrads, or the four-fold strings*] are a common number in al-Kindî, Ḥunayn Ibn Iṣḥâq and ʿIḳwân al-Šafâʾ as well as later Jewish authors, see (Shiloah 2007b, 278). Fenton suggests that the origin of Ibn Chiquitilla's observation probably has its source in the chapter on the structure of the *ʿūd* in Ḥunayn Ibn Iṣḥâq's *ʿAdâb al-falâsifa*, Mbs. Aumer 651, fol. 35b, see (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129, n. 12). Al-Kindî and Ibn Iṣḥâq reflect the Pythagorean view that eight is not a perfect number. However, there are eight canonical genres listed by al-Kindî, which are adopted by Seʿadyah in his *Kitâb al-ʿAmânât*, see (Farmer 1943, 18–19, nn. 49 and 21, 26; Simon 1991, 17, n. 49; Shiloah 1978, 34–55; Werner 1948, 211–15). Seʿadyah believed in combinations of notes that would balance the humours and the corporeal faculties [*al-ṭabīʿiyya*], see (Shiloah 1978, 43; 1993c, 217). Note that the eight strings pre-date the Islamic four stringed *ʿūd*, see (Werner 1948, 211–15). Also see *Šoher Tōv* 81:3 (Buber edition). Ibn Chiquitilla uses the uncommon term *tanġîm* [*beating*], see (Shiloah 2007b, 280). The adoption of the *Šamînîṭ* as an eight-stringed instrument by other medieval commentators is found in (*Maḥbereg*, 116). Further adoption of this view is found in various sources, see (Avenary 1968, 161, n. 50). Ibn Balʿam's writes that:

Previously, (we mentioned) it as the name of an eight-stringed instrument.

קד תקדם אנה אסם אלה ד'את ת'מניה אומאמר

Evr.-Arab 4308 I 9r. Moses Ibn Ezra writes that:

The commentator of *lam-menazzeah* *ʿal haš-šamînîṭ* [Psalm 12,1] considers *šamînîṭ* to be an eight stringed instrument as he interprets *nevel asor* – a pipe pierced by ten holes (*zmar*).

"למנצח השמינית" אנהא ד'את ח' אותאר כמה פסר "נבל
עשור" אנהא ת'קב עשר פי זק אלזמר

(Shiloah 1993c, Ar. 219, Eng. 222). Tanḥûm Yerushalmi quotes Ibn Balʿam in his remarks to Ps. 6:1.

Upon the *Šamînîṭ* (Ps. 6:1): some say seven melodies, precede eight (names) of the strings. It has been stated in Chron. (1 Chron. 16:5, 1 Chron. 29:12) Jael, Azariah upon the *kinnôrôṭ*, (and) upon the *semînîṭ* to conduct. Now this proves that they are the eight stringed *tanâbîr* or that there are eight modes beaten upon it. We have mentioned this in its place.

על השמינית (ו:א) קיל בעד סבעה אלחאן מתקדמה אסם
אלד'את ת'מניה אותאר וקד קיל פי דברי הימים ויעאל ועזריהו
בכנורות על השמינית לנצח. פהד'א ידל אנהא טנאביר ד'את
ת'מניה אותאר או לעלה לחן ד'ו ת'מאן פי תנגמה. וקד ד'כרנאה
פי מכאנה.

Evr.-Arab 1699 2r; 3735 I, 184v. This is also Ibn Janâh's opinion (*ʿUṣûl*, 405, 11 = *HaŠôrâšîm*, 283; *Jepheth b. Eli*, 450). The presence of eight-musical modes is found in Baḥya Ibn Paqûda gloss on Num. 4.47

There were also singers with eight musical instruments.

והיו משוררים ג"כ בשמונה כלים

(Ibn Paqûda 1878, ad. loc.).

The “*sāmîṇîl*” (Psalms 6:1) is an instrument that may possess eight bowstrings by means of doubling the four modes [*mumâṭila*] and (equal) to the four humours of the body’s equilibrium [*ṭabâ’î*]. The doubling (starts) from its *zîr*, (followed by) *bamm*, *maṭnâ*, and *maṭalat*, to strengthen the appropriate humours of the body’s equilibrium.

[7 ב] השמינית (תהלים ו:א) אלה ימכן כונה ד'את ח' אותאר עלי סביל אלתצ'עיף לארבעתהא אלממאת'לה ללארבע טבאיע פתתצ'אעף מן זירהא ובמהא ומת'נאהא ומת'להא לתקויה אלד' טבאיע אלמנאסבה להא.

The passage continues with the *Gittîl* (Psalms 8:1), as the name of a musical instrument in the form of a spindle. David b. Joshua Maimonides writes that:

Furthermore, the *gittîl* (Psalms 8:1) is also a musical instrument, said to have been invented by Obed-Edom the Gattite. It was reportedly fashioned in the form of a spindle, resembling the threaded distaff of an olive-press (*gat*) which supports its wooden components.²³⁸

[8] וכד'לך הגתית קיל אנהא אסם אלה תנתבס אלי עובד אדום הגתי. [9] וקיל אנהא עלי שכל אלמגזל, לאן אלגת להא מגאזל תפתל לוצ'ע אלכ'שב עליהא.

Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Gittîl in the verse “*the conductor upon the Gittîl*” is a musical instrument attributed to (the lineage of) Obed-Edom the Gittite (2 Sam. 6:10), who was one of the musicians wandering the land of Gath. I have seen that for the Christians the form (of the instrument) was like

גתית פי קו' למנצח על הגתית (תהלים ח:א) אלה נ'סבת אלי עובד אדום הגתי (שמואל ב ו:י) וכאן מן אלמשוררים ינסב אלי בלד גת. וראית' ענד אלנצארי אן שכלהא כאן עלי שכל אלמגזל ואט'נהם תאולוא ד'לך מן לפט' גת אלתי הי

²³⁸ (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129).

the distaff. However, I have the impression²³⁹ that they understood it as such because the word *Gāṭ* means oil press and it has some twisted cords to hang the plate above it so as to remove it.

אלמעצרה פאן להא מגאזל תפת'ל לוצ'ע אלכ'שבה עליהא
ולרפעהא ענהא.²⁴⁰

David b. Joshua Maimonides also cites Ibn Chiquitilla's view that *Šōšân* (Psalms 45:1) is the name of a musical instrument.

Furthermore, *shoshân* 'a lily' (Psalms 45:1) is also the name given to a musical instrument, possibly on account of its shape.

וכד'לך שושן אסם אלה מן אלאת אלמוסיקי. ויחתמל אן
תכון תסמיתהא כד'לך מן חית' שכלהא.²⁴¹

Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 59r

Furthermore, lily (*šōšân*) (Psalms 45:1) is the name given to a musical instrument, possibly on account of its shape.

[59 א] שושנים (תהלים מה:א) אסם אלה מן אלאת
אלמוסיקי.

Finally, David b. Joshua Maimonides also cites Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion on the meaning and function of the "*conductor (mānaṣṣeah)*" (Psalms 4:1). He states:

²³⁹ Delgado reads this is an IV form (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 222, n. 70), *contra* Finkel, Form I. (Finkel 1936, 158–61). Delgado traces the origins of this explanation to Jerome who translates the verse as *Uictori, pro torcularibus, canticum David*. "The Latin word *torcular* means 'press used to make wine or oil'" (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 262).

²⁴⁰ First published as a fragment by (Poznański 1912, 59; Finkel 1936, 158–61).

²⁴¹ (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129).

The term ‘*leader of the minstrels*’ (*menasseah*) (Psalms 4:1) refers to the player of musical instruments and the master of melodies whose accents are a source of stimulation.²⁴²

ואלמנצה הו צאחב אלאה אלמוסיקי ואלרייס פי אלאגאני
אלמתחדי באלאקואל

Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 6r

The meaning of “*for conductor (la-mənaṣṣeah) upon the instruments (nəḡînôt)*” is that the *mənaṣṣeah*, who is the master of musical instruments

ומעני למנצה בנגינות (תהלים ד:א) אן אלמנצה והו
צאחב אלה אלמוסיקא

Other writers in the Eastern Mediterranean also adopted Ibn Chiquitilla’s rational approach.²⁴³ Poznański suggests some later writers may have used his work directly. These include Joseph Qimhî (c. 1105, al-Andalus);²⁴⁴ Judah Ibn Tibbon (b. c. 1120 - Granada);²⁴⁵ Aaron ben Joseph of Constantinople (c. 1260 – c. 1320);²⁴⁶ David Qimhî (1160-1235, Narbonne);²⁴⁷ Joseph Ibn ‘Aqnîn (b. 12th century- d. c. 1126, Barcelona, Aleppo),²⁴⁸ and Samuel Ibn Tibbon (c. 1160-1232, Lunel, Marseille).²⁴⁹

Poznański also thought that Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentaries endured in Provence after his death. He points to evidence that David Qimhî quotes him more clearly than Ibn Ezra and

²⁴² (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129). The similarity in language between David b. Joshua Maimonides and Ibn Chiquitilla confirms that his commentaries still circulated in the Eastern Mediterranean, as late as the 15th century.

²⁴³ (Fenton 2000, 433–55).

²⁴⁴ On his life and works (J. Martínez Delgado 2010j; Talmage 1968; 1975; Talmage and Walfish 1999).

²⁴⁵ (Ferre 2010a).

²⁴⁶ (L. Charlap 2005).

²⁴⁷ (Talmage 1975, 9).

²⁴⁸ (Prats 2010).

²⁴⁹ (Ferre 2010b).

portrays passages which derive from Ibn Chiquitilla as his own.²⁵⁰ Whether this is proof of a direct link remains to be seen. In the East, Joseph b. David the Greek (13th century) cites examples of Ibn Chiquitilla not found in Ibn Ezra. Aaron b. Joseph might have had access to his text, however, inaccuracies led Poznański to conclude that Ibn Chiquitilla was not available to him.²⁵¹ Poznański concludes that the manuscripts and citations above show that people were still able to read him in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean up to the 13th century.²⁵²

In Western Europe the influence of Ibn Chiquitilla had already disappeared by the end of the 12th century.²⁵³ They were entirely reliant on Abraham Ibn Ezra and viewed Ibn Chiquitilla's rationalism with increased hostility. Abraham Ibn Da'ûd, writing in the 12th century, showed ambivalence towards him in *the Book of Tradition*, (written in Toledo in 1126) as one of the scholars, “*who wrote books, liturgies [pîyyûṭîm] hymns, and praises to our Creator, His Name be Praised, and consolations for Israel to encourage them in the lands of their exile.*”²⁵⁴ Under the guise of a war against Qara'ites, the language expresses Ibn Da'ûd's anti-radicalism and anti-rationalism and his antipathy towards certain Rabbanites, whose understanding of the prophecies of consolation struck him as erroneous and harmful to religious belief in a messianic redemption.²⁵⁵

Following Poznański's analysis we add Joseph of Constantinople (c. 1100/active 1050-1148) to a list of scholars who either knew directly or indirectly Ibn Chiquitilla.²⁵⁶

Moreover, a quotation from Ibn Chiquitilla's *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* [*The Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*] is found in Isaac b. Samuel Ha-Sephardi Ibn Al-Kanzî's

²⁵⁰ (Poznański 1895, 58–61).

²⁵¹ (Poznański 1894b, 19; 1895, 63).

²⁵² See samples and references *supra*, dating from the 13th century.

²⁵³ (Poznański 1895, 51, 69). Ibn Chiquitilla's name does not seem to have survived in S. France for long. His name does not appear on a list of scholars by Don Bonet Abram, Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi, Ha-Pənîṭ (c. 1270- c. 1340 in his *ṭiggrêṭ ha-hiṭnaṣṣalût* (*Letter of Apology*), see (Ben-Shalom 2017, 287–88).

²⁵⁴ (Ibn Daud and Cohen 2010, Heb. 73, Eng. 300-3).

²⁵⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion on Isaiah's authorship has been treated by U. Simon in an essay comparing Ibn Ezra to other writers on the subject (Simon 1991, 114, n. 7).

²⁵⁶ (Eldar 1994, 2:19; 1988, 497, n. 68; L. R. Charlap 2013, 129). The text was produced as a PhD, but I was unable to access it (Qostandini and Perez 1984).

(active in Fustât around 1090-1127)²⁵⁷ commentary on 1 Samuel.²⁵⁸ To this we can add the 13th century book-sellers list, the child's scrap of paper citing Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Job, and David b. Joshua Maimonides citation of Ibn Chiquitilla from the 15th century, all of which confirm Poznański's theory that Ibn Chiquitilla was still circulating widely in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Ibn Da'ūd's veiled criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla is repeated by Naḥmanides (1194-1270) who calls him, "*the stubborn Rabbi Moses ha-Kohen*" and, "*the deceitful priest*" for his view that the last eleven chapters of Isaiah refers to the time of Hezekiah in his *Book of Redemption*.²⁵⁹ Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508) too attacks his linkage of Joel 3 to the times of Jehoshaphat as a "*direct lack of faith of that same Rabbi Moses Ha-Kohen and those who follow him with regard to the coming of the Messiah, until they had to distort the words of the prophets and have them refer to the past, and make the signs and future wonders they were foretelling into events that had already happened.*"²⁶⁰ The disappearance of any trace of Ibn Chiquitilla in Western Europe by the 12th century and the shift in the intellectual climate of Iberia may explain why he received a less favourable treatment by later scholars.

In summary, Ibn Chiquitilla belongs to a circle of scholars who migrated from al-Andalus to the city of Saragossa, where they reconstituted, and advanced their grammatical studies of Hebrew. He was respected for his advanced knowledge of grammar and is cited by many leading figures in the generations that followed. However, Ibn Chiquitilla was a controversial figure, who challenged many of the traditional assumptions of how to interpret the Bible. Most prominent among these were his views on messianism and rejection of supernatural miracles. The latter was adopted and developed by Maimonides in *The Guide*. However, Ibn Chiquitilla's views were less well received by other writers in the period, including Judah Ibn Bal'am and particularly later writers in Western

²⁵⁷ (Marina Rustow 2010).

²⁵⁸ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, 287).

²⁵⁹ (Simon 1991, 114).

²⁶⁰ Commentary on Joel, gloss beginning "*the general intention*" corrected according to MS Escorial G-1 II, see (Simon 1991, 114).

Europe, who probably did not have access to the original text. In the East his works continued to circulate until at least the 15th century, where it was received both positively and negatively.

In the following chapter, our focus is the shifting boundaries of emic and etic knowledge in the development of Iberian hermeneutics through the prism of modern pragmatic linguistics, Qur'anic hermeneutics and Rabbinic *derash*.

Psalm Commentary

Of Ibn Chiquitilla's surviving commentaries on the Bible, the longest single text is his Psalm commentary. Nine manuscripts containing Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary have survived. No. 1 has been known for some time and was identified by Poznański. Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 8 were identified and published by M. Perez. Nos. 4, 6, and 7 were identified in the course of my research as from Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Psalms. Allony identified no. 9 as by Ibn Chiquitilla, but this is now doubtful.²⁶¹ No edition exists of his commentary, as the manuscripts are not well-preserved. Many of the pages are either illegible or only partly-legible making reading them difficult. Where possible we attempted to reconstruct the missing text. The following manuscripts were consulted and are available online at The Friedberg Geniza Project, <https://fgp.genizah.org/FgpFrames.aspx?mode=home>. Any other manuscripts cited were also taken from The Friedberg Geniza Project.

1) Evr-Arab. I 3583. (119 folios). This is a unique copy, which preserves complete commentaries on 89 Psalms out of the 150 that make up the Hebrew Psalter. The text is approximately 19 lines per folio, and is written in oriental, semi-cursive, square script on paper sized at 19.50 × 11.50 cm written space. It dates from the second half of 13th

²⁶¹ Reference to follow below.

century and is occasionally punctuated.²⁶² The text is stained, mutilated and missing large sections. A number of folios are illegible and all attempts to read them were abandoned. The commentary on Psalms 5, 12, 19, 27, 42, 44, 49, 69, 74, 78, 104, 109, 119, 131, 132, and 144 is incomplete, while numbers 11, 43, 70-73, 79-103, 110-18, 133-140 and 145-150 have been lost entirely. The text has not been preserved in any order and the correct original sequence appears to be: 1r-6v: Psalm 1-5; 42r-v: Psalm 5; 7r-8v: Psalm 5-7; 49r-v: Psalm 7; 9r-12v: Psalm 7-9; 48r-v: Psalm 9; 13r-14v: Psalm 10 15r-22v: Psalm 12-19; 24r-25v: Psalm 19-20; 31r-v: Psalm 20-22; 54r-v: Psalm 22; 32r-33v: Psalm 22-25; 57r-v: Psalm 26; 34r-v Psalm 26-7; r-29v: Psalm 27-31; 35r-40v: Psalm 31-35; 41r-v: Psalm 35-36; 91r-v: Psalm 36; 43r-47v: Psalm 36-39; 50r-52v: Psalm 39-40; 71r-v: Psalm 40; 53r-v: Psalm 40-41; 56r-v: Psalm 41-42; 58r-61v: Psalm 44-48; 55r-v: Psalm 49; 62r-70v: Psalm 49-57; 74r-77v: Psalm 57-60; 72r-73v: Psalm 60; 78r-83v: Psalm 60-66; 85r-90v: Psalm 66-68; 84r-v: Psalm 66-69; 91r-v: Psalm 69; 93r-104v: Psalm 74-78; 104r-105v: Psalm 104-105; 120r-v: Psalm 105; 109r-111v: Psalm 105-107; 106r-108v: Psalm 107-109; 112r-119v: Psalm 119-132; 23r-v: Psalm 141-144.²⁶³

Currently only four Psalms from this manuscript have been published. Poznański included the text of the commentary to (and thus also below) Psalm 8 in his monograph on Ibn Chiquitilla.²⁶⁴ Finkel re-published and corrected Poznański's version of Psalm 8, along with a modern Hebrew translation and added in texts and translations of Psalm 3 and Psalm 4. Finally, Delgado and Saidi produced a version of Psalm 68 with a Spanish translation.²⁶⁵

2) Cambridge T-S Ar 21.23: Psalm 4:9-5:9, Psalm 8. The manuscript consists of two folios in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 18 × 25 cm. written space, with 15 lines. It is stained, mutilated and missing text. It is partially vocalised and was published

²⁶² For palaeographic information and dating of the manuscripts, I relied on the information collated on the portal of The Friedberg Jewish Manuscripts Society, online at <https://fjms.genizah.org/index.html?lang=eng&UIT=> (accessed on 23/2/2021), unless stated otherwise.

²⁶³ This list was taken from Martínez-Delgado's list with some minor modifications (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 252).

²⁶⁴ (Poznański 1912, 59–60).

²⁶⁵ (Finkel 1936; J. Martínez Delgado and Saidi 2007; J. Martínez Delgado 2012; Poznański 1895; 1912).

with a modern Hebrew translation.²⁶⁶ Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583 and adds missing text to Psalm 4:9 as well as Psalm 5:1-7. The overlapping text include a number of minor textual variations, as well as a slight reordering of Ibn Chiquitilla's comments to Psalm 5:7.

3) Cambridge T-S Ar. 1c3: Psalms 9:17-10:13. The manuscript consists of two folios, 20 lines each, in oriental, semi-cursive, square script, on damaged paper sized at 18.06 × 25.01 cm. written space. It was published with a modern Hebrew translation by M. Perez.²⁶⁷ Its content overlaps with Evr-Arab. I 3583.

4) JTS ENA 2464.45: Psalm 75:1-10; Psalms 77:19-78:9. This manuscript is comprised of two folios of 20 lines written in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper. The folios are blurred, faded and torn. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583. The text of manuscript no. 4 moves the position of Ibn Chiquitilla's comments to Psalm 78:1 from where it appears at the end of Psalm 77 in Evr-Arab. I 3583 to its correct position at the beginning of Psalm 78. Aside from this adjustment, the remaining variations are limited to either additions or omissions of single words or letters.

5) British Library OR 5562 D Sch. 6856 folios 53-54. The manuscript is comprised of two folios that cover Psalm 51, Psalms. 52:1-6 and Psalm. 60:2-7. The folios are 19-20 lines long, in oriental, semi-cursive square script on paper sized at 8.856 × 12.763 cm. written space. It is partially vocalised, with many pages blurred, faded, missing or stained. A full description and publication with a modern Hebrew translation was produced by Perez.²⁶⁸ Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583.

6) JTS ENA 2819.2: Psalm 3:9-4:9. The manuscripts comprises one folio, 15 lines, written in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 17.7 × 13 cm. written space. The fragment is faded, missing, torn and cut. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583, with only a few additional letters added to the text.

²⁶⁶ (Perez 1996).

²⁶⁷ (Perez 1991b).

²⁶⁸ (Perez 1991d).

7) JTS ENA 2934.29-30: Psalm 35:23 – 36; 40:9 – 41:6. This manuscript consists of one folio, 20 lines, written in oriental, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 12.9 × 17.5 cm. written space. It is blurred, faded, torn and defective. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583, with only a few additional letters added to the text.

8) Oxford heb e 99.43: Psalm 55:19 – 23; 58:5 – 10.²⁶⁹ The manuscript is written on one folio of 15 to 16 lines, in oriental, Syrian, semi-cursive script on paper sized at 12.01 × 17.8 cm. written space. Its content matches that of Evr-Arab. I 3583. There are some missing sentences, as well as one sentence that M. Perez relocated when he published the text with a Hebrew translation.²⁷⁰

9) Mosseri Moss. III, 5 (Alt C 5): Psalm 34:10. Allony identified and published this fragment of Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary.²⁷¹ The text parallels part of a section of Psalm 34:10 found in Evr-Arab. I 3583, but does not match it. However, the style and technical language of Mosseri Moss. III, 5 is not too different from Evr-Arab. I 3583.²⁷² The text may be either another version of Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary or by another author.

Based on the size, description of the manuscript, differences in the text and the scribal hand, No.1 is distinct from the other manuscripts with which it overlaps. Additionally, Nos. 2 and 6 belong to one manuscript, forming one continuous text. The remaining manuscripts are not related to either of these manuscripts or each other.

²⁶⁹ (Perez 1992b, 10).

²⁷⁰ (Perez 1992b).

²⁷¹ (Allony 1949).

²⁷² (Perez 1991b, 13, n. 10).

The following manuscripts, JTS ENA 3173, Evr-Arab. I 3676,²⁷³ 3677²⁷⁴ and 4307²⁷⁵ have been suggested by Delgado and Fenton, as part of an alternative version of Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary, rather than by either Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (d. 1291 Fustat, Egypt)²⁷⁶ or Ibn Bal'am. To this we may add Mosseri, II, 67 (Alt: 2nd Series: C 67). Currently, part of Tanḥûm's commentary to Psalms 16-29 has been published by Eppenstein, with nothing as yet published of Ibn Bal'am on Psalms. Moreover, a reference to Psalm 16:6 in Evr-Arab. I 3677 - found in the text on Psalm 132 - shares the same opinion as what is found in Ibn Chiquitilla's text in Evr-Arab. I 3583, but it does not match the language.²⁷⁷ It may belong to any of the above authors making the matter of identification uncertain until all three versions of Psalms have been examined.

Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary is organised in a similar style to other Mediaeval Biblical commentaries such as those belonging to Rashi (1040-1105) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (born 1089/1092 to died 1164-1167).²⁷⁸ Its content is primarily semantic, morphological, syntactic and exegetical and includes translations of the meaning of words. As opposed to the commentaries of other exegetes, Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary contains less philosophical digressions than Ibn Ezra's with a greater focus on grammar and rhetoric.²⁷⁹ Where Ibn Chiquitilla does shares similarities with his predecessors, it is his general content and aim. For example, Ḥayyûj's earlier commentary, *al-Nutaf* is similar in aim, although it was unknown to Ibn Chiquitilla.²⁸⁰ It focus on the continuation of grammatical and rhetorical debates that flow from his main grammatical works, *Ḥarûf*

²⁷³ Eppenstein and Bacher identified it as by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (Eppenstein 1903a; Bacher 1904). Delgado thinks it might be a second version (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 251).

²⁷⁴ Folio 5r records the vocalisation of annexed nouns, *mənāṭ* with a *Ā* (Qāmās) as indicating an ellipsis. It cites Ibn Janāḥ's work *al-Mustalḥaq* to Ps. 132:2 (*al-Mustalḥaq*, Ar. 175, Eng. 328), which shares Ibn Chiquitilla view that Ex. 15:2, Psalm 16:5 and Psalm 132:2, *infras* are elliptical.

It (*mənāṭ*) is not annexed as the L (*Lāmēd*) separates the annexation (from it). Say that its meaning is like the construction *Šənāṭ*, which is (vocalised with a) *Ā* (*Qāmās*), like *zimrāt* (Ex. 15:2)

וליס הו מצ'אף לאן אללאם תפצל אלאצ'אפה וקיל אנה
מעני עלי בניה שנתי וד'לך הו קמץ ומת'לה עזי וזמרת יה
(שמות טו:ב).

Evr.-Arab. I 3677, 5r.

²⁷⁵ (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 251).

²⁷⁶ (Dascalu 2016).

²⁷⁷ (Eppenstein 1903a).

²⁷⁸ (Josephina 2010).

²⁷⁹ Compare Ibn Ezra and Ibn Chiquitilla's solution to Ps. 8:3, *infra*.

²⁸⁰ (Basal 2001, 77, 79; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 254).

al-Lîn and Kitâb Dawât al-Miṭlayn.²⁸¹ In the case of Ibn Chiquitilla, we may add to this, a general aim to explain the grammar and rhetoric of the text and the intervening contributions by Jonah Ibn Janâḥ and Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla to the study of grammar, with a tendency on the part of Ibn Chiquitilla to favour Ḥayyûj's opinion over the other two.²⁸²

Ibn Chiquitilla's Birth and Dates

Almost nothing is known about the life of Moses ben Samuel Ha-Kohen Ibn Chiquitilla. The only source in which he writes about himself is his Hebrew translation of the grammatical treatise *Kitâb al-Lîn*, by Judah Ḥayyûj (approx. 945-1000).²⁸³ In it he says he is Cordoban.

Then the Lord stirred up the spirit of a man of understanding, a desirable young man,	אז העיר ה' את רוח איש תבונה בחור חמד בתורת ה' חפצו.
delighting in the law of the Lord, (blessed of the Lord be his land!), R. Isaac ha-Na'im son of R. Salomon ha-Nasi, (the blessing of the Lord be upon them, may they both be remembered for	מבורכת ה' ארצו. ר' יצחק הנעים ברבי שלמה הנשיא. ברכת ה' עליהם. ולטוב יזכו שניהם. ... ובקש ר' יצחק זה זכור לטוב ממני אני משה הכהן ברבי שמואל הכהן נ"ע דמדינת קרטבה שאתרגם לו הספר הזה בלשון עברית וכן עשיתי:

²⁸¹ [I have already mentioned the other features of their language in chapters of the composition *Ḥarûf al-Lîn and Kitâb Dawât al-Miṭlayn*], (*al-Nutaf*, 78-79). For more examples, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 256, n. 23).

²⁸² For the growth of an intellectual rivalry between Saragossa and Granada in the generation of Ibn Naḡrîla, see (Vardi 2016). On Ibn Naḡrîla's contribution to grammatical debates (Poznański 1909, 253–67; Del Valle Rodríguez 2009, 195–200).

²⁸³ (Nutt and Hayyuj 1870, 2–3). On Ḥayyûj's life and biography, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010c) and for evidence he was student of Menahem Ibn Sarûq, see (Gaash 2019, 299, n. 21). The translation itself has yet to receive a critical edition since the one produced by Nutt, which was based upon a 13th century manuscript. This version is problematic, as it shows signs of stylistic modifications common to post-12th century translations. According, Gottstein's theory for dating Hebrew translation, those that were composed after the 12th century use the ambiguous demonstrative pronoun, sometimes in correct agreement with classical Arabic and sometimes not, (Gottstein 1951). Confirmation of the post-12th century date for Nutt's edition was provided by Delgado, upon his finding a fragment of an older version of Ibn Chiquitilla's translation, see (Martínez Delgado 2002, 130). A further difficulty with Nutt's edition is that he did not have access to the original Arabic, first published by Jastrow (Jastrow 1897). A critical edition of the Arabic was published by Wated (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 129; Sivan and Wated 2011) and a Spanish translation was produced by J. M. Delgado (Ḥayyuj and Delgado 2004).

good!), ... And R. Isaac (may he be remembered for good!), requested me, Moses ha-Kohen the son of R. Samuel ha-Kohen (Paradise be his rest!), of the city of Cordova, to translate for him this book into Hebrew, and this accordingly have I done.²⁸⁴

Aside from this statement Moses Ibn Ezra's (died after 1138) *al-Muḥâḍara*, adds that Ibn Chiquitilla moved from Cordoba to Saragossa: משה בן ג'קטלה אלקרטבי ת'ם אלסרקסטי [*Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, the Cordoban, thereafter Saragossan*].²⁸⁵ We may add to this that Ibn Chiquitilla's younger contemporary, Judah Ibn Bal'am (c. second half of the 11th century) appears nowhere in Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Psalms, but does claims in his commentary on Jos. 10:2 to have either met or corresponded with Ibn Chiquitilla.²⁸⁶ This would date the end of Ibn Chiquitilla's life prior to the end of the 11th century.²⁸⁷

Support for Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Bal'am meeting is found in the following apocryphal story, recorded by a 13th century Damascene Qara'ite scholar in his list of Biblical Hebrew masters. It supports the claim for personal animus between Ibn Bal'am and Ibn Chiquitilla, but the source is not without elements of inaccuracy and fantasy.²⁸⁸

<p>Ibn Bal'am was a student of Ibn Janâḥ, one of the great scholars of language and law. He refuted Ibn Chiquitilla in a number of places. He</p>	<p>בן בלעם תלמיד בן גנאח מן אלעלמא אלכבאר פי אללגה ואלפקה ורד עלי גקטלה פי עדה אמאכן ולה [לפט] אלמקרא ואלתגגנס וחרוף אלמעאני ודכר פי כתאבה אנה</p>
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²⁸⁴ (Nutt and Hayyuj 1870, Heb. 2-3; Eng. 2-3).

²⁸⁵ (A. S. Halkin 1975, 68; M. ben Y. Ibn Ezra and Abumalham Mas 1985, 63). Hereafter, *Muḥâḍara*. For Moses Ibn Ezra's biography, see (Brann 2010).

²⁸⁶ (Ibn Bal'am and Poznański 2013, 17). Ibn Bal'am was alive in 1085, having left his native Seville for Toledo, (J. Martínez Delgado 2010d). On the pronunciation of his name, as either Bil'am, Bal'am or Bal'âm, see (Allony 1979a, 35-52; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, n. 4).

²⁸⁷ An inventory of works preceding and succeeding Ibn Chiquitilla has been provided in Appendix A. Included are those works with either direct or indirect evidence for its use by Ibn Chiquitilla. Others sources indicate that Ibn Chiquitilla probably saw them, but did not cite them. Of those sources following Ibn Chiquitilla, the list includes those in which he was directly known and indirectly know. These are arranged chronologically and geographically.

²⁸⁸ See (Ibn Bal'am and Perez 1970, 3, n. 25).

wrote a commentary on, *al-Tajñîs, al-Ḥarûf al-Ma'ânî*,²⁸⁹ and mentions in his books that he composed other books which I have not found among anyone in Damascus. Ibn Chiquitilla was one of the greatest sages of jurisprudence and philology, commented on the twenty-four books (of the Bible), was a philosopher and refuted Ibn Bal'am; it is said that he was a leader (of community prayer) and that Ibn Bal'am was (first) precentor who took precedence over him; he was also a very good chess player.²⁹⁰ One afternoon, he arrived late to public prayer because he was busy with a particular chess match, forcing Ibn Bal'am to be responsible for conducting the prayer. He arrived, found Ibn Bal'am praying and said to him, "*the Lord, your God, does not want to listen to Bil'am*" (Deut. 23:69), and he proceeded to take command. Later, Ibn Bal'am perfected himself led the prayer and surpassed his performance; he looked for Ibn Chiquitilla's mistakes and did not miss any of them or let him escape them, even at times branding him a heretic and at other times as tedious, saying *he dived for [a pearl], and brought up a pebble*; other times he criticised him for his mistakes.²⁹¹

צנף כתבא לם אגדהא ענד אחד בדמשק בן גקטלה וכאן
 עאלמא כבירא פי אלפקה וללגה ופסר אלד' וכ' ספר וכאן
 פילסוף ורד עלי בן בלעם אלדי כאן עלי מא יקאל אנה רייס
 וכאן בן בלעם חזאנא קדאמה וכאן מג' [י]ד בלע' (מ) [ב] (פי)
 אלשטרנג פתאכר עשיה יום ען אלצלאה באלגמע שגלא בה
 פצלה בן בלעם פנזל ליצלי פוגד בן בלעם ביצלי פקאל ואל
 אבה יוי אלהיך לשמוע אל בלעם פסמעה תם אשתגל בלעם
 וברזו בה ותעקב(ה) בן גקטלה ומא אבקי (מא) ומא תרך
 שיא פי חקה אלא תארה יסבה אלי אלזנאדקה ותארה אלי
 אלתכלף ויקול גאץ פאטלע חגרה ותארה יסבה (אלא
 אללט) אלגלט²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Both published by Abramson, (Abramson 1975).

²⁹⁰ On the role of chess in all classes of Castilian culture in 10th century, see (Constable 2007, 302–3). Apocryphal sources describe Abraham Ibn Ezra as a chess-player. One example includes a poem attributed to him spuriously, see (Hoellandreski 1864, 7–9; Waermischa 1725, 5–6). The text can also be found here with a Latin and English translation, <https://opensiddur.org/prayers/lunisolar/commemorative-days/nittel-nacht/haruzim-on-how-to-play-chess-by-avraham-ibn-ezra/> It is based on the edition produced by the Ben-Yehuda Project.

²⁹¹ Modified from a translation by Delgado, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246–47).

²⁹² (Yahalom 2006, 39).

The above story is not without inaccuracy. The most dubious claim, the suggestion Ibn Bal‘am was a student of Ibn Janâḥ is impossible as Ibn Bal‘am was alive almost a century after Ibn Janâḥ’s birth.²⁹³ Alternatively, the source may mean that Ibn Bal‘am favoured Ibn Janâḥ’s opinions, whilst Ibn Chiquitilla favoured Ḥayyûj.²⁹⁴ Additionally, the 13th century Damascene Qara’ite’s description of Ibn Chiquitilla includes substantiated and unsubstantiated claims. No record of Ibn Chiquitilla being either a judge or philosopher is recorded in earlier sources, and Moses Ibn Ezra and Abraham Ibn Ezra only describe him as a grammarian, commentator and poet. This suggests they are embellishments by the author to further puncture Ibn Chiquitilla’s ego. However, the claim that Ibn Chiquitilla wrote commentaries on all twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible maybe accurate.

Taking the lack of Ibn Bal‘am’s Biblical commentaries in Ibn Chiquitilla’s extant writings as our starting point, we can perhaps pin his birth prior to 1013, based on external evidence and internal evidence found in his Psalm commentary. The external evidence for an earlier date is the historical event of his time following the political collapse of the Cordoban Caliphate after *al-fitān al-kubrâ* (July 1013),²⁹⁵ and the beginning of the period known as the party kings [*tâ’ifa*]. This matches with patterns of emigration to Saragossa by many other Jews and non-Jews and what was already recorded in *al-Muḥâḍara*.²⁹⁶

Another source of evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla’s dates derive from the internal evidence provided by his Psalm commentary. Ibn Chiquitilla was probably middle-aged by the time he wrote his commentary on Psalms. He had already written his one grammatical work, *Kitâb al-Taḍkîr wal-Ta’nîṭ* [*The Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*].

²⁹³ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010g).

²⁹⁴ Some evidence for this is born out from the discussion found in Ps. 40:3, Evr.-Arab. 3583 I, 52v, 71r.

²⁹⁵ The city was besieged by the Berber troops of prince Sulaymân b. al-Ḥakam, in July 1013, see (Lévi-Provençal 1950, vol. 2, vol. II, 281 nn. 4; 293; III, 138).

²⁹⁶ According to Ṣā‘id Ibn ‘Aḥmad al-Andalusî there were a large number of emigres in that period from Cordoba to Saragossa, see (Ibn Ṣā‘id al-Ḳurṭubî and Cheikho 1912, 89). Ibn Janâḥ was among these and wrote all of his major and minor works on grammar and possibly his treatise on pharmacology in Saragossa (Fenton 2016, 108; J. Martínez Delgado 2020, 12). An inventory of his works appears in Appendix A.

in the Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns פי כתאב אלתד'כיר ואלתאנ'ת' מע ד'כרנא איצ'א קול גירנא פיה
along with the mention of another's opinion ורדנא עליה.
about it, and our reply to it.

Another reference found to *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* is his gloss on Psalm 119:176. He writes that:

“A lost sheep (*ŠēH*)” (Psalms 119:176). Meaning **כשה אובד** (תהלים קיט:קעו) יעני אלשארד מן אלקטיעה ולא
one who strays from the flock, and cannot find a יהתדי אלי אלעודה אליהא ויכון מונת'א ומד'כרא. וקד ביינא
way back to it. It is masculine and feminine. I חקיקה ד'לך פי כתאב אלתד'כיר ואלת'אניה.
have already explained its proper form in the
book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns.

The text to which he refers is preserved in manuscript and was published by Maman and Ben-Porat. It states:

bəŠēH (Psalms 119:175) is also masculine and וקד אראד בשה איצ'א אלד'כר ואלאנת'²⁹⁷
feminine.

Another reference implied by Ibn Chiquitilla's remarks on Psalm 3:3 parallels a fragment of *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* published by Maman and Ben-Porat. He writes that:

And “*deliverance* (*yəŠû 'āṭāH*)” (Psalms 3:3). An **וישועתה** (תהלים ג:ג) מזיד אלהא בעד חצול מעני אלת'אנית פי
additional H (*Hē*) following what has already אלתא קבלהא וצאר פי מוצ'ע הא ישועה. וזידת אלתא עליה כמא

²⁹⁷ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 295, Heb. 303 n. 91).

been marked feminine by a T (*Tāw*) preceding it. It is in place of the H (*Hē*) *yəšû'â*. The additional T (*Tāw*) is like the addition (one) in *niP̄Laṭâ* (2 Sam. 1:26), *GiB'āṭâH* (Judges 20:31) and *Hā-RāMāṭâH* (1 Sam. 1:19). Just as a H (*Hē*) is added to masculine nouns *BeṭâH*, *LayLâH* and “*haḤaḌRâH*” (Gen. 43:30).”

זיד פי נפלאה אהבתך (שמואל ב א:כו). ואחת²⁹⁸ גבעתה (שופטים כ:לא) הרמתה (שמואל א א:יט) כמה זידת פי אלמד'כר פי ביתה ולילה ויבא החדרה (בראשית מג:ל).

The text to which he refers is preserved in manuscript and was published by Maman and Ben-Porat. It states:

Afterwards, they add a H (*Hē*), they say *niP̄LaṭâH* (2 Sam. 1:26), *yəšû'āṭâH* (Jon. 2:10), *bašārāṭâH* (Ps. 120:1) and *hēḥbā'atâH* (Josh. 6:17).

ת'ם זאדוא אלהא פקאלוא נפלאה אהבתך לי וכד'לך ישועתה ליוי' בצרתה לי כי החבאתה²⁹⁹

A further example connecting Ibn Chiquitilla Psalm commentary to *Kitāb al-Taḏkīr wal-Ta'nīṭ* is his comments on the root Š-Ḥ-T in Psalm 107:20. He writes:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 106v-107r

“*Their pits*” (Ps. 107:20). [Perhaps it is] from [...] their destruction. It's singular from is *ŠəḤīṭ* or *ŠəḤīṭâ* from the form *Pe'al* or *Pə'ilah*. It is possible it is from the root [aṣl] Š-Ḥ-T; “*He who digs a pit (ŠaḤAT)*” (Prov. 26:27). Or from *ŠəḤīṭ* following the pattern *KeRîṭ*, and “*and go into hiding by the Wadi Cherith (KeRîṭ)*” (1 Kings 7:3) from “*dug a pit for me*” (Psalms 57:7),

ומשחיתותם (תהלים קז:כ) יג' [וז אן יכון] מן [...] [107 א] מן אפסאדהם ויכון ואחדה שחית או שחיתה פעל או פעילה ויג' אן יכון מן אצל שחת כורה שחת (משלי כו:כז) פיכון שחית פעלית על זון כרית³⁰⁰ ונחל כרית (מלכים א יז:ג) מן כרו לפני (תהלים נז:ז) כי יכרה איש (שמות כא:לג) וג' מעה שחיתות וזנה פעילות.

²⁹⁸ Manuscript אחת.

²⁹⁹ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 292, Heb. 299 n. 80).

³⁰⁰ Mss ברית.

“digs a pit” (Ex. 21:33). Its plural is *ŠəḤîTôT* and its morphological pattern is *Pe ‘îLTôṭ*.

In *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta’rîṭ* he states that:

LaŠaḤAT (Prov. 26:27) is the feminine of “will fall in it” (*Ibid.*). Perhaps, “and never see the grave? (*ŠāḤAT*)” (Psalms 49:10). Also, *LaŠaḤAT* (Job 7:17). Their T (*Tāw*) is part of the root. It is from *niŠḤAT* (Jer. 13:7).

שחת ללִתְאִנִּית' בֶּה יפול ואמא לא יראה השחת וכד' [לך לשחת]
קראתי אבי אתה פתאמהא אצליה לאנה מן נשחת לא אשחית³⁰¹

Other proof for the late composition of Psalms are references to early commentaries in his Psalm commentary. On Exodus he writes:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 35v

“The breast piece shall be held in place” (Ex. 28:28), based upon our explanation of it in our other excursus. We explained it is not a weave, as he (Ibn Janāḥ) explained it. We will repeat it here for the benefit of one who perhaps has not realised it is a plural.

ומן הד'א וירכסו את החשן (שמות כח:כח) ועלי מא פסרנאה פי
בעי' כ'טבנא ובינא אנה ליס חבכא כמא פסר פיה ונחן נעידה
הנא למן רבמא לם יקע אליה ד'לך אלמג'מוע.

Isaiah:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 45v

I have already explained it in my commentary on Isaiah (Is. 1:6).

קד ביינאה עליה פי שרחנא ספר ישעיה

³⁰¹ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 291, Heb. 298).

Jeremiah:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44v

As we explained it identically in, “*for God’s purpose is fulfilled against (qāmâ) Babylon*” (Jer. 51:29) and others. מא ביינא מת'לה פי כי קמה על בבל מחשבות ייי (ירמיה נא:כט) ואצחאבה.

The Twelve Minor Prophets:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 37v

As I explained in, “*the primaeval hills sink low. His are the ancient routes*” (Hab. 3:6) and in other places. ועלי מא ביינא פי קו' שחו גבעות עולם הליכת עולם לו (חבקוק ג:ו) וגירה.

An Arabic translation of Job twice:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 41r

We have already said in our translation of the (Book of) Job וכנא קד קלנא פי כתאב [ש]רחנא איוב

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44r

I have mentioned this in my commentary on Job וקד ד'כרנא ד'לך פי שרח איוב.

Three other references indicate that he may have already written commentaries to Leviticus and Kings:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 38v

The meaning (*i.e.*, 2 Kings 23:22, Lev. 7:9) for we explained them ‘*toil*’ and ‘*be formed*,’ as in made and be made. אלמעני לאנא נפסרהמא עמל ומעמולה אי צנע ומצנועה.

Joshua:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 118r-v.

I have already made this point, notwithstanding what I have entered into about “*side of the House*” (Ez. 10:3) and “*north of the torrent*” (Jos. 17:9)

ואמא קלנא הד'א אלקול פיה מן מא קלנא מן דון אקחאמהא פי מימין לבית (יחזקאל י:ג) מצפון לנחל (יהושע יז:ט)

However, this could be an internal reference to elsewhere in his Psalm commentary, as he repeats his example from Ez. 10:3 in his glosses on Psalms 58:5; 61:1 and 132:4, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 75r, 78v, 119v. Elsewhere, he alludes to asyndetic sentences in his gloss on Psalm 2:7. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 3r.

It omits *'ašer* with *'el* exactly like the phrase, “*is for them whose ('el) heart is set upon their detestable things and their abominations*” (Ezra 11:21) and (equivalent to) “*is for them whose ('ašer 'el) heart is set upon their detestable things and their abominations,*” as I have demonstrated over there. (*i.e.*, an asyndetic sentence). The omission of *'ašer* from sentences is common, “*all whose spirit had been roused by God*” (Ezra 1:5), “*You mighty acts, to all who are to come*” (Ps. 71:18).

וחדף אשר מע אֵל (תהלים ב:ז) מת'ל קולה ואל לב שקוציהם ותועבותיהם לבם הולך (יחזקאל יא:כא) ואשר אֵל לב שקוציהם ותועבותיהם עלי מא דל עליה מוצ'עה. ואמא חדף אשר מן אלכלאם פכת'יר לכל העיר האלהים (עזרא א:ה) לכל יבא גבורותיך (תהלים עא:יח).

On Proverbs:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 50r.

Now let us recall what we opined about it, “*The heart of the righteous man rehearsed his answer;*” (Prov. 16:28).

וקד ג'רי אן נד'כר מא ענדנא פי ק' לב צדיק יהגה לענות (משלי טו:כח)

These final three references are probably internal references to other sections of his Psalm commentary that are missing, but from Judah Ibn Bal'am's remarks (see below) he probably wrote one on Joshua too.

Of those non-Jewish authors cited by Ibn Chiquitilla no relevant information on his dates can be gleaned from them as they all lived long before his birth. They are a Christian interpretation, which Delgado identified as that of Jerome (c. 342–347-420);³⁰² the Christian translator, Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qûṭī (approx. 889/90 or 989)³⁰³ and pre-Islamic Arab poets.³⁰⁴ Also, classical Rabbinic sources (though many go uncited)³⁰⁵ and Aramaic Targûms (but not the Aramaic to the book of Psalms, which had yet to reach Iberia) are of no help in dating him.³⁰⁶ Delgado suggests he supplemented his work with glossaries from Iberia, but we could not find any explicit references.³⁰⁷ Other commentators on the Book of Psalms were available to Ibn Chiquitilla aside from Se'adyah's *tafsîr*, which is cited on Psalm 10:2.³⁰⁸ Salmon ben Jeruḥam (10th)³⁰⁹ and the late 10th-11th century Baṣran Qara'ites Jepheth b. Eli had already written commentaries on Psalms.³¹⁰ However, our comparison with these Qara'ite authors yielded no result and from our analysis of Ibn

³⁰² וראיתו ענד אלנצארי [I have seen that the Christian interprets], Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 10v. (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 262).

³⁰³ וגדת הד'א אלפסוק פי שרה חפץ' בן אלבר אלקושי [I found this verse in the translation of Ḥafṣ bin Albar al-Qûṭī.], Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 68v matching (Urvoy 1994, IV–V). Ibn Chiquitilla quotes him to Ps. 55:22, *infra*. (Urvoy 1994, 93). For an analysis of the textual history and structure of his translation and revision's to Urvoy's edition, see (Van Koningsveld 2017, 401–4).

³⁰⁴ A list of verses will appear in a separate article.

³⁰⁵ See sections on the hermeneutical differences between Iberian Exegesis and Rabbinic Exegesis in chapter 3 and 5, *supra*.

³⁰⁶ קאל יונתן בן עוזיאל ענד שרחה [Jonathan ben 'Uzzi'el states in his translation], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 15r.

³⁰⁷ On the use of the book 'Ôklâ wâ- 'Ôklâ, see Delgado's discussion. However, we could find no direct link between what survives of this text and Ibn Chiquitilla, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2009a, 158–96; 2012, 255, n. 21; 2019b, 192).

³⁰⁸

The Fayûmî said that the phrase “*In the schemes they (the wicked) devise*” (Ps. 10:2) means [ya 'nî] that יתפשו העניים במזמות זו חשבו הרשעים קאל אלפיומי אן ק' במזמות זו חשבו (תהלים י:ב) אנה יעני 'the poor are caught in the schemes which the wicked devise.'

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 13r. An edition of this commentary was published by Qafih, (Qafih 1966, 67).

³⁰⁹ An edition of chapters 42-72 has been published, see (Marwick 1956).

³¹⁰ (Bargès J. J. L. 1861). For his life and works, see (Gil 1992, 68, 790, n. 90; Poznański 1906, 20–30; Nemoy 1952, 83–84; Stroumsa 1995, 204–7).

Chiquitilla's approach to *'idâfa* [annexation], it seems he was unfamiliar with their writings.³¹¹

Our best internal evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's date of birth are those Jewish sources he cites. Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq (c. 910/20-970)³¹² and Dunash Ibn Labraṭ (b. 920-5 d. 985)³¹³ lived far too early for him to have interacted with them. Se'adyah (882-942),³¹⁴ Judah Ḥayyûj (approx. 945-1000),³¹⁵ Jonah Ibn Janâḥ (b. 985/990)³¹⁶ are mentioned by their Arabic honorifics, as *al-Fayûmî* [from Fayûm],³¹⁷ 'Abû Zakarîya' and 'Abû Walîd respectively,³¹⁸ although the latter two are also referred to by their works, *al-Lîn* and *al-Mustalḥaq*. The first two were dead by 1000, whilst Ibn Janâḥ though alive during Ibn Chiquitilla's life-time was from the previous generation. Considering Ibn Bal'am was alive around 1085, and claims to have either met or corresponded with Ibn Chiquitilla, we can comfortably assume that Ibn Chiquitilla was born sometime after 1000 making him a much younger contemporary of Ibn Janâḥ.

Other authors are referred to either by their work or through allusions are more helpful to dating Ibn Chiquitilla. Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla (b. 993 died after 1056)³¹⁹ is cited through his lost work *Rasâ'il al-Rifâq* [The Epistle of the Companions],³²⁰ which was written against

³¹¹ Ibn Chiquitilla does not appear to have known the writings of any of the Qara'ites authors, including the 10th century writer Salmon ben Jeruḥam. Despite an initial attempt to look for commonality between the approach of Ibn Chiquitilla and those of Salmon ben Jeruḥam and Jepheth b. Eli to the subject of prayer and biblical authorship, I could find nothing. For Salmon ben Jeruḥam's life and works, see (Gil 1992, 787–90, n. 7; Poznański 1906, 18–20; Nemoy 1952, 69–71). For a summary and discussion of Qara'ite Bible translations, see (Polliack 1996; 1997; 2006). On biblical authorship, (Zawanowska 2014, 7–37)

³¹² (J. Martínez Delgado 2010h).

³¹³ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010a).

³¹⁴ (Ben-Shammai 2010).

³¹⁵ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010c).

³¹⁶ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010g).

³¹⁷ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 13r.

³¹⁸ Ibn Chiquitilla calls Ibn Janâḥ *צאחב אלמסתלחק* [the author *al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 57r-v אבו אלוליד [*'Abû Walîd author of Kitâb al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 106r. He may mean to belittle Ibn Janâḥ's *magnum opus Kitâb al-Tanqîḥ*.

³¹⁹ (Alfonso 2010c).

³²⁰ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 57r. A reference to *אלמפסר* [the author] may refer to Ibn Naḡrîla, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82r. On the identify of this source, see (Poznański 1912). Also, a rejection of Ibn Naḡrîla's opinion is anonymously mentioned in by Ibn Chiquitilla in his comments on Ps. 60:2

A scholar opined that “when he fought with Aram-Naharaim” means “when men fight each other” (Ex. 21:2), and is an expression for war. He supports this

וקאל בעץ קום פי בהצותו את ארם נהרים (תהלים ס:ב) אנה מן מעני כי ינצו אנשים (שמות כא:כב) והו עבארה ען אלהרב ואייד ד'לך במא קאלה וירב בנחל (שמואל א טו:ה) מצ'אדא

Ibn Janâḥ. Further evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's activity in the mid-11th century can be drawn from his poetry in Hebrew and Arabic.³²¹ Included in this collection of poems is a dedication to either Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla or his son Jehoseph (1035-1066).³²²

Another source which reaffirms Ibn Chiquitilla's life-time as overlapping with scholars from the early to mid-11th century is a reference to Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1020/21-1052/57/58/1070),³²³ as *ba 'ḍa 'ahl al-piyyûṭ [one of the poets]*.³²⁴ He is criticised for defining *šinān* as “angels” in his poem *Šin 'ānîm (angels)*.³²⁵

Evr.-Arab., 3583 I 87v

with “and lay in wait in the wadi” (1 Sam. 15:5). This is contrary to the opinion which derived it from the root 'R-B with a weak first radical ' [ʿālēp]; meaning ‘ambush.’ This is a weak explanation for two reasons.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583 71r. The explanation is attributed to *Rasā'il al-Rifāq* by Judah Ibn Bal'am in his commentary on 1 Sam. 16:5, see (Poznański 1909, 263–64). Another source, which indicates familiarity with Ibn Naḡrîla's *Rasā'il al-Rifāq* is found in a discussion of the transitivity of the *nīp'al* form *niLḥam* (fight) in Ps. 56:3, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 69v. He says that:

If the word *milḥamâ* (war) is written with a (following particle) B (*Beṭ*), 'al or 'im, then the war is against those who are joined (to it); “and attack it” (Josh. 10:31, 2 Sam. 12:29, 1 Kings 20:1), “to attack it” (Deut. 20:10) and “fought the (*eṭ*) Ephraimites” (Judg. 12:4). An explanation for 'eṭ in place of 'im is like “God, strive with ('im) my adversaries,” (Ps. 35:1). It (*milḥamâ*) may be transitive without an intermediary as we find in the *Nīp'al* form; I mean, “they attack me without cause” (Ps. 109:3), wherein 'eṭ has two objects, but is connect the word *milḥamâ* with a L (*Lāmēḍ*). Consequently, the war, when joined with, is prosecuted against Him as it states “will battle for you” (Ex. 14:14), “fighting for them” (Ex. 14:25) and “for many are my adversaries, O Exalted One.” (Ps. 56:3).

A parallel discussion of particles and transitivity is found in Ibn Bal'am's commentary on Micah 2:4, in which he cites Ibn Naḡrîla's comments from *Rasā'il al-Rifāq*, (Ibn Djanah and Derenbourg 1880, XXXIX).

³²¹ (Poznański 1924b).

³²² (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246; Schirmann and Fleischer 1997, 350–54; H. Brody 1937). For a description of Jehoseph Ibn Naḡrîla's life, see (Alfonso 2010b)

³²³ (Cano 2010).

³²⁴ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 88v.

³²⁵ The poem was published with an explanation of its historical background by Raphael Loewe, see (Loewe 1988, 114–33).

למן ג'עלה מן ארב לין אלפא פי מעני אלכמון והו קול צ'ע'ף מן וג'הין

לאן לגה מלחמה אד'א קארנהא אלבא או על או עם פאלחרב ואקע עלי מן יתצל בה אחדהא וילחם בה (יהושע י:לא, שמואל ב יב:כט, מלכים א כ:א) להלחם עליה (דברים כ:י דברים כ:יט) וילחם את אפרים (שפטים יב:ד) ותבין את מכאן עם מת'ל לחם את לחמו (תהלים לה:א) ע'פ ועלי אנה יג'ו פי הד'א תעדיה בלא וסיט כמא וג'דנא בנא אלנפעאל מנה אעני וילחמוני חנם (תהלים קט:ג) פתכן את הנא עלי אלמעפולין ואד'א אנצ'אף אלי ל[ג]ה מלחמה אללאם פאלחרב עמן תתצל בה ואקע עלי צ'דה כק' ייי ילחם לכם (שמות יד:יד) נלחם להם (שמות יד:כה) כי רבים לחמים לי מרום (תהלים נו:ג)

“Thousands upon thousands (*ŠiNāN*)” (Psalms 68:18) ... A poet erred (*ḡalaṭ*) and thought *šinān* the proper name for angels, but the angels are “*God’s chariots*.”

ושנאן (תהלים סח:יח) ... וקד גלט בעץ' אהל אלפיוט
פג'על שנאן מן אסמא אלמלאיכה ואנמא אלמלאיכה רכב
אלהים (תהלים סח:יח).

Ibn Chiquitilla’s inclusion of a critical citation by Solomon Ibn Gabirol offers support for dating Ibn Chiquitilla’s birth to first half of the 11th century. Ibn Gabirol was born in Malaga after his parents fled Cordoba. As with so many other Jewish and non-Jewish émigrés, he eventually arrived in Saragossa following *al-ḡitan al-kubrâ*. The parallels between Ibn Chiquitilla the lives of Ibn Gabirol’s and so many other scholars forced to emigrate after 1013 make a plausible case for his inclusion among them.³²⁶

Elsewhere, in a gloss on Psalm 38:6, Ibn Chiquitilla criticises an anonymous opinion by calling him *ṣarḥ al-mufasssir* [*the exegete’s translation*]. The reference accompanies an interpretation of the metaphor of the dead flies on Eccl. 10:1, which Ibn Chiquitilla rejects.³²⁷ He writes in that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 45v.

He is not wise in spite of what he was prompted to acquire, wisdom, and to excel at obtaining it. He (*al-mufasssir*) said; if he possesses excellent qualities, he will not be perfect without blemish and nor will much praise free him from censure. However, this is not so simple for him, as it is about righteousness [*faḍl*] and it (righteousness) despises it (foolishness), because neither does his righteousness mix with his impurity. Nor

והו דון אלחכים מע מא חת' עלי תכסב אלחכמה ופצ'ל
חאמלהא. קאל ואנה ואן כאן ד'ו אלפצ'איל לא יסלם מן
נקץ' ורב אלמחאמד לא יכלו מן ד'ם.

פאן ד'לך לא ינבגי אן יהון ענדה בהמא הו עליה מן אלפצ'ל
ולא יזהדה פיה לאן פצ'לה לא יכ'תלט בנקצה וחסנה לא
ימתזג' בעיבה כמה ימתזג' אלד'באב אלמ[ית] באלדהן
אלד'כי פיעוד כלה נתנא' אסנא' פיקול לד'לך ממת'לא

³²⁶ (Loewe 1988, 120). According to Moses Ibn Ezra, Solomon Ibn Gabirol lived in Saragossa (*Muḥāḍara* 68 = 63). According to Šā'id Ibn 'Aḥmad al-Andalusī (1029-70) he was a citizen of Saragossa, and part of large number of emigres in that period, see (Ibn Šā'id al-Ḥurṭubī and Cheikho 1912, 89). For an English translation, see (Finkel 1927b, 53), and for further information on Ibn Gabirol's life, see (Finkel 1927b, 46; Loewe 1989, 17–18; Fenton 2016, 106–44; Vardi 2016, 437–67; J. Martínez Delgado 2020, 12).

³²⁷ [Yet, we see for this verse an error in the explanation of *al-mufasssir*. We will explain its intention [*ḡaraḍ*] here.], Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 46r.

does his goodness mix with his evil - like dead flies mixed in with fragrant oil turns it is malodorous and putrid. This is the parable [*mummaṭṭīlan*] of the dead flies, which make the noble perfumers' oil malodorous. He indicates how great (the affect) of a small transgression is upon wisdom than a touch sobriety for the foolish.

אלד'באב אלמית ינתן בהא דהן אלעטאר אלג'ליל אד' נס" עליה אכת'ר ממא יסקט מן אלחכמה ואלוקאר אלג'הל אלקליל.

His criticism is directed at an interpretation of the metaphor of the dead flies found in Ibn Janāḥ (b. 985/990),³²⁸ and Isaac Ibn Ġiyyāt (b. Lucena 1038- d. Cordoba 1089).³²⁹ Ibn Janāḥ writes in *'Uṣūl* that:

Yabī'a is also a metaphor [*'isti'āra*] here, to spread the smell in the wind. "*Dead flies turn the perfumer's ointment fetid and malodorous.*" (Eccl. 10:1). It states, flies which fall into the perfumer's precious ointment destroy the smell, and is malodorous, as in his speaking and uttering over it destroys it ... Regarding the phrase "*Dead flies turn the precious perfumer's ointment fetid and malodorous.*": it is analogous [*maṭal*] to the verbs of "*A single sinner destroys much good*" (Eccl. 9:18). It compares [*ṣabiha*] the loss of the righteous to the loss caused by the fly in the precious ointment of this perfumer's oil. A little loss for the foolish is greater than for the honoured sage.

יביע הנא אסתעארה איצ'א למא נס אלראיחה עלי ד'י אלראיחה. זבובי מות יבאיש יביע שמן רוקח (קהלת י:א). יקול אן אלד'באב אלד'י יסקט פי דהן אלעטאר אלנפס אלג'ליל יפסאדה ראיחה וינתנהא פכאנהא תנטק ותנאדי עליה בפסאדה ... וקולה זבובי מות יבאיש יביע שמן ורוקח יקר אנמא הו מת'ל צ'רבה עלי קולה וחוטא אחד יאבד טובה הרבה (קהלת ט:יח). שבה אפסאדה ללכ'יראת באפסאד אלד'באב אלסאקט פי אלדהן אלטיב אלד'כי אלראיחה ד'לך אלדהן ובאפסאד קליל מן אלג'הל כת'ירא מן חאל ד'י אלחכמה ואלג'ליל.³³⁰

³²⁸ (J. Martínez Delgado 2010g).

³²⁹ (Alfonso 2010a).

³³⁰ (*'Uṣūl* 403, 20-31 = *HaŠōrāšīm*, 282). Also Is. 64:1. *Ibid.* 100, 4-7 = *Ibid.*

Ibn Ġiyyât adopts this explanation in his commentary, *al-Zuhd*. He writes that:

Comme la mouche morte infecte fait fermenter	וכמא אן אלד'באב אלמית ינתן וינפט' דהאן אלעטאר,
l'huile de parfumeur, un peu de sottise corrompt	וכד'לך יפסד אלג'ליל כל אלחכמה ואלוקאר אלסכ'ף
beaucoup de sagesse et de dignité	אלקליל. ³³¹

Ibn Chiquitilla's presents the opinion anonymously, *ṣarḥ al-mufasssir* [*the exegete's translation*] and so it may refer to Ibn Janâḥ's remarks.³³² However, Ibn Chiquitilla does not usually use *al-mufasssir* to describe Ibn Janâḥ, preferring to cite him either by his work *al-Mustalḥaq*, his name 'Abû Walîd, or without attribution.³³³ If so, then *al-mufasssir* does not refer to Ibn Janâḥ, but Ibn Ġiyyât's translation and commentary on Ecclesiastes.³³⁴ Since Ibn Ġiyyât was born in 1038, assuming he did not compose his translation and commentary before he was 20, then the terminus a quo for his commentary on Ecclesiastes could not be much before 1060, if not later. This would then place Ibn Chiquitilla towards the middle to end of the 11th century. However, considering that Ibn Chiquitilla self-references commentaries on other books of the Bible in his Psalms commentary,³³⁵ it stands to reason that he must have been older by the time he wrote his Psalm commentary, pushing his date of birth back towards the start of the 11th century. In all probability, the description of the *mufasssir*'s achievements refers to the extensive writings of Ibn Janâḥ, whose works on the Hebrew language are far more extensive than Ibn Ġiyyât. Either way, it does not alter the conclusion that the most likely data for Ibn

³³¹ See *trans.* (Zafrani and André Caquot 1989, Ar. 64, Fr. 81).

³³² Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 46r. An additional reference to בעד אלמפסר [*following the exegete*] may refer to Ibn Nağrîla Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82r. For use of *al-mufasssir* to refer to Ibn Janâḥ in the writings of Ḥannan'el b. Samuel, (Fenton 1990, 38).

³³³ Ibn Chiquitilla calls Ibn Janâḥ צאחב אלמסתלחק [*the author al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 57r-v אבו אלוליד [*'Abû Walîd author of Kitâb al-Mustalḥaq*], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 106r.

³³⁴ The term *al-mufasssir* is the participle of the *maṣdar*, *tafsîr* meaning either “translation” or “exegesis.”

³³⁵ *Infra*, ‘Other works by Ibn Chiquitilla.’

Chiquitilla's birth was around the beginning of 11th century, possibly prior to 1013, in Cordoba.

The Name Chiquitilla

The meaning of Ibn Chiquitilla's patronym, is described by Yehudi Ibn Sheshat̲ (active between 1060-1090),³³⁶ as a pun, which according to Delgado, does not derive from the Roman word *chica* 'little blind one,' but the Latin *caecus*.³³⁷ Ibn Sheshat̲ borrows the word "light (*ma'ôr*)" from Gen. 1:16, *the great light (ha-ma'ôr ha-gâdôl)*, to form a pun on Isaac Ibn Chiquitilla's family name.³³⁸ He writes, האור מאור שמש \ ציקטלה בן גדולכם (Is not the greatest among you IG/ The light of the sun, a clouded sun?), with "clouded" being a reference to blindness.³³⁹ In this translation, the word *gâdôl* (*great*) could refer to his age and/or to his fame.

Other works by Ibn Chiquitilla

Aside from his Psalm commentary, the next longest surviving work attributed to Ibn Chiquitilla is a translation of the book of Job published by Bacher from the Oxford manuscript, MS. Huntington 511 (Neubauer 125).³⁴⁰ Bacher's proof for attributing the translation to Ibn Chiquitilla is its inclusion of his Ibn Chiquitilla's name in the first folio³⁴¹ matching citations of Ibn Chiquitilla found in his Psalm commentary and Ibn

³³⁶ A student of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010i).

³³⁷ Simonet translates *chica*, as either "mist" or "fog." (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 247; Simonet 1888, 161; Sheshet and Varela Moreno 1981, 13*). Poznański erroneously thought it meant 'little.' (Poznański 1924a, 599; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 247).

³³⁸ (Á. Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona Borrás 2016, 65–70). He was a student of Menaḥem an important 10th century Hebrew poet and grammarian, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010f).

³³⁹ On this translation Delgado writes, "Simonet translated *chica* as 'mist or fog,' which is a direct translation of the Hebrew term *'afela* used by Ibn Šeṣat and also alluded to the etymology of *caecus* established by Pedro de Alcalá" (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 247).

³⁴⁰ (Bacher 1908).

³⁴¹ (Bacher 1908, 1).

Ezra.³⁴² However, Bacher's identification of the Job translation with Ibn Chiquitilla is by no means certain. Whilst, Poznański cautiously agreed with Bacher's identification,³⁴³ Finkel rejected it, viewing the text as a digest of multiple author's opinions. We agree with Finkel's assessment of the text's authorship and his reason for rejecting Ibn Chiquitilla.

Finkel's argument flows from a contradiction between the Anonymous Psalm Commentary's citation of Psalm 90:8 and the comments attributed to Ibn Chiquitilla in the Job translation. This anonymous author claims that Ibn Chiquitilla translated the root 'L-M as an active *Qal* form, when it is only found in the passive *Nip'al*.³⁴⁴ Finkel concludes that the translator's comments on the passive form of this root in Job 33:25 must be by another author, as such inconsistency from an expert grammarian like Ibn Chiquitilla is unlikely. Finkel suggests the incongruence between the translator and Ibn Chiquitilla is the product of combining multiple authors. Perez accepts the viability of this thesis.³⁴⁵

To this we add new evidence in favour the Job commentary being an anthology. The comments on Psalm 90:8 match Ibn Chiquitilla's identification of an inverted *'idāfa* [annexation], but not the actual error.³⁴⁶ Since this text matches part of the citation found in the Anonymous Psalm commentary to Psalm 90:8, it seems likely the rest is not Ibn Chiquitilla's view. Otherwise, Ibn Chiquitilla changed his mind, contradicted himself, erred, or explained his reasoning in some other place. Unfortunately, Ibn Chiquitilla's

³⁴² (Bacher 1908, 3–6; 1895, 309–10).

³⁴³ (Poznański 1895, 13–20).

³⁴⁴ (Finkel 1936, 153).

³⁴⁵ (Finkel 1936, 153; Perez 1991d, 31, n. 6). Perez cites Abraham Ibn Ezra's opinion to Nahum 2:4, as a possible proof in favour of Bacher's opinion. However, this text does not originate with the Job translation, but with Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss to Ps. 1:1, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 1a. From this omission, Perez concludes that Ibn Ezra did not know Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets (Perez 2002, 253–55, nn. 1–3).

³⁴⁶ He states:

that is to say 'šīr Šiggāyôn of David.' It is a subject of annexation, annexed to it [muḏâf 'ilayh] in place of an annexed [muḏâf] as if it said "and take something for your starving households." (Gen. 42:33), meaning 'and take rations for your starving household'

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 48v.

פכאנה קאל שיר שגיון לדוד פאקאם אלמצ'אף אליה מקאם
אלמצ'אף כמא קאל ואת רעבון בתיכם קחו ולכו (בראשית מב:לג)
יעני ואת שבר רעבון בתיכם

actual comments on Psalm 90:8 do not survive in the original to confirm one way or another.

What is clear is that the Job translation published in Bacher does contains some of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinions. Perez identified a fragment in T-S Misc 29.35a, as belonging to Ibn Chiquitilla's translation of Job 7:5, which is nearly identical to what Bacher published. A comparison of the two version is presented below.

	T-S Misc 29.35a	Bacher
R. Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, God have mercy on him explained in (the book of) Job He said that [<i>'my flesh is covered in maggots</i>]. <i>My body is earth and my skin is broken and festering</i> .' He said in the translation [<i>šarḥ</i>], I (Ibn Chiquitilla) said my body for <i>Gû[š]</i> in the language of the Rabbis of blessed memory is the body of something as they say about the people's land " <i>in the air in abeyance</i> " (and) " <i>clump of earth to be burned</i> " (TB <i>Shabbath</i> 15b). [as if to say ' <i>my body</i> '.	פסר ר' משה אבן ג'קטילה רח' אללה פי איוב קאל קד [לבס בדני] אלרמה וג'סדי אלתראב ותקטע ג'לדי תסאמי וקאל פי אלשרה וקלת פי וגוש עפר וג'סדי לאן גו[ש] פי לגה אלאואיל ז"ל ג'סד אלשי אד' יקולו על ארץ עמים אאורה לתלות [אגוש]ה לשרוף (תלמוד שבת טו:ב) [פכאנה קאל וגושי]	<i>'my flesh is covered in maggots. My body is earth and my skin is broken and festering.'</i> Tafsîr: I said for <i>Gûš</i> [<i>my body as Gûš</i>] in the language of the Rabbis is the body of something as it says " <i>clump of earth to be burned</i> " as if to say ' <i>my body</i> .' וקד לבס בדני אלרמה וג'סדי אלתראב ותקטע ג'לדי ותמאסי. ³⁴⁷ תפסיר: וקלת פי גוש [וג'סדי לאן גוש] פי לגה אלאואיל ג'סד אלשי כקו' אגושא לשרוף פכאנה קאל גוש. ³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ This is found in the margin of MS. Huntington 511 30r.

³⁴⁸ (Bacher 1908, 266).

Propitiously, Ibn Chiquitilla cites his own translation of the final phrase to Job 7:5 in his Psalm commentary on verses Psalm 35:20.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 41r

We have already said in our translation of the (Book of Job) regarding “*my skin is broken*” (Job 7:5), (means) cracked and analogous to “*cracked earth*,” (Ps 35:20), a meaning which is also applicable in the present case (cracked skin), as a result of the passing of time and ageing.

וכנא קד קלנא פי כתאב [ש]רחנא איוב פי עורי רגע (איוב
ז:ה) תשקק וקרנא בה ועל רגעי ארץ (תהלים לה:כ) אי
שקאק אלארץ' ונקול פיה ההנא איצ'א מע אלאחיאן
ודקאיק אלזמאן.³⁴⁹

The above fragment varies slightly from Bacher's text, it employs the term ותקטע [wa-taqaṭṭa 'a], whilst in Ibn Chiquitilla's text he states תשקק [tašaqqa]. The meaning is the same in all three texts, so either the word variation is evidence of two versions, a scribal error or the two versions have different manuscript pedigrees. In addition to the citation from Job 7:5, a second citation from Job 24:1 is also mentioned by Ibn Chiquitilla, but it is missing from Bacher's translation.³⁵⁰

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44r.

However, “*cannot foresee His actions* [lit. days]” (Job 24:1) means in my opinion ‘*possession [of land]*,’ as in “*to the port they desired*” (Psalms 107:30), *i.e.*, ‘the land of their desire.’ I have mentioned this in my commentary on Job.

ואמא לא חזו ימיו (איוב כד:א) פהו ענדי והו מן אלחיאזה
ומנה אל מחזו חפצם (תהלים קז:ל) אי אלי חזו מרגובהם
וקד ד'כרנא ד'לך פי שרח איוב.

³⁴⁹ Also so (Bacher 1908, 17).

³⁵⁰ Compare this to (Bacher 1908, 39).

An alternative solution to the discrepancy between the Job translation published by Bacher and Ibn Chiquitilla's citation from his translation is that Ibn Chiquitilla refers to a translation and commentary. Providentially, a child's exercise book preserves two citations from Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on the Book of Job.³⁵¹

Cambridge, CUL: T-S K6.170 1v

Ibn Chiquitilla said in another/his later commentary on (the Book of) Job. Perhaps Keziah (Job 42:14) was kept safe in secluded quarters. Derived from the “*two corners*” (Ex. 26:24). Rabbi Sa‘dāl said that the verse transmitted the custom of the Ancients as the daughters were famous and they did not write (their names), until they were married.³⁵² Ibn Chiquitilla said, “*their father gave them estates together with their brothers.*” (Job 42:15) It has two possibilities. Moreover, he mentioned it in his translation. Rabbi Sa‘dāl said: an another (solution) is found in, “*who gives his possession in his lifetime.*”³⁵³

קאל אבן ג'קטילה פי אכ'ר תפסירה לאיוב ואמא קציעה
(איוב מב:יד) פהי אלמצונה פי אלזואיא מכל'דור משתקא
מן לשני המקצועות (שמות כו:כד). קאל אלרב סעדאל
יחול הד'א אלקול מנהג אלזואיל אן כאנת אלבנאת
משהוראת ולא יכתבין חתי יתזוגן. קאל בן ג'קטילה
ואמא קולה ויתן להם אביהם נחלה בתוך אחיהם³⁵⁴
(איוב מב:טו) פחתמלה וג'הין ת'ם דכ'רהא פי תפסירה.
קאל אלרב סעדאל וג'ד מן אכ'ר לאנה מי {ח} לק נסכיו
בחיו

A first glance the solution is straightforward. The citation refers to a commentary, as it only mentions a *tafsîr* [commentary]. However, Ibn Chiquitilla, in his Psalm's commentary, calls his work on Job a *šarḥ*, and provides only a translation. If this all refers to the same work, then the different terms support the conclusion Ibn Chiquitilla wrote both a commentary and translation to Job. Furthermore, the text seems to indicate that there was more than one version of the text “*another/his later.*” This too may explain

³⁵¹ For translations *supra*.

³⁵² In which case the naming of Job's daughters Jemimah, Keziah and Keren-Happuch in 42:14 only occurred once they were married.

³⁵³ TB *Bava Meši'a* 75b.

³⁵⁴ Mss. אמהם.

the discrepancies in the above translations found in Bacher's publication and Ibn Chiquitilla's own citation. Incidentally, the name Sa'dâl bar Obadiah appears as that of the scribe in the manuscript of Ibn Chiquitilla's translation of Job published by Bacher.³⁵⁵ Could this be the same man? What is the child's relation to him? Could the second text referenced by the child mean the manuscript examined by Bacher that contains Se'adyah's translation of Job followed by Ibn Chiquitilla's? Without knowing the answers to these questions, we cannot be certain on the nature of Ibn Chiquitilla's Job commentary and what parts of the anthology belong to him.

Furthermore, a rigid reading of *tafsîr* and *šarḥ*, as commentary and translation respectively is untenable as these do not comport with lists from other sources within Ibn Chiquitilla found in a 13th century merchant book list.³⁵⁶ Additionally, the inclusion of a *ta'wîl* [interpretation], in the form of the מנהג אלאואיל [custom of the Ancients] further supports Ibn Chiquitilla's composition of both a commentary and translation on Job.³⁵⁷ We may also add as an aside the so-called division between *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* is undermined by Ibn Chiquitilla's own description of Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qûṭî translation of Psalms as a *šarḥ*, ווג'דת הד'א אלפסוק פי שרח חפץ' בן אלבר אלקוטי [I found this verse in the translations of Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qûṭî].³⁵⁸ The most likely conclusion is that the terms *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* are interchangeable and cannot tell us about the nature of the Job commentary on their own.

There is also mention of interpretations of Isaiah, the Twelve Minor Prophets, and a translation of the *haphṭarah*³⁵⁹ of Habakkuk in the 13th century book list.

T.S NS. 312/84

³⁵⁵ (Bacher 1882b, 1).

³⁵⁶ (Allony 1964, 173).

³⁵⁷ For a discussion of *ta'wîl*, see section Figurative Exegesis: Use of Rabbinic *ta'wîl*, *infra*.

³⁵⁸ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 69r. The moment when a shift in nomenclature, in which *tafsîr* goes from meaning translation to commentary and *šarḥ* commentary to translation in later Judaeo-Arabic writings is uncertain, (Vollandt 2011). One difference between Se'adyah's *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* was the inability of later generations to understand the syntax and language. Hary links this change to a view that greater sanctity is found in preserving the literal form of the Biblical text in the *šarḥ*, whereas the *tafsîr* largely reflects Classical Arabic syntax, see (Hary 2009, 38:56–57). Another use of *šarḥ* is for the expansive translation in Aramaic by Pseudo-Jonathan ben 'Uzzi. קאל יונתן בן עוזיאל ענד שרחה [Jonathan ben 'Uzzi states in his translation], Evr.-Arab. I 3583 15r.

³⁵⁹ Portions from Prophets recited on the Sabbath and Festivals by Rabbanite Jews.

(Selected) interpretations [*tafsîr*] of Isaiah, the Twelve Minor Prophets and a translation [*šarḥ*] of the *haphṭarah* of Habakkuk by Rabbi Moses Ben Chiquitilla z”l

[א1] ומעאני ישעיהו ותרי עשר ושרה הפטרה חבקוק לר' משה בן ג'קטילה ז"ל

An abridgement³⁶⁰ of Hayyûj by Ibn Chiquitilla, may God have mercy upon him

[ב1] מכ'תצר³⁶¹ חיוג' לבן ג'קטילה רחמה אללה³⁶²

Based on our knowledge of Ibn Chiquitilla's extant works, the exact meaning of the terms *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* are difficult to determine. If we accept the reference to Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets matches what was published by M. Perez,³⁶³ and that further selections from this text exist in Geniza material,³⁶⁴ then what does the *haphṭarah* of Habakkuk refer to and how does it differ from the *tafsîr* on Isaiah?

A lexical analysis of the terms *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* is ambiguous, as they can mean either commentary or translation.³⁶⁵ Furthermore, the list mentions the *tafsîr* to Isaiah and the Twelve Minor Prophets separately from Ibn Chiquitilla's *šarḥ* to the *haphṭarah* of Habakkuk and commentaries on others Biblical books. Propitiously, an anthologist preserves citations of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion to the Twelve Minor Prophets, as part of a series of *haphṭaroth* (pl. of *haphṭarah*). He writes that:

Evr-Ar. 4204 I, 4v, 9r, 14v, 21v, 22v

Ben Chiquitilla said, “[*Ah*,] *you who trample*” (Amos 2:7). He described them as plundering the land, over the heads of the poor and contemplating stealing the land, therefore, ...

[ב4] ובן ג'קטילה יקול השואפים וג' (עמוס ב:ז) וצפיהם באנהם יגתנמון אלתראב אלדי עלי רווס אלמסאכין ויתשופון אלי אכ'ד'ה אלתראב למא ואגתצ'בא(!)

³⁶⁰ Or probably his translation of Hayyûj, see (Allony 1979a, 42).

³⁶¹ Mss. מכ'תצ(א)ר.

³⁶² (Allony 1964, 173).

³⁶³ Micah 7:3-20, Nahum and Habakkuk 1:1-9 (Perez 2002a).

³⁶⁴ See, (Allony 1967, 389–98; E. N. Adler and Broydê 1900, 52–62; Poznański 1901a, 325–26).

³⁶⁵ See, (Mann Jacob 1921, 178, n.1).

It states, “*and make the humble walk a twisted course!*” (Amos. 2:7) it has the same intent. Meaning they pervert the judgement of the poor from the true path to a false one. The text is approximately, ‘*twist from truth to falsehood.*’

“*I planned,*” (Hos. 12:11) intending like, “*what I planned to do to them.*” (Num. 33:56).³⁶⁶

Ben Chiquitilla said: “(Those who ate) your bread Have planted snares under you. He is bereft of understanding!” (Ob. 1:7). Meaning ‘your poor shall come’ like a flow of? ... as if it said, ‘those who planted snares under your bread.’ It states, “He is bereft of understanding.” (Ob. 1:7) changes (to the first person) the acceptance of the proclamation as it says afterwards, “*I will make the wise vanish from Edom.*” (Ob. 1:8)

Ibn Chiquitilla said: “those who dispossessed them” (Ob. 1:17), God bequeathed them.

Ibn Chiquitilla said: it states “Zarephath” (Ob. 1:20) Franconia and “Sepharad” (Ibid.) al-Andalus.

וקולה ודרך ענויים יטו (עמוס ב:ז) הו מן אלמעני יעני
אנהם ימילו חכם אלענויים מן טריק אלחק אלי טריק
אלבאטל ותקדיר אלנץ יטו מאמת לשקר

[9א] ... ובן ג'קטילה קאל אדמה (הושע יב:יא) קצד
מת'ל והיה כאשר דמיתי לשות (במדבר לג:נו)

[14ב] בן ג'קטילה יקול לחמך ישימו מזור תחתך
(עבדיה א:ז) יעני יבוא דלונך (!) כאלג'רא שקמא (!)
פכאנה קאל ישימו מזור תחת לחמך וקולה אין תבונה
בו (עבדיה א:ז) עאטף ען אלקבול אלמכ'אטב כמא יקאל
אכ'ר ד'לך והאבדתי חכמים מאדום (עבדיה א:ח)

[21ב] וקאל בן ג'קטילה מורשיהם (עבדיה א:יז) מא
ורת'הם אללה.

[22א] וקאל בן ג'קטילה קיל פי צרפת (עבדיה א:כ)
אפרנגה³⁶⁷ וספרד (עבדיה א:כ) אלאנדלס

These match the style of his commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets published by Perez, but do not overlap with it.³⁶⁸ Alone they shed no light on the meaning of *tafsîr* and *šarḥ* in the above book list. However, a citation from Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on

³⁶⁶ I.e., the imperfect form has the perfect meaning.

³⁶⁷ On the identification of *Afranġ* or *firanġ*, Land of the Franks with modern France and Southern Italy, see (Gil 1974, 310–11).

³⁶⁸ See, (Perez 2002a).

Isaiah is preserved in another Geniza fragment reused as ‘scrap-paper’ for teaching a child reading.³⁶⁹ It states:

T-S Ar. 1b 27, 1r.

ובשם ישראל יכנה (ישעיהו מד:ה) ובן ג'קטילה יקול
“*And adopt the name of “Israel.”* (Is. 44:5). Ibn
Chiquitilla said: (the word) “*this*” is repeated
multiple times for emphasis.³⁷⁰ ותכרירה זה מרארא.

The content of this citation from Ibn Chiquitilla is clearly in the format of a commentary and supplies physical evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla’s own reference to his commentary [*šarḥ*] on the book of Isaiah ישעיה ספר שרחנוא עליה פי שרחנוא ספר ישעיה “*see I have already explained [bayyana] it in my commentary [šarḥina] on Isaiah* (Is. 1:6).”³⁷¹ If the book list is precise about the type of literature it describes then it’s most likely explanation is that Ibn Chiquitilla wrote commentaries [*tafsîr*] on Biblical books and that either he wrote a separate translation [*šarḥ*] of weekly *haphṭaroth*, or that his comments were appended to translations made by others.³⁷²

Evidence for the appending of his commentary on Isaiah to weekly *haphṭarah* can be seen by the way in which his opinion is cited on glosses to Isaiah 50:4, Isaiah 51:17 and Isaiah 60:6.

Evr-Ar. 4209 I, 22v, 51r, 66r-v

One of the translators says, “*to speak timely words to the weary.*” (Is. 50:4) ... derived from *La ‘ûT* [22ב] קאל בעץ' אלשארחין לעות את יעף (ישעיהו נ:ד) ... משתק לעות מן יודעי העתים (אסתר א:יג) ואלו ד'לך ד'הב בן ג'קטילה איצ'א קאל לעות (ישעיהו נ:ד) יעני תלקין אלנבי ולעות משתק מן עת עלי מעני נקלחה. is the opinion of Ben Chiquitilla when he said, “*to speak timely,*” (Is. 50:4) meaning the instruction of the prophet and *La ‘ûT* is derived from ‘*el*

³⁶⁹ On the use of old documents as ‘scrap-paper’ to teach children to read, see (Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 57).

³⁷⁰ Mss. מראדא.

³⁷¹ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 45v.

³⁷² *Šarḥ* is used for his translations of Job, but without the term *bayyantu* [*I explained*] *infra*.

(time) according to the sense, as I have reported.³⁷³

Ben Chiquitilla said: “*have drunk the cup of His wrath,*” (Is. 51:17) is a tiara from *quba* ‘*at*. It has been said that it is *kôḥa* ‘ with a K [*Kâp*]. It has been said that its meaning is approximately the same with (the letter J) *Jîm* (i.e., Hebrew *G*, *Gîmmel*) “*heights (migḏbā ‘ôṭ)*” (Num. 23:9). Its meaning here is an overflowing cup.³⁷⁴

Ben Chiquitilla said: “*a company*” (Is. 60:6) means a troop, as it says “*the troop of Jehu*” (2 Kings 9:17).

“*Dromedaries of Midian*” (Is. 60:6).³⁷⁵ Also, Ben Chiquitilla said young dromedaries ... they are a group of swift dromedaries. Then he said, perhaps the one who says he gathered young dromedaries. The B (*Bēṭ*) is pleonastic, but I am not concerned by this opinion.³⁷⁶

[51א] וקאל בן ג'קטילה קובעת כוס (ישעיהו נא:יז)
היא אלקלנסיה ומנה קובע וקד' קיל כובע באלכ'לאף
וקד' קיל פי מענאה באלג'ים ומגבעות (במדבר כג:ט)
ומענאה מתקארב ומענאה הנא כאס מתרעה פאיצ'ה

[66א] וכן ג'קטילה קאל שפעת (ישעיהו ס:ו) מענאה
זחמה כמה קאל שפעת יהוא (מלכים ב ט:יז)

כד'לך קאל אבן ג'קטילה אבכאר אלג'מל³⁷⁷ והם ג'מעא
בכרה קלה ת'ם קאל ואמא קול מן קאל אנה ג'מע בכר
הגמל ואן אלבי זאידה פלא ארי ד'לך [66ב] בהד'ה
אלקול

The language of the above passage includes short statements of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion interspersed with the anthologist's own opinion.³⁷⁸ If the anthologist is a faithful transmitter of Ibn Chiquitilla, then the latter's commentary on Isaiah was focused on grammar, rhetoric, translations of difficult words and phrases, and matches the style of his

³⁷³ I.e., *La 'ûT* derives from the root ' -T-T.

³⁷⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla compares the palatals K, Q and G and deduces a shared etymological sense for the words *Quba* ‘*at*, *Kôḥa* ‘ and *miGḏbā ‘ôṭ*, “*tiara*” and “*cup*.” On the creation of synonyms in Hebrew on the bases of phonemic similarity, see an anonymous book on permutations of Hebrew letters published by Eldar, (Eldar 1988, 485, nn. 4–5, 497, 505).

³⁷⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla implies an ellipsis because the morphology of the word, “*a company*” is in the annexed form ending in a *T̄* (*Taw*). A more detailed analysis of this in Ibn Chiquitilla is presented under the section *‘idâfa*, *infra* and includes his opinion to Is. 60:6 in his gloss to Ps 74:19.

³⁷⁶ I.e., B (*Bēṭ*) in front of the word *Bikrî*.

³⁷⁷ מss אלגבלץ.

³⁷⁸ Not all references to Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion are clearly demarcated.

Psalms commentary. Many more citations by the anthologist on *haphṭaroth* confirm Ibn Chiquitilla wrote a running commentary on Isaiah.³⁷⁹ One example of Ibn Chiquitilla's preponderant interest in grammatical questions can be found in a citation by the anonymous anthologist on Is. 19:3.

Evr.-Arab. II 458, 36r

<p>Ibn Chiquitilla z"l said "<i>drain</i>" (Is. 19:3), to remove, is a <i>Ni ṭal</i> from "<i>strip the earth bare</i>" (Is. 24:). Its basic form is with a <i>Daḡeš</i> in the Q [<i>Qôṭ</i>].³⁸⁰</p>	<p>[30a] ואבן ג'קטילה ז"ל קאל ונבקה (ישעיהו יט:ג) ותתכרג' והי אנפעאל מן בוקק הארץ ובולקה (ישעיהו כד:א) ואצלה ונבקה בתשדיד אלקורף</p>
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The above citation shows that the *haphṭaroth* were more than translations. If the above example and others described earlier are reflective of the content of the documents found in the book list, then *tafsîr* and *ṣarḥ* may have been used by merchants to distinguish between biblical commentaries and the weekly *haphṭarah* with an accompanying commentary and a translation.³⁸¹

In addition to the above citations there are numerous references to him by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (d. 1291 Fustat, Egypt)³⁸² in his commentaries on Psalms.³⁸³ A further two examples from his commentary were identified by Poznański on Ecclesiastes 8:1 and 10:17,³⁸⁴ and as well as from Joshua and Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.³⁸⁵ Ibn

³⁷⁹ Isaiah commentary: Evr.-Arab. I 1704; Evr.-Arab. I 1705; Evr.-Arab. I 4209; Evr.-Arab. I 4236; Evr.-Arab. II 458 and Evr.-Arab. II 3046.

³⁸⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the paradigm of the word *Nāḥaqâ* as from the root B-Q-Q. The N (*Nûn*) marks the *Ni ṭal*, third person fem. sing. form. The expected form ought to have been *Nāḥaqâ* or *Nāḥaqqâ*. Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad. Loc.*

³⁸¹ One other reference to a Rabbi Moses appears in the anthologist comments on a *haphṭarah*, 1 Kings 6:6, Evr.-Arab. I 4236, 67v. The reference to a Moses in 1 Kings 18:1 on 83r may be the Biblical Moses, but the actual comments to the text are illegible in both instances.

³⁸² (Dascalu 2016).

³⁸³ Evr.-Arab. I 4554 and Evr.-Arab. I 1699, see (Wechsler and Tanḥûm ben Joseph of Jerusalem 2010, 6–7, n. 18).

³⁸⁴ (Poznański 1895, 62). On Tanḥûm's familiarity with Ibn Chiquitilla's commentaries, see (Poznański 1895, 126, 155; 1900, 45–61; 1912; Dascalu 2019a, 39).

³⁸⁵ *Infra*.

Bal‘am³⁸⁶ and An Anonymous Psalm Commentary from written between 1105-1128³⁸⁷ add more references and new information not supplied by Ibn Chiquitilla’s Psalm commentary. However, none of these seem to include direct quotations, when matched to extant material found in Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentary. The same can be said of the numerous citations by Abraham Ibn Ezra.³⁸⁸

Ibn Chiquitilla did not just write commentaries on the Bible. He wrote one grammatical work, *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta’nîṭ* [*The Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*] prior to his Psalm commentary.³⁸⁹ It was first published in part by Allony and more recently by Martínez-Delgado, Eldar and Mamam and Ben-Porat with additional material.³⁹⁰ The book follows the grammatical theories of Ḥayyûj and is divided into two parts, a grammatical discussion covering several chapters and a dictionary. The dictionary discusses gender anomalies in plural Biblical noun forms and an explanation of them. It discusses either their inflection or usage in such cases where the masculine or feminine noun has the plural form usually associated with the opposite gender or in which the nouns are ambiguous, taking both masculine and feminine form. In addition to this, the book includes an analysis of cases in which the usual verb-noun agreement among person, gender and number is violated. It does not include definitions and translations of

³⁸⁶ (Fuchs 1893; Ibn Bal‘am and Poznański 2013; Poznański 1924b; Ibn Bal‘am and Perez 1970; Perez 1981a; 1991a; 1991c; 1992c; Ibn Bal‘am, Goshen-Gottstein, and Perez 1992; Perez 1993b; 1997a; 1997b; 1999; 1998; Ibn Bal‘am and Perez 2000; 2002).

³⁸⁷ Most of the text was published in part by Finkel, with additional fragments identified by Perez, see (Finkel 1927a; Perez 2002b, 241).

³⁸⁸ (Poznański 1895, 26). Simon has also discussed the relationship between Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Ezra in an article republished in “*Ear, Discern.*” and chapter 3 of “*Four Approaches to Psalms*” (Simon 2013, 224–48; 1991). More examples are discussed in the following chapters.

³⁸⁹ He cites it in a gloss to Ps. 63:5.

in the Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns along with the mention of another’s opinion about it, and our reply to it. פי כתאב אלתדכיר ואלתאנית' מע ד'כרנא איצ'א קול גירנא פיה ורדנא עליה.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82r. Another reference is alluded in his remarks on Ps. 119:176. He writes that:

I have already explained its proper form in the book of Feminine and Masculine Nouns. וקד ביינא חקיקה ד'לך פי כתאב אלתדכיר אלתאנית'.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 112r.

³⁹⁰ (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916; J. Martínez Delgado 2008b; Eldar 1998; Maman and Ben-Porat 2014).

words, but seems to have been written as an aide-memoire for poets and/or as part of Biblical lexicography.³⁹¹

Earlier we mentioned Ibn Chiquitilla's poetry.³⁹² What remains was first published by Haim Brody, Judah Ratzaby and then later collated with additional material by Schirmann and Fleischer.³⁹³ Almost all the poetic productions that we know are religious, which prevents us developing a thorough understanding of Ibn Chiquitilla's repertoire. An example of his religious poetry is his poem, *mi-tiḡrāt kapēkā*; the worshippers' hope for salvation rests on their identification with the suffering servant of God as described in Is. 53:4-5.³⁹⁴ One exception to his religious poetry that survives is a dedication to either Samuel Ibn Naḡrīla or his son Jehoseph (1035-1066).³⁹⁵ Delgado suggests that he was either friendly with Jehoseph, or that he was Ibn Chiquitilla's patron.³⁹⁶ Aside from these two poems, his other surviving works include a fascination with linguistic ornamentation, word play, *Gemaṭrīa* (alphanumeric code), and Biblical and Rabbinic allusions.³⁹⁷

Finally, Ibn Chiquitilla translated Ḥayyūj's book of grammar, *Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ* (*Sepher ha-Niqqud*) for the benefit of the son of the Nasi (*president*) of South French Jewry, R. Isaac ha-Na'īm son of R. Solomon ha-Nasi. Ibn Chiquitilla seems to have been among the first to translate and perhaps to familiarise South France with Iberian grammatical and exegetical culture founded on Ḥayyūj's theories.³⁹⁸

³⁹¹ (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 121–22; 2008a, 216, 233).

³⁹² Judah al-Ḥarīzī references him once in his *Tahkemônî*, (Schirmann and Fleischer 1997, 352, n. 35).

I said: they are talking about the heroes of poetry, אמרתי לו: הם מדברים על גבורי השיר אשר היו בספרד. ... ולא
which were in al-Andalus ... none like the ancient כשירי ר' משה הכהן עתיקים
poetry of R. Moses Ha-Kohen.

(Kaminka 1899, 39).

³⁹³ (H. Brody 1937; Ratzaby 1949; Schirmann 1995, 350–54).

³⁹⁴ (Simon 1991, 114). Ibn Ezra reports that Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the servant of God in Is. 52:13 with the time of Hezekiah, see (Haas 2020, 61; Simon 2013, 233ff).

³⁹⁵ (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246; Schirmann 1995, 350–54; H. Brody 1937, 3:3).

³⁹⁶ “We know that most of his verses were dedicated to the Jewish viziers of Granada. You can either think of a friendly bond or reduce it to a situation of patronage.” (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 126).

³⁹⁷ (H. Brody 1937, 3:3; Schirmann 1995, 350–54; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 119–57).

³⁹⁸ See, (J. Martínez Delgado 2002). For the Arabic original and both translations, see (Sivan and Wated 2011; Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, XI; J. Martínez Delgado 2002). For the use of the term Nāsi in Narbonne by the 11-12th centuries, see (Jeremy Cohen 1977, 75).

Then the Lord stirred up the spirit of a man of understanding, a desirable young man, delighting in the law of the Lord, (blessed of the Lord be his land!), R. Isaac ha-Na'im son of R. Salomon ha-Nasi, (the blessing of the Lord be upon them, may they both be remembered for good!), and he sought to understand the meaning of the book composed by R. Jehuda, son of R. David of the city of Fez, surnamed Hayug, and to surmount the difficulties of it. And nothing was found in all the language more difficult and obscure than the verbs and nouns containing the letters א, ה, ו, י, known in Arabic as 4 „weak letters,” whether at their beginning, middle, or end, and also the verbs of which the second and third radicals are the same, called in Arabic ذوات المثيلين. Accordingly the author selected these for explanation, because when this is done, the other secrets of the Hebrew language will be revealed to anyone who can argue from one thing to another, from the particular to the general; as it is said „Give instruction to a wise man and he will be yet wiser.” (Pr. 9. 9) And inasmuch as we do not find all the expressions used in Arabic in the holy tongue, either because we do not possess the latter in its fulness, or that the former does not correspond to our language in all its idioms, each word cannot be adequately rendered without circumlocution and management, so that for one Arabic phrase of our author several words must be employed to bring out the full meaning of the original and fix it in the mind of

אז העיר ה' את רוח איש תבונה בחור חמד בתורת ה' חפצו. מבורכת ה' ארצו. ר' יצחק הנעים ברבי שלמה הנשיא. ברכת ה' עליהם. ולטוב יזכו שניהם. ובקש להבין עניני הספר אשר חבר ר' יהודה ברבי דוד דממדינת פאס המכונה חיוג ולעמוד על סודו. ולא נמצא בכל הלשון עמוקים ונפלאים מן הפעלים והשמות אשר יהיו בהם אותיות א'ה'י'. יש כשיהיו בתחלתם. ויש כשיהיו בתוכם. ויש כשיהיו בסופם. והאותיות האלה ידועות בלשון ערבית חרוף אללין. וגם הפעלים אשר יהיה תוכם וסופם שתי אותיות כפולות דומות זאת לאזת וקראים בלשון ערבית ד'ואת אל מת'לין: ועל כן בחר המחבר לגלות רזיהם ולבאר סודיהם כי בהגלות רזי אלה יגלו שאר רזי לשון בעברית למבין דבר מתוך דבר ולנזהר מן הקצת על הכל. כענין שנ' תן לחכם ויחכם עוד: ולפי שלא מצאנו כל כנויי לשון ערבית בלשון הקדש. אם מפני שהיא אין עמנו כולה. ואם מפני שלא שותה לשונם ללשונו המלים ולא דמתה אליה בכל הדברים לא נכון שתהיה מלה כנגד מלה כי אם בסבה ועלילה שיסבבו למלה ערבית שהיתה בספר המחבר הרבה מלים בלשון עברית עד שיתבאר הענין ויכון בלב הקורא כמו שהו בלשון ראשון. ובקש ר' יצחק זה זכור לטוב ממני אני משה הכהן ברבי שמואל הכהן נ"ע דממדינת קרטבה שאתרגם לו זה הספר בלשון עברית וכן עשיתי:

the reader. - And R. Isaac (may he be remembered for good!), requested me, Moses ha-Kohen the son of R. Samuel ha-Kohen (Paradise be his rest!), of the city of Cordova, to translate for him this book into Hebrew, and this accordingly have I done.³⁹⁹

From this text, we learn that he knew Latin and Romance languages, which he includes in many additional explanatory glosses.⁴⁰⁰ Additionally, according to Kaplan he developed his own grammatical terminology distinct from the terms used by Abraham Ibn Ezra in his translation of Ḥayyūj's text,⁴⁰¹ thereby contributing new grammatical terms to the Hebrew lexicon.

Citations of Ibn Chiquitilla Through the Ages

The most important secondary source for Ibn Chiquitilla's opinions is the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra. He praises him as "*one of the grammarians*," and "*the greatest grammarian*."⁴⁰² He cites Ibn Chiquitilla by name 156 times through the course of his commentaries and many more times, anonymously.⁴⁰³ For example, in his commentary on Ps. 106:37, Ibn Chiquitilla states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 111r.

³⁹⁹ (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, Heb. 2-3; Eng. 2-3).

⁴⁰⁰ (Poznański 1895; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 120).

⁴⁰¹ (Ewald and Dukes 1844).

⁴⁰² *Moẓnāyīm*, (M. S. Goodman 2016b, 9–10). On the reference to Ibn Chiquitilla as "*one of the great commentators*," see (Poznański 1895, 55, nn. 10–11).

⁴⁰³ Poznański identified 156 references, (Poznański 1895, 55; Simon 1991, 116), but our own casual comparison indicates many more examples are to be found. For example, Ibn Ezra adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's view of Ps. 66:18 anonymously, *infra*.

And “*ŠeDîm (idols)*” (Ps. 106:37) is an attribute (analogous) to the pattern of “*Zedîm (arrogant)*” (Mal. 3:15). It is a description of the idols; meaning one of the *idols* ravaged them [Ar. him] with either severe punishment or the intelligent freely worshipped them, as it stole their [Ar. its] reason, depriving the mind of a choice about it.

It is a weak medial, and perhaps from, “*that destroys (YāŠûD) at noon*” (Ps. 91:6) following the pattern *YāQûM*.

The poets construct *ŠôD* as *ŠôDô* like *Sôdô* as *SôDô*. Now if it were from the root Š-D-D then it (the suffix) would be joined to *ŠuDDô* like ‘*uZZô* and *RuBBô*.

Perhaps, *ŠeDîm* is weak from Š-W-D without an example like, “*Brazenly (he-‘eZâ) she says to him*” (Prov. 7:13) (and) “*Would they were inscribed in a record (wə-yûHāQû)*” (Job 19:23).

ושדים (תהלים קו:לז) צפה עלי זנה זדים (מלאכי ג:טו) והו מן צפאת אלאות' [ן] יעני אנהא סאלבה אלאראח באלעקובה עזא עעזא או אלעקול באכ'תיאר עבאדתהא אד' סלב עקלה ועדם לבה אלמכת'אר להא.

ויכון מעתל אלעין ורבמא כאן מנה ישוד צהרים (תהלים צא:ו) עלי מת'ל יקום

וקד אצ'אף אהל אלפיוט שוד עלי שודו מת'ל סוד עלי סודו ולו כאן מן שדד לאצ'יף עלי שדו מת'ל עזו ורבו

ורבמא כאן שדים מכ'פפא מן שוד מחד'וף אלמת'ל מת'ל העזה פניה (משלי ז:יג) מי יתן בספר ויוחקו (איוב יט:כג).

Ibn Ezra anonymously adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's view. He states that:

“*The sacrifice to idols (ŠeDîm).*” As in their (false) thoughts, like (the false prophet) Hananiah the prophet (Jer. 28:5). Some say *ŠeDîm* are so called because they waste the

ויזבחו לשדים - כמו מחשבתם כמו: חנניה הנביא. ויש אומרים: לשדים - שישודו הדעת, כמו: ישוד צהרים.

mind. Compare this to the word *yāšûD* in that wasted at noonday (Ps. 91:6).

The majority of anonymous citations are accurate summaries of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion, although Ibn Ezra is not always scrupulous in his presentation of who said what. Sometimes Ibn Ezra rejects one opinion of Ibn Chiquitilla's only to adopt his alternative opinion as his own without attribution.⁴⁰⁴ Despite these acts of plagiarism, Ibn Ezra remains one of the best sources for Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion outside of original source material. He offers a measured assessment of Ibn Chiquitilla, accepting the possibility of multiple opinions even as he criticises him.⁴⁰⁵

The existence of many more examples of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion goes unattributed by Ibn Ezra. U. Simon confirms that Poznański's identification of statements introduced by Ibn Ezra as "*those who say*," does not refer to a group of scholars, but Ibn Chiquitilla.⁴⁰⁶ Some of these anonymous citations include the opinions of other commentators and grammarians such as Ibn Janâḥ and Ibn Bal'am.⁴⁰⁷ An accurate assessment of Ibn Ezra's sources remains elusive, whilst Ibn Bal'am's Psalms commentary remains unpublished, so no attempt was made in this dissertation to identify sources in Ibn Ezra. Nonetheless, with increased access to Ibn Chiquitilla it is clear his influence on Ibn Ezra was greater than previously known.

After Ibn Ezra, the next most important repository of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion was Ibn Chiquitilla's younger contemporary Ibn Bal'am (c. 1085). His criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla reflects the on-going debate in Iberia about the appropriateness of the new Qur'anic-based hermeneutics, as applied to traditional categories of belief in supernatural miracles in Rabbinic literature. In consequence a personal rivalry arose between Ibn Bal'am and Ibn Chiquitilla, in which the former describes the words of Ibn Chiquitilla as "*contrary to*

⁴⁰⁴ See discussion of Ps. 16:5-6 and Moses hitting the rock, *infra*. Also, see (Poznański 1895, 55–58).

⁴⁰⁵ (Poznański 1895, 56).

⁴⁰⁶ (Simon 1991, 122).

⁴⁰⁷ For example, Ibn Ezra cites both Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Bal'am's opinion to Is. 23:10 anonymously. However, we learn their authorship from Ibn Bal'am's commentary on Isaiah, see (*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*. 117).

truth,”⁴⁰⁸ “ridiculous,”⁴⁰⁹ “untenable,”⁴¹⁰ “false”⁴¹¹ and “strange.”⁴¹² He accused him of being “pretentious” [Ar. *mastûr*],⁴¹³ a believer in the Eternity of the Universe, for interpreting Psalm 102:27, as God being incapable of utterly destroying the heavens and earth.⁴¹⁴ Ibn Bal‘am writes in his commentary on Psalm 51:1 that:

“*Though the heavens should melt away like smoke*” (Is. 51:6) ... When Ibn Chiquitilla saw this matter and shockingly thought that the heavens render an actual judgement and destruction upon them, he said that (the verse) alludes to the creation which comprises the heavenly spheres and the centre. He said these things regarding the verse, “*they shall perish, but You shall endure; they shall all wear out like a garment.*” (Psalms 102:27). He thought complete destruction of the heavens and earth impossible, therefore he distorted the matter towards those dwelling in them, I mean creation. This belief is that of the eternalist [*dahriyya*]. We are shaken by this and separate ourselves from it, because God, may he be praised and honoured, created them, and their destruction is no harder than their creation *ex nihilo*.⁴¹⁵

כי שמים כעשר נמלחו (ישעיה נא:ו) ... ולמא ראי אבן ג'קטילה הד'א ואסתעט'ם אן תדכ'ל אלסמאואת תחת אלכון ואלפסאד קאל אנה ישיר אלי אלכ'לק אלד'י יחויא אלפלך ואלמרכז קאל ד'לך פי קול אלנץ המה יאבדו ואת תעמד [ו]כלם כבגד יבלו (תהלים קב:כז) ומנע וקוע אלתלאשי עלי אלסמאואת ואלארץ' וצרף ד'לך אלי אלסכונין (?) אעני אלכ'לק והד'א אלאעתקאד הו ללדהריה ונחן נתברא מנה לאן אללה עז וג'ל קד אכ'ברנא אנה כ'אלקהא וליס אתלאפהא באעט'ם מן כ'לקהא מן ליס⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁸ Ibn Bal‘am, *Isaiah*, 67). עכס לחקיקה (Ibn Bal‘am, *Isaiah*, 67).

⁴⁰⁹ Ibn Bal‘am, *Isaiah*, 117). והד'א הד'יאן (Ibn Bal‘am, *Isaiah*, 117).

⁴¹⁰ Ibn Bal‘am and Perez 1970, Ar. 27, Heb. 77, 119). והד'א כלאם פארג (Ibn Bal‘am and Perez 1970, Ar. 27, Heb. 77, 119).

⁴¹¹ Poznański 1895, 52). וכ'טא אבן ג'קטילה (Poznański 1895, 52).

⁴¹² Poznański 1895, 52). והד'א מן אוחש תפסיר (Poznański 1895, 52).

⁴¹³ Ibn Bal‘am, *Isaiah*, 216). Presumably meant sarcastically, as *mastur* means concealed, chaste, blameless and of good reputation.

⁴¹⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla's comments on Ps. 102 have not survived.

⁴¹⁵ Poznański calls him an atheist (Poznański 1895, 52). However the meaning of the term *dahr* is an “eternalist,” see (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 75).

⁴¹⁶ (Ibn Bal‘am, *Isaiah*, 207).

It seems hardly likely that Ibn Chiquitilla believed God not to be omnipotent and matter eternal. He probably understood the spheres *etc.* in Is. 51:6 and Psalm 102:27, as metaphors for God's action in form of hyperbole.⁴¹⁷

Elsewhere, Ibn Bal'am ruled out Ibn Chiquitilla's historicisation of the Messianic prophecies to the time of Hezekiah.⁴¹⁸ Poznański speculated that the cause of his animus was personal,⁴¹⁹ though perhaps one should not put much stock in such sharp-tongued rebukes.⁴²⁰

Earlier, we questioned the veracity of the Damascene description of Ibn Bal'am and Ibn Chiquitilla. Yet, in Jos. 10:12, Ibn Bal'am's own account gives the impression either he lived in the same town as Ibn Chiquitilla or met him at some point.⁴²¹ He writes that;

“Stand still, O sun, at Gibeon, O moon, in the Valley of Aijalon!” (Jos. 10:12) ... I say that God, may He be exulted, stopped the eastern movement which causes the rotation of all the stars from east to west, and the latter came to a standstill when this (movement) stopped. Ibn Chiquitilla believes that (the eastern movement in which all the stars rotate from east to west) did not stop in order to ensure the continuance

פאקול אן אללה תעאלי אנמא אוקף אחרכה אלמשרקיה
אלתי תדיר ג'מיע אלאפלאך מן אלמשרק אלי מגרב פוקף
בוקופהא ג'מיעא. ואבן ג'קטילה יעתקד אנהא לם תקף ואן
אלפי בקי פקט לצ'רורה דואם אלצ'ו ולקד קלת לה מרה הל
אלפי אלאת'ר מן מות'ר הי אלשמס פקאל נעם קלת לה
פאד'א זאל אלמות'ר פבצ'רורה מא יזול את'רה פאג'אב אן
אלמעג'ז הנא. אן יבקי אלצ'ו ועלי אן אלמצ'י בה קד גרב
פקלה לה מא אלד'י יחמלך ען הד'א אלאעתקאד. פקאל אן
וקוף אחרכה אלדאימה לא יג'וז. והד'א כלה רד ללגין

⁴¹⁷ Maimonides calls the passage from Isaiah 51:3-6 hyperbole, (*The Guide*, II, 29).

⁴¹⁸ The subject of authorship of Psalms and Biblical books in general during the Mediaeval period is also discussed by Ta-Shama and Viesel, see (Polliack 1997; Steiner 2006, 243–62; Ta-Shama 1997, 417–23; Viesel 2010; 2016, 103–58; Zawadowska 2014, 7–37)

⁴¹⁹ Ibn Bal'am writes in his commentary on Is. 53:12 that:

Ibn Chiquitilla links these things to King Hezekiah. If only, and I knew when Hezekiah was “*smitten and afflicted by God*” (Ps. 53:4), (and) “*he was maltreated, yet he was submissive, He did not open his mouth;*” (Is. 53:7). His (commentary) is surprising!

ואבן ג'קטילה צרפהא אלי חזקיהו אלמלך פיא לית שערי מתי
כאן חזקיהו נגוע מכה אלהים (ישעיהו נג:ד) ונגש והוא נענה
לא יפתח פיו (ישעיהו נג:ז) אן הד'א מנה עג'בא

(Ibn Bal'am, *Isaiah*, 216). Also see his remarks to Is. 60:12 (*Ibid.* 236).

⁴²⁰ It was certainly not unusual of Iberian exegetes to be sharp tongued, see (Simon 1990a).

⁴²¹ (A. Halkin 1966, 795).

of daylight, and there was just a penumbra. I asked him, “*Is the penumbra a result of a cause i.e., the sun?*” He replied, “*Yes.*” I said to him, “*If the cause disappears then of necessity does not the effect disappear?*” He answered: “*Herein resides the miracle! The light continued even though (the source) glowed upon had set.*” I said to him, “*what brings you to this opinion?*” He replied, “*stopping perpetual motion is impossible.*” All this contradicts the Biblical text explicitly, which is “*Stand still, O sun, at Gibeon, O moon.*”

Ibn Bal‘am and Ibn Chiquitilla debate whether the events described at Gibeon, in the valley of Aijalon constitute a miracle,⁴²³ and if it occurs without perpetual motion being interrupted.⁴²⁴ In Ibn Bal‘am’s opinion, Ibn Chiquitilla’s rejection of the interruption of perpetual motion is an example of extreme rationalism, and contradicts Scripture.⁴²⁵

Schwartz, working without Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion deduces that he qualified his statement on perpetual motion with the following proviso, “*that God created nature perfect, and breaking it damages the perfection of God’s creation. As such Ibn Bal‘am*

⁴²² Ibn Bal‘am, *Joshua*, 10:12, (Ibn Bal‘am and Poznański 2013, 17; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 112; 2012, 260).

⁴²³ (D. Schwartz 1999, 35–38).

⁴²⁴ According to Aristotle (*Physics* I, 7, VIII, 252a) motion is perpetual (Barnes 1984, 324, 420). God and the universe are both conceived of as eternal and neither a creative nor emergent innovative change in existence ever occurs. Existence for Aristotle is neither disturbed nor interrupted, and nothing is produced contrary to either the laws or the ordinary course of nature. In Plato’s theology, the deity is conceived of as eternal, but the universe is viewed as created. God, however, cannot produce existence *ex nihilo*; the universe, therefore was created from a pre-existing matter that is itself eternal, (Reines 1974, 245). It follows that the celestial spheres are in perpetual motion and any interference in their movement must be miraculous. Causing a celestial sphere to halt its natural motion would result in the transformation of the inanimate object into an animate object. In the view of Maimonides this is dependent on *creatio ex nihilo*, (Kreisel 1984, 110; Reines 1974, 254; Langermann 2004a, 155–58).

⁴²⁵ A similar debate on this topic is found in Samuel ben Hōphni’s commentary on the Torah. He sides with Ibn Bal‘am’s view that a natural interpretation contradicts scripture and adds that a miracle which is natural is impossible to see, thus negating its purpose, see (Greenbaum 1978, 332–34). This too was Se‘adyah’s view. He “*defines miracles as a subduction of the elements of nature, or as a change in the essence,*” (Kreisel 1984, 99–101). For additional references to miracles in Se‘adyah and Ibn Bal‘am, see (Greenbaum 1978, 334, nn. 94–6).

does not bother to respond to Ibn Chiquitilla's final claim."⁴²⁶ From this discussion, Schwartz identifies two debates taking place in the 10-11th centuries; (1) God's omnipotence vs. the theological claim, the perfection of God's actions and (2) God's omnipotence vs. the rational philosophical view of perfect motion. Of these two positions, which did Ibn Chiquitilla adopt? Did he advocate for the perfection of God's creation, as Schwartz suggests? Or, did he adopt the extreme rational position of the philosophers, as Ibn Bal'am claims?⁴²⁷ Something of Ibn Chiquitilla's view on miracles is preserved in his gloss on Psalm 106:3. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 109a-110b.

God had just commanded him (Moses) with the statement "*take [the rod]*" (Num. 20:8)] and it is inconceivable that He only commanded him to strike it (the rock).⁴²⁸ If someone other than God said something, why would he need words with the blow or (just) the [blow] with it? Say to him that God, may He be exalted, makes the miracles by violating the customary rules prior to their occurrence by three means, only speech, only action, and speech and action together.

כאן אללה קד אמרה בקו' קח א[ת המטה (במדבר כ:ח)]
ולם יאמרה אלא ליצ'רב בהא לא מחאלה. פאן קאל קאיל
פאי שי יהתאג' מע אלצ'רב ללכ'טאב או אל[צ'רב] מעה.
קיל לה אן אללה תע' קד ג'על לכ'רוק אלעאדאת
אלמעג'זאת קבל חדות'הא ג' אסבאב קולא פקט ופעלא
פקט וקולא ופעלא מעא

What took place after only speaking is like what happens after the speech of Moses, peace be upon him; "*By this you shall know that it was the Lord etc.*" (Num. 16:28) to the rebellious Korah and his company. Similarly, what happened after Joshua's speech, "*Stand still, O Sun, at Gibeon*" (Jos. 10:12). Following the speech of Elijah, "*let*

פמא חדת' בעד אלקול פקט מת'ל מא חדת' בעד קול משה
עאלס' בזאת תדעון פי ייי שלחני וג' (במדבר טז:כח) מן
כאינה קרח ושיעתה ומת'ל מא חדת' בעד קול יהושע
שמש בגבעון דום (יהושע י:יב) יבעד קול אליהו תשב נא
נפש הילד על קרבו (מלכים א יז:כא).

⁴²⁶ (D. Schwartz 1999, 36). The severity of this attack by Ibn Bal'am led Poznański to doubt whether he really knew Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary directly, (Poznański 1895, 51–54). Perez and Tsoref's respective studies on grammatical disputes and authorship of Psalms as well as the material presented in this chapter and chapters 3 and 4, show that Ibn Bal'am not only knew Ibn Chiquitilla's works well, but was sometimes a reasoned critic of him, see (Ibn Bal'am and Perez 1970, 3, n. 25; Perez 1981a, 53–58; 1997a, 43–51; Tsoref 2016, 1–18).

⁴²⁷ (D. Schwartz 1999, 37–38).

⁴²⁸ The waters would flow by word and action and only appear to be the cause of the miracle.

this child's life return to his body!" (I King 17:21)

And what happened after action only, "*So he cried out to the LORD, and the LORD showed him a piece of wood; he threw it into the water.*" (Ex. 16:25) "*and he cut off a stick and threw it in, and he made the axe head float.*" (2 Kings 6:6)

What happens through actions and words together; "*Bring me a new dish and put salt in it, And threw salt in it. And he said; "Thus said the Lord: I heal this water, no longer shall death and bereavement come from it"*" (2 Kings 2:20-1).

Now, if God wishes speech instead of throwing the salt, then there would have been no need for the salt to fix the water. However, God commanded picking up the salt with speech; the sharp mind [realises] that this point is unnecessary and only demonstrates the miracle happened.

Also, Elisha said, "*Shoot! And he shot. Then he said, "An arrow of victory for the Lord! An arrow of victory over Aram!"*" (2 Kings 13:17).

It is clear that he wished to gather [...] together in this story, I mean the addition of speech, therefore, it is similar to the words of Elisha, '*thus said the Lord, to this rock; bring forth its waters!*' since he (Moses) exceeded the proper bounds [...] when he included ambiguity in it, which we said is the reason for this.

ומא חדת' בעד אלפעל פקט מת'ל ויצעק אל יי ויורהו עץ וישלך אל המים (שמות טו:כה) ויקצב עץ וישלך שמה ויצף הברזל (מלכים ב ו:ו).

ומא חדת' באלקול ואלפעל מעא קו' קחו לי⁴²⁹ צלוחית חדשה וישלך שם מלח ויאמר (כה אמר יי רפאתי למים) האלה לא יהיה משם עוד מות ומשלכת (מלכים ב:כ-כא)

פלו שא אללה לאג'ז'י אלקול מן דון טרח אלמלח אד' ליס אלמלח מוג'בא לקואם אלמא לכן אמר אללה אג'נא אלמלח ען [110 ב] אלקול כמא [פהם אל] חדיד בטרף אלעוד אלד'י לא יוג'ב לה ד'לך לכנא דליל עלי מא יחדת' מן אלמעג'ז

וכד'לך ויאמר אלישע ירה ויור ויאמר חץ תשועה ליי וחץ בארם (מלכים ב יג:יז)

פאראד אלבארי אן יג'מע אל[...][ג'מיעא פ[י] הד'א אלקצה אעני אלצ'ם אלמכ'אטבה פיקול מת'ל קול אלישע כה אמר יי אל סלע הזה להוציא מימיו פלמא תעדאה אלי [...][ה ממא יד[כ'] לה אללבס אלד'י קלנא חסב ד'לך [ע]ליה.

⁴²⁹ Ms. לי ויקח

Or perhaps because he became agitated and hit the rock twice as it states; “*and struck the rock twice with his rod*” (Num. 20:11). He tried to correct it with the excuse “*because they rebelled against him.*” (Psalms 106:33)

“*And he uttered*” (Psalms 106:33). God (was angry) at the words and the unnecessary interpolation of his (Moses’), for an excuse is like trying to curry favour with God with elevation offerings, peace offerings, and repairs to the House (*i.e.*, Temple). This example is not an invocation; a “*rash utterance*” (Num. 30:7), however, is when she proscribes herself, as she harms herself. If not for the oath and promise, hence, he (the husband) can dispense with the wife and the vow, unlike the father, who dispenses with it;⁴³⁰ meaning the vows and oaths, for its states ...

ורב[מ]א אנה מן אג'ל ד'לך אהתאג' אלי אעאדה אלצ'רב
כמא קאל ויך את הסלע במטהו פעמים (במדבר כ:יא)
וקד אקאם לה אלעד'ר פי קו' כי המרו את רוחו (תהלים
קו:לג).

ויבטא (תהלים קו:לג) אללה מן אלכלאם ואלחשו
אלמסתגני ענה לאן אל[עד]ר יכון פי מא יתקרב בה אלי
אללה כאלעולות ואלשלמים ולבדק הבית פליס מת'ל
הד'א יסמ[י] מבטא (במדבר ל:ז) לכן למא כאנת פי גנא
ען תחרימהא עלי נפסהא למא יצ'ר בהא לולא אלימין
ואלאלתזאם וד'לך תצרף פי אלמראה מע אלנ[דר] מן
דון אלרג'ל אלד'י תצרף פיה מענאה אלנד[ר] ואלשבועה
פקאל ...

Schwartz is correct to presume that Ibn Chiquitilla's own view on the rationalisation of miracles is more nuanced than what Ibn Bal'am presents in his gloss on Jos. 10:12. According to Ibn Chiquitilla, God does not need to violate the laws of nature by means of either speech, action, or both in combination. Rather He alters Nature in advance with the function of the speech and/or action for the benefit of the onlookers. For example, according to Ibn Chiquitilla Moses sinned because he spoke in either too vague or obscure language to the Children of Israel, as a consequence of his anger. This led to a misconception on the part of the Children of Israel that God was incapable of bringing water out from the rock without Moses' help.⁴³¹ The decisive sentence is וַיִּקְהֲלוּ מִשָּׁה וְאַהֲרֹן "Moses and Aaron אֶת־הַקֹּהֵל אֶל־פְּנֵי הַסֵּלַע וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם שְׁמַעוּ־נָא הַמַּרְיָם הַמִּן־הַסֵּלַע הַזֶּה נוֹצֵיא לָכֶם מַיִם:

⁴³⁰ Following the *Sifre* Numbers 153:7, *ad. loc.*

⁴³¹ Also, see (Margalit 1983, 212).

assembled the congregation in front of the rock; and he said to them, "Listen, you rebels, are we supposed to bring water out of this rock for them?" (Num. 20:10). The meaning of the verb *nôšî'* is difficult to explain, as the preformative of the Hebrew could mean a rhetorical question, 'are we supposed to bring water out of this rock for them'? It could be translated as either, "Can we (Moses and Aaron) produce water?," "Shall we (Moses and Aaron) produce water?" or "Should we (Moses and Aaron) produce water?"

Whatever Ibn Chiquitilla thought, Moses misled the Children of Israel that God's power alone could not bring forth water from the rock. Alternatively, Moses hit the rock twice misleading the people into thinking God could not perform the miracle without a contribution from him. In this explanation, his sin is his excuse that he became angry with the Children of Israel for rebelling against him.⁴³² The same argument is applied to list of other miracles that appear in the gloss, to which we shall return later.

Included in Ibn Ezra's gloss on Num. 20:8 is a summary of both the rejected and accepted opinions of Ibn Chiquitilla. For the rejected view, Ibn Ezra writes that:

Rabbi Moses Ibn Chiquitilla Ha-Sefardi said: some miracles are performed by speech, others by actions and speech, as in the salt of Elisha. God command (Moses) to take the staff and strike the rock as he did in the case of the rock (at Horeb).⁴³³ He adds the word "*and speak to them (we-dibartēm)*" – so that the water flowed by hitting and speaking. Because Israel angered (him), (Moses) said 'are we supposed to bring water out of this rock for them'? He did not think we had the ability to bring forth water from the rock, except by the power of God. Now Moses did not explain himself

ויאמר ר' משה הכהן ז"ל הספרדי, יש אותות נעשות בדבור, ויש בפועל ודבור, כמו מלח אלישע. והשם צוה שיקח המטה להכות בסלע כמשפט הצור, והוסיף מלת ודברתם להוציא המים במכה ובדבור. ובעבור שהכעיסו ישראל, אמר להם המן הסלע הזה נוציא לכם מים? והיתה דעתו, כי אין יכולת בנו להוציא מים מהסלע, כי אם בכח השם. והנה לא פירש דבורו היטב, וחשבו אנשים בלבם, כי דבור, שלא יוכל השם להוציא מים מן הסלע. וזה טעם אשר לא קדשתם אותי (דבר' לב, נא). והביא ראיה מדברי המשורר שאמר, כי המרו את רוחו ויבטא בשפתיו (תה' קו, לג). והנה החטא היה בבטואו לא במכה.

⁴³² This is also Ibn Ezra's view, which he does not attribute to Ibn Chiquitilla, see (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 171–72). Maimonides adopts this view in Avoth, Eight chapter, 4. Moses was punished for hitting the rock and getting angry, (Margalioth 1983, 206, n.31).

⁴³³ Ex. 17:6.

well, so the people thought what he said was that God cannot bring water from a rock. This is the meaning of “*you did not sanctify me*” (Deut. 32:51). He brings a proof from the poet who says, “*for they embittered his spirit, and he spoke rashly with his lips*” (Psalms 106:26).⁴³⁴ Behold, the sin was his speech, not the blow.

Ibn Ezra’s explanation of Ibn Chiquitilla’s adds one additional point implied by Ibn Chiquitilla’s gloss on Psalm 106:3, “*He did not think we had the ability to bring forth water from the rock, except by the power of God.*”⁴³⁵ This extends Moses’s sin to his lack of faith in God’s power to change Nature. Moses too did not see that the purpose of him striking the rock was to make the miracle visible to the Children of Israel. This answer responds to the problem that an invisible miracle serves no purpose.⁴³⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla seems to ascribe to the theory of the “*noble lie*” proposed by the Islamic *falâsifah* to encourage belief; religion functions as an indispensable preserve of social morality.⁴³⁷

Ibn Chiquitilla’s rejects miracles [Ar. *mu‘jizât*] as a violation of the perfection of nature, “*the customary rules* [Ar. *kurûq ‘âdat*].” This necessitates a reduction of the miraculous event to a natural cause. The prophet’s words and/or actions draw attention to God’s power and are the necessary ‘performative magic’ to convince the ignorant. Included in this list are the following events; Moses hitting the rock (Num. 20:8), Moses’ speech to the rebellious Korah (Num. 16:28), the valley of Aijalon (Jos. 10:12), Elijah’s resuscitation of the widow’s boy (1 Kings 17:21), Moses and Elijah doctoring the waters (Ex. 16:25, 2 Kings 6:6), Elijah throwing salt into the water (2 Kings 2:20-1) and the

⁴³⁴ The verse from Psalms does not survive in Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentary.

⁴³⁵ Ibn Ezra takes Ibn Chiquitilla’s view to be that Moses and Aaron are the subject of *nôšî‘*, in which case Aaron did not sin, he writes *ולמה נענש אהרן* “*why was Aaron punished?*,” see (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 170–71). Alternatively, M. Margaliot suggests the subject is Moses and God, ‘*are we (Moses and God) supposed to bring water out of this rock for them*’, see (Margaliot 1983, 213).

⁴³⁶ This argument is raised against the rationalists by Samuel ben Hôphni in his commentary on the Pentateuch, (Greenbaum 1978, 332–34).

⁴³⁷ (Kreisel 1984, 103). For the philosopher’s view of religion, (Ibn Tufayl and Goodman 2003, 1:37).

arrow shot by Elijah (2 Kings 13:17). He divides these up according to the actions of the prophet as follows; speech (Num. 16:28, Jos. 10:12, 1 Kings 17:21), action (Ex. 16:25, 2 Kings 6:6) and both (2 Kings 2:20-1 and 2 Kings 13:17).

What is missing from Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation is what natural act lies behind the 'performative magic.' The case of Aijalon was discussed in Ibn Bal'am, yet, in Ibn Chiquitilla's list of miracles found in his gloss on Psalm 106:3, no explanation of how each miraculous act was naturalised is elaborated. For example, Moses' speech to the rebellious Korah in Num. 16:28 announces God's punishment as forthcoming, but it is unclear if something was created in advanced in verse 30.⁴³⁸ A similar ambiguity arises for other miracles. Was the resuscitation of the widow's boy (1 Kings 17:21) a medical treatment?⁴³⁹ How was the sweetening of the waters in Ex. 15:25 and 2 Kings 2:20-1 achieved? Are they the result of Moses and Elijah doctoring the water using the natural properties of a plant?⁴⁴⁰ Did the iron float in 2 Kings 6:6 because it was held up by natural

⁴³⁸ Ibn Ezra alludes to a view that something new was created, when he rejects an anonymous opinion. He states that:

"Bring forth" (Num. 16:30). Some say that the word *bring forth* refers to the bringing forth of something that was never in existence. I have already explained the word is related to the form "*and hack them*" (Ez. 23:47). Many cities have been split open, and those who dwelt in them have gone down to the pit. The meaning of *bārā* is cut.

בריאה. י"א שהיא תורה על המצא מה שלא היה. וכבר פירשתי, שאין המלה רק מגזרת וברא אותה (יחזקאל כג, מז). וכבר נבעקו מדינות רבות וירדו הדרים בהן שאולה והנה פירושה כטעם גזרה.

(A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 162). Ibn Chiquitilla may have shared Ibn Ezra's view that nothing new was created, and espoused the view that it was a natural event. Another view that naturalises miracles is that of Gersonides, who ascribes miracles to the Active Intellect. This leads him to deny the possibility of changes in the heavenly order, such as the halting of the sun. Instead, the Active Intellect is below the Mover of the spheres, and powerless to change the motions of the spheres ruled by them. He limits miracles to the changes in the substances accomplished by the Active Intellect in the way they would change naturally over a long period of time, see (Kreisel 1984, 125–26). Moreover, in his long gloss on Josh. 10:12, *ad. loc.*, he rejects a supernatural explanation for the miracle at the valley of Aijalon as that would have meant Joshua was a greater prophet than Moses for his ability to stop perpetual motion. Since such a belief is heretical and contrary to Nature, Gersonides prefers a natural explanation for the miracle, (Nehorai 1994, 97–98), which he presents at length in his philosophical work *Milhamôt HaShēm* (*Ma'amar* 6, Part 2, Chp. 12), see (D. Schwartz 1999, 42–47, 54).

⁴³⁹ See Maimonides' view below and Gersonides's commentary on Kings, *ad. loc.*

⁴⁴⁰ Ibn Ezra cites two opinions. One that describes the event as miraculous, the other as medicinally sweetened. "And he cried" (Ex. 15:25). We do not know what type of tree this was. Only it was a miracle. If the waters had been stationary, we could have said it was medicinally sweetened. The correct view is that of

ויצעק. זה העץ לא ידענו מה היה, רק דבר פלא היה. ואילו היו המים עומדים, היינו אומרים דרך רפואה היה ונכון הוא מה שאז"ל:

means?⁴⁴¹ In the case of Elisha, his chastisement of King Joash in 2 Kings 13:1 for firing more than one arrow demonstrates signs are really unnecessary.⁴⁴² Ibn Chiquitilla's failure to explain the relationship between the 'performative magic' and the miracles, points towards the view that miracles are embedded *a priori* in Nature.⁴⁴³ This is a version of the "*noble lie*," in which the sharp mind understands the text to be made of concentric circles with the masses failing to comprehend the deeper meaning of the text.⁴⁴⁴

Ibn Chiquitilla's adoption a version of the "*noble lie*" matches part of Ibn Ezra's opinion in *Sepher Ha-'Ibbûr* (*Book of the Calendar*).⁴⁴⁵ Ibn Ezra establishes two epistemological

the Sages (*i.e.*, a miracle. See *Yalqut Shimoni* on Ex. 15:25.).

(A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 101, n. 90). This appears to be Ibn Chiquitilla's view on Ex. 15:25 and probably 2 Kings 2:20-1.

⁴⁴¹ Gersonides reduces the miracle to a lucky shot and the preparation of a wooden frame that kept the metal afloat. He writes that:

That is to say, he cut and measured it in order to insert the (frame) into the groove of the metal. It would be in the shape of a hand. Behold, this is the miracle; when he threw it there (into the river), it entered the groove of the metal and the metal affixed to it.

ר"ל שכב' חתך ותקנו במדה שיוכל להכנס בנקב הברזל ויהיה לו כמו יד והנה היה המופת הזה שכאשר השליכו שמה נכנס בנקב הברזל ונתקיים בו הברזל

(Commentary on 2 Kings 6:6 (*ad. loc.*))

⁴⁴² The arrow is a sign that God will deliver victory to Joash against Aram at Aphek. Gersonides identifies the miracle with Joash's subsequent victory over Aram three times in verse 19, but explains Elijah's anger as Joash firing more than once. Implied is that God does not need the sign at all to defeat the Arameans. He writes in his commentary on 2 Kings 13:17 that:

"*Shoot!*" and he shot. Then he said, "*An arrow of victory*" (2 Kings 13:17). He alerted him that with this strength that he acquired from Elisha he would succeed in his war against Aram. This is the arrow he fired now. It is a sign of it. He said that he would smite them in Aphek completely. He chose the location of Aphek for the battle, because from there it would be easier to achieve victory. We have already mentioned that God, when He performs miracles, does so in a manner which reduces to a minimum strangeness.

ויאמר אלישע ירה ויור ויאמר חץ תשוועה לה' - העיר אותו כי בכחו זה שקנה מידי אלישע ינצח במלחמת ארם וזה החץ שירה עתה הוא סימן לזה ואמר שיהיה באפק עד כלה הנה בחר שהיתה המלחמה באפק כי משם יתכן לו יותר לנצחם וכבר זכרנו שהש"י כשיעשה המופתים יעשה באופן אשר בו יהיה בהם יותר מעט מן הזרות:

Gersonides view on miracle conforms to his limitation of a miracle to a natural cause. Subsequent commentators have tried to identify Gersonides' view with the strand of radical rationalism found in Ibn Ezra, see (D. Schwartz 1999, 42–47, 54).

⁴⁴³ Kasher identifies two views in Maimonides, what she calls the Rabbinic resolution found in his Commentary on the *Mishnah*; the standing still of the sun was commanded before the completion of creation, and with reservations the naturalist view in *The Guide* II, 29, see (H. Kasher 1999, 25–52).

⁴⁴⁴ I thank Phil Libermann-Ackerman for this suggestion.

⁴⁴⁵ (Halberstam 1874, 10, 7a).

criteria for comprehending miracles: (1) the intellect is the determinate of the truth of an event, and that the senses are easily misled and (2) the theological view that no prophet produces a miracle that violates either the sense perception or the consideration of the intellect.⁴⁴⁶ Of these views, Ibn Chiquitilla's adoption of the "*noble lie*" adheres to the first.

What is more apparent is Ibn Chiquitilla's rejection of the middle position adopted by Ibn Ezra, the prophet is the author of miracles.⁴⁴⁷ In Abraham Ibn Ezra writes in his commentary on Num. 20:8 that:

Know that when the "part" knows the All (*ha-Kol*), it conjoins with the All, and through the All it creates signs and wonders (variant: and it creates all the signs and wonders).⁴⁴⁸

דע כי כאשר ידע החלק את הכל, ידבק בכל, ויחדש בכל אותות ומופתים (נ"א ויחדש כל המופתים והאותות)⁴⁴⁹

In Ibn Ezra's thought God is identical with the world in its essential unity. To avoid pantheism, Moses attains knowledge of how all the creatures are connected to the Creator. It is this ability, which allows him to work miracles. Ibn Ezra's thought, follows from his ontological position on the ladder of being. "*While man, from one standpoint, belongs to the world of generation and corruption, his soul is on a higher ontological level than the celestial bodies.*"⁴⁵⁰ The prophet receives God's power, and his soul can control the natural forces resulting from the motion of the heavenly bodies. This view identifies man, rather than God, as the proximate agent of miracles.⁴⁵¹ For example, Ibn Da'ūd says the prophet's soul, in resembling the Separate Intellect, has a natural ability to

⁴⁴⁶ (Friedländer and Ibn Ezra 1877, 4:79–80). Schwartz observes, Ibn Ezra retains these two views, making a decisive view difficult to determine, (D. Schwartz 1999, 40). Abarbanel attacks Ibn Ezra, Maimonides and Gersonides for their extreme rationalisation of miracles, see (D. Schwartz 1999, 54–55). On Abarbanel view of Ibn Ezra's exegesis as extreme rationalism, see (D. Schwartz 1991, 614).

⁴⁴⁷ Also in his explanation of the miracle of the valley of Aijalon, see (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 307).

⁴⁴⁸ *Trans.* (Kreisel 1984, 117).

⁴⁴⁹ (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 170–71).

⁴⁵⁰ (Kreisel 1984, 117–18).

⁴⁵¹ (Kreisel 1984, 115).

work his will even on the heavenly bodies, speeding up the process by which particular matter receives, and divests itself of forms. He sees no reason for interpreting the account of Joshua's halting the sun at Gibeon as figurative.⁴⁵²

The compatibility of the prophet as the author of the miracles and the “*noble lie*” proposed by Ibn Chiquitilla is irreconcilable. Moses Ibn Ezra cautions that Ibn Chiquitilla caused controversy because of his *lawṭa* [weakness], despite his excellent grammatical knowledge.⁴⁵³ He writes that:

Ibn Chiquitilla was of the first rank among scholars and linguists as well as among experts in the turns and refinements of the language and one of the most famous authors, outstanding among orators and poets in the two languages [i.e., Hebrew and Arabic], despite the fact that he had a weakness [*lawṭa*] that was detrimental to his privileged position.⁴⁵⁴

משה בן ג'קטלה אלקרטבי ת'ם אלסרקסטי כאן מן צדור
אהל אלעלם ורג'אל אללגה ואעלאם אלתפנן ומשאהיר
אלמולפין, ומן איצה אלכ'טבה ואלשערא באללגתין, עלי
לות'ה כאנת בה, אכ'לת במרכזה פי מראתב אלג'לה⁴⁵⁵

In addition to Ibn Chiquitilla attitude to miracles, the *lawṭa* to which Ibn Ezra speaks may well also refer to several problems, which Simon summarises as follows.

⁴⁵² (Kreisel 1984, 116; Weil 1966, 73). Abraham Ibn Da'ūd adopts al-Ġazzālī's philosophical argument that the prophet can greatly speed up the process by which particular matter receives, and divests itself of form, see (Kreisel 1984, 115–16).

⁴⁵³ An Anonymous Psalms Commentary from the 12th century cites multiple authors to Psalms, including Ibn Chiquitilla. The text was published in part by Finkel, with additional unpublished fragments identified by Perez, see (Finkel 1927a; Perez 2002b). It contains material on Psalms 75 through 78 that matches Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary, with additional material found in Evr-Arab. I 3734, 1r-1v, 2r-v Evr.-Arab. I 1409, 9r. 11r-12v. There are also citations of Ibn Chiquitilla's grammatical opinion to Psalms 73 through 74 and 93:3 which otherwise do not survive, (see Synopsis, *infra*). Isaac Ibn Barūn (12th century), also preserves a recommendation of Ibn Chiquitilla's book on Masculine and Feminine Nouns, and his view on verbal transitivity, see (Kokovtsov 1970, 8, 12; Wechter 1964, 7, nn. 76, 34, 49). On Ibn Barūn's life, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2010e).

⁴⁵⁴ (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 246).

⁴⁵⁵ (*Muḥāḍara*, 68 = 63).

It may well be that the social difficulties to which Moses Ibn Ezra alludes stemmed from the excessive intellectualism that underlies Ibn Gikatilah's commentary on the Bible, expressed in many ways: his tendency to restrict to the minimum the deviation of miracles from natural law (attacked by his younger opponent R. Judah Ibn Balaam as one of "his deceptive and corrupt opinions"); his attempts to establish the date of prophecies and make them refer to historical events that occurred in proximity to their utterance rather than to the messianic era (on this account he was accused by Ibn Balaam of tending to undermine the faith in the future redemption); his free use of Christian commentaries and translation of the Bible, while objecting strongly only to Christological interpretations; and his view of the psalms as prayers and poems rather than prophecies.⁴⁵⁶

However, not all of Ibn Chiquitilla's successors were so reticent about his unorthodox views. Maimonides (1135-1204) quoted Ibn Chiquitilla directly, as opposed to citing him from a second-hand source.⁴⁵⁷ In his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, on the verse, "*the wolf shall dwell with the lamb*" (Is. 11:6), he writes that "*our understanding of this matter has been anticipated by rational commentators such as Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Bal'am.*"⁴⁵⁸ Neither exegete's opinion survives on the verse, but in all probability,

⁴⁵⁶ (Simon 1991, 113–14; Ashtor 1992, 2:259; Poznański 1895, 27). In his gloss on Ps. 65:14, Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

And *Kar* (Ps. 65:14) is an equivocal term [*muštariḳ*] It can be interpreted as 'meadows', for example, "*the meadows (kar) are covered*" (Is. 30:23), '*lamb, sheep, with sheep's (karîm) milk*' (Deut. 34:14). ruler' "*dispatch a ruler (kar) to rule the land*" (Is. 16:1); and used in duplicate, "*rulers karkarôf*" (Is. 66:20). The Christians foolishly believe that (the phrase); "*dispatch as ruler*" (Is. 16:1), (means) a lamb, (which they think) alludes to the Messiah. This is nonsense. And '*camel-saddle*' "*inside her camel's saddle*" (Gen. 31:34).

וכר (תהלים סה:יד) מן אלאסמא אלמשתרכה פיון שרחהא מרג'א מת'ל לבשו כרים כר נרחב (ישעיהו ל:כג) וחמלא וחמלאן עם חלב כרים (דברים לב:יד) יוג'בא שלחו כרים מושל ארץ (ישעיה טז:א) וקיל יתצ'אעף ובכרכרות (ישעיהו ס:כ) ויעתקד סכ'פא אלנצארי פי שלחו כר (ישעיהו טז:א) כ'רופא יכנון בה ען אלמסיה והד'א כבאטל וקתב אלג'מא כר הגמל (בראשית לא:לד)

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 83r. Modified from Delgado's translation, (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 262). Ibn Ezra adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation. מְשִׁיחָא (*messiah*) is the translation found in the Targûm of *Jonathan ben 'Uzzi'el*, *ad. loc.* Identification of Jesus with the metaphor of the lamb is a common theme in Christian exegesis on John 1:29, John 1:36, 1 Cor. 5:7, and the prayer *Agnus Dei*. See (Roberts 1968, 41–56; Sandmel 2005, 57).

⁴⁵⁷ (Poznański 1895, 59).

⁴⁵⁸ (Shailat 1987, 359; Polinsky 1982, 49). Only Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Bal'am are mentioned by name by Maimonides in his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead.

Maimonides is praising their interpretation of the verse, “*The wolf shall dwell with the lamb*,” as figurative.⁴⁵⁹

On the topic of miracles, Maimonides shares the same general preference for a rational and natural explanation of miracles as Ibn Chiquitilla. However, his attitude is conflicted and evolving.⁴⁶⁰ In his *Guide* 2:35, he writes that:

<p>you should not be led astray by what is said with regard to the light of the sun standing still for <i>Joshua</i> for certain hours – namely – <i>And he said</i> <i>in the sight of Israel</i> – for it does not say <i>all</i> <i>Israel</i>, as it said with reference to <i>Moses</i>.⁴⁶¹</p>	<p>ולא יגלטך מא ג'א פי ת'באת צ'ו אלשמס ליהושע תלך אלסאעאת ויאמר לעיני ישראל לאנה לם יקל כל ישראל כמא ג'א פי משה⁴⁶²</p>
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In Maimonides' opinion what Joshua saw and the people saw differed. At Aijalon only a few people (the soldiers in the valley) perceived the additional light, and then perhaps only in their imagination.⁴⁶³ By contrast, everyone saw the miracles performed by Moses as he was unique among the prophets.⁴⁶⁴ However, in *The Guide* III, 4, Maimonides rejects any miracle involving the heavens taking place. Kreisel interprets this as the perfection of the heavens.⁴⁶⁵ According to this reasoning, Maimonides interprets figuratively all miracles involving celestial bodies, such as the sun halting in its course for

⁴⁵⁹ Maimonides discuss this verse in *The Guide* Part III, Chapter 11 and the laws of Kings 12:1. He too identifies the verse as figurative, וגר זאב עם כבש ונמר עם גדי ירבץ משל וחידה (*The wolf shall dwell, the leopard will lie down with the young goat*,” a parable and riddle). This is also the opinion of Ibn Ezra, דרך משל מהשלום שיהיה בימיו, “*The peace that will be in his days is now figuratively described*.” (Friedlaender 1878, ad. loc.). Ibn Chiquitilla interprets this passage as referring to Hezekiah on account of it being the continuation of the prophecy in the previous chapter, (Friedlaender 1878, ad. loc.).

⁴⁶⁰ Maimonides' view on miracles has been the subject of extensive study. For example, (Heller 1958, 112–27; Reines 1974; Kreisel 1984; Nehorai 1994; D. Schwartz 1999; H. Kasher 1999; Langermann 2004a). A more in-depth study that considers Ibn Chiquitilla's view is a *desideratum*.

⁴⁶¹ *Italics*. original (Pines 1963, vols 2, 368). However, in his commentary on 'Aḥôl Maimonides adopts the traditional interpretation, see (M. Schwartz 2002, vols 1, 383 n. 11).

⁴⁶² (Munk 1964, vols 2, 76).

⁴⁶³ (D. Schwartz 1999, 40).

⁴⁶⁴ (Nehorai 1994, 97–98).

⁴⁶⁵ “*The basis for Maimonides' rejection of the occurrence of any miracle involving even a temporary suspension of the heavenly motions can be traced to his position that the heavens are superior to man and were not created for his sake. Their motion is perfect. Through it they govern the sublunar.*” (Kreisel 1984, 110).

Joshua and the heavens opening up for Ezekiel.⁴⁶⁶ Alternatively in his Essay on the Resurrection of the Dead, he claims there was a physical miracle, visible to only a few individuals and for a short time.⁴⁶⁷ Did he consider Ibn Chiquitilla's view that the penumbra, the shaded outer region of the shadow was the physical cause for the fighters in the valley of Aijalon perceiving extra light? Did he ascribe it to the perfection of creation *and* the “*noble lie*”? The lack of clarity on the part of Maimonides has troubled successive generations of interpreters of *The Guide*.⁴⁶⁸

To this we may add one final question regarding Ibn Chiquitilla's view on miracles. Maimonides adopts a rational analysis of the widow's son and Elijah, in *Guide* 1:42.⁴⁶⁹ He writes that:

Some of the men⁴⁷⁰ of al-Andalus interpret the verse as meaning that his breath was suspended so that no breath at all could be perceived in him – as happens to people struck with apoplexy or with asphyxia deriving from the womb, so that it is not known if the one in question is dead or alive and the doubt remains a day or two.⁴⁷¹

וקד קאל בעין' אלאנדלסיין אנה תעטל נפסה חתי למ ידרך לה נפס
אצלא כמא יעתרי בעין' אלמסכותין ופי אכ'תנאק אלרחם חתי לא
יעלם הל הו מית או חי וידום הד'א אלשך אליום ואליומין⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁶ (Kreisel 1984, 110).

⁴⁶⁷ (Shailat 1987, 372; Heller 1958, 112–27).

⁴⁶⁸ One rational opinion is that of Narboni (14th Provence), who explains the events at Aijalon, as the final light visible at the end of summer. That is to say, that because of the great victory it appeared to the fighters, as if the day was extra-long as in the summer. He writes:

That the day, there at Gibeon was as great as in the summertime. שהיום ההוא היה אצלם בגבעון כגדול שבימי הקיץ שם.

(Nehorai 1994, 98). This being consistent with Narboni's naturalistic interpretation of miracles, see (Kriesel 1994, 132). For a discussion of *The Guide*'s view in successive generations, see (D. Schwartz 1999, 40–54).

⁴⁶⁹ (Simon 1991, 114). On the widespread adoption of this opinion in France, see (Munk 1964, vols 1, 149, n. 1; Qafih 1977, 63).

⁴⁷⁰ The Arabic, *ba'ada*, can mean one or more commentators. Since the rationalisation matches Ibn Chiquitilla's general attitude to miracles, perhaps it should be amended to “*One of the men*.”

⁴⁷¹ (Pines 1963, vols 1, 92).

⁴⁷² (Munk 1964, pt. I, 42).

Unfortunately, Ibn Chiquitilla says nothing in his gloss on Ps. 106:3. Even so, many more ‘hidden’ examples of Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinions probably influence Maimonides.

The enduring influence of Ibn Chiquitilla on the house of Maimonides continued in subsequent generations. Among the pietist circles of Abraham b. Maimonides and his descendants. His father-in-law, Ḥannanel b. Samuel (12-13th) cites Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion in his commentaries on various *haphṭaroth*.⁴⁷³ David b. Joshua Maimonides’ (circa. 1335-1415) use of Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion in *Al-Murshid ‘ila al-Tafarrud wal-Murfid ‘ila al-Tajarrud* (*The Guide to Detachment*).⁴⁷⁴ Citations from Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion appears in several explanation. David b. Joshua Maimonides cites Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion on the *Šamînîṭ* (Psalms 6:1). He writes that:

Likewise, the *šamînîṭ* (Psalms 4:1) refers to a musical instrument composed of eight strings, *i.e.* four double chords, the treble, bass, second and third strings, which are set in accordance with the four corresponding natures.⁴⁷⁵

וכד'לך שמינית אסם אלה אלמוסיקי, ד'את ת'מאן אותאר
עלי סביל אלתצ'ע'יף ללארבה אותאר, אעני אלזיר ואלבם
ואלמת'ני ואלמת'לת', ואלמצ'ועה באזא אלארבע טבאיע
אלמנאסבה להא.

Ibn Chiquitilla too identifies the eight-strings of the *Šamînîṭ* with the 4 doubled-strings of the Arabic *‘ūd*. Each string corresponds to one of the *murabba ‘ât*, (*the tetrads, or the four-fold strings*).⁴⁷⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

⁴⁷³ OR 2584, 90v, (Fenton 1990, 38).

⁴⁷⁴ The last known direct descendant of Moses Maimonides, see (Fenton 2009, 103). The Arabic text was published by Fenton, (Fenton 1982) with an English and a Hebrew translation, (Fenton 1987, Ar. 52-54 Heb. 53-55).

⁴⁷⁵ (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129).

⁴⁷⁶ The *murabba ‘ât*, [*the tetrads, or the four-fold strings*] are a common number in al-Kindî, Ḥunayn Ibn Ishâq and ‘Iḳwân al-Ṣafâ’ as well as later Jewish authors, see (Shiloah 2007b, 278). Fenton suggests that the origin of Ibn Chiquitilla’s observation probably has its source in the chapter on the structure of the *‘ūd* in Ḥunayn Ibn Ishâq’s *‘Adâb al-falâsifa*, Mbs. Aumer 651, fol. 35b, see (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129, n. 12). Al-Kindî and Ibn Ishâq reflect the Pythagorean view that eight is not a perfect number. However, there are eight canonical genres listed by al-Kindî, which are adopted by Se‘adyah in his *Kitâb al-‘Amânât*, (Farmer 1943, 18–19, 21, 26; Simon 1991, 17, n. 49; Shiloah 1978, 34–55; Werner 1948, 211–15). Se‘adyah believed in combinations of notes that would balance the humours and the corporeal faculties [*al-ṭabi ‘îyya*], see (Shiloah 1978, 43; 1993c,

The “*šamînîl*” (Psalms 6:1) is an instrument that may possess eight bowstrings by means of doubling the four modes [*mumâtila*] and (equal) to the four humours of the body’s equilibrium [*ṭabâ’î*]. The doubling (starts) from its *zîr*, (followed by) *bamm*, *maṭnâ*, and *maṭalat*, to strengthen the appropriate humours of the body’s equilibrium.

[7 ב] השמינית (תהלים ו:א) אלה ימכן כונה ד'את ח' אותאר עלי סביל אלתצ'עיף לארבעתהא אלממאת'לה ללארבע טבאיע פתתצ'אעף מן זירהא ובמהא ומת'נאהא ומת'להא לתקויה אלד' טבאיע אלמנאסבה להא.

The passage continues with the *Gittîl* (Psalms 8:1), as the name of a musical instrument in the form of a spindle. David b. Joshua Maimonides writes that:

217). Note that the eight strings pre-date the Islamic four stringed ‘*ud*, see (Werner 1948, 211–15). Also see *Soher Ṭôv* 81:3 (Buber edition). Ibn Chiquitilla uses the uncommon term *tanġîm* [beating], see (Shiloah 2007b, 280). The adoption of the *šamînîl* as an eight-stringed instrument by other medieval commentators is found in (*Mahberet*, 116). Further adoption of this view is found in various sources, see (Avenary 1968, 161, n. 50). Ibn Bal‘am’s writes that:

Previously, (we mentioned) it as the name of an eight-stringed instrument.

קד תקדם אנה אסם אלה ד'את ת'מניה אומאמר

Evr.-Arab 4308 I 9r. Moses Ibn Ezra writes that:

The commentator of *lam-menazzeah* ‘*al haš-šemînîl*’ [Psalm 12,1] considers *šemînîl* to be an eight stringed instrument as he interprets *nevel asor* – a pipe pierced by ten holes (*zmar*).

"למנצה השמינית" אנהא ד'את ח' אותאר כמא פסר "נבל עשור" אנהא ת'קב עשור פי זק אלזמר

(Shiloah 1993c, Ar. 219, Eng. 222). Tanġûm Yerushalmi quotes Ibn Bal‘am in his remarks to Ps. 6:1.

Upon the *šemînîl* (Ps. 6:1): some say seven melodies, precede eight (names) of the strings. It has been stated in Chron. (1 Chron. 16:5, 1 Chron. 29:12) Jael, Azariah upon the *kinnôrôt*, (and) upon the *semînîl* to conduct. Now this proves that they are the eight stringed *tanâbîr* or that there are eight modes beaten upon it. We have mentioned this in its place.

על השמינית (ו:א) קיל בעד סבעה אלחאן מתקדמה אסם אלד'את ת'מניה אותאר וקד קיל פי דברי הימים ויעאל ועזריהו בכנורות על השמינית לנצה. פהד'א ידל אנהא טנאביר ד'את ת'מניה אותאר או לעלה לחן ד'ו ת'מאן פי תנגמה. וקד ד'כרנאה פי מכאנה.

Evr.-Arab 1699 2r; 3735 I, 184v. This is also Ibn Janâh’s opinion (‘*Uṣûl*, 405, 11 = *Haššôrâšîm*, 283; *Jepheth b. Eli*, 450). The presence of eight-musical modes in found in Baḥya Ibn Paqûda gloss on Num. 4.47

There were also singers with eight musical instruments.

והיו משוררים ג"כ בשמונה כלים

(Ibn Paqûda 1878, ad. loc.).

Furthermore, the *gittîṭ* (Psalms 8:1) is also a musical instrument, said to have been invented by Obed-Edom the Gattite. It was reportedly fashioned in the form of a spindle, resembling the threaded distaff of an olive-press (*gat*) which supports its wooden components.⁴⁷⁷

[8] וכד'לך הגתית קיל אנהא אסם אלה תנתבס אלי עובד אדום הגתי. [9] וקיל אנהא עלי שכל אלמגזל, לאן אלגת להא מגאזל תפתל לוצ'ע אלכ'שב עליהא.

Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 10r

Gittîṭ in the verse “*the conductor upon the Gittîṭ*” is a musical instrument attributed to (the lineage of) Obed-Edom the Gittite (2 Sam. 6:10), who was one of the musicians wandering the land of Gath. I have seen that for the Christians the form (of the instrument) was like the distaff. However, I have the impression⁴⁷⁸ that they understood it as such because the word *Gāṭ* means oil press and it has some twisted cords to hang the plate above it so as to remove it.

גתית פי קו' למנצח על הגתית (תהלים ח:א) אלה נ'סבת אלי עובד אדום הגתי (שמואל ב ו:י) וכאן מן אלמשוררים ינסב אלי בלד גת. וראית' ענד אלנצארי אן שכלהא כאן עלי שכל אלמגזל ואט'נהם תאולוא ד'לך מן לפט' גת אלתי הי אלמעצרה פאן להא מגאזל תפתל ל לוצ'ע אלכ'שבה עליהא ולרפעאה ענהא.⁴⁷⁹

David b. Joshua Maimonides also cites Ibn Chiquitilla's view that *Šōšân* (Psalms 45:1) is the name of a musical instrument.

⁴⁷⁷ (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129).

⁴⁷⁸ Delgado reads this is an IV form (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 222, n. 70), *contra* Finkel, Form I. (Finkel 1936, 158–61). Delgado traces the origins of this explanation to Jerome who translates the verse as *Uictori, pro torcularibus, canticum David*. “The Latin word *torcular* means ‘press used to make wine or oil’” (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 262).

⁴⁷⁹ First published as a fragment by (Poznański 1912, 59; Finkel 1936, 158–61).

Furthermore, *shoshân* ‘a lily’ (Psalms 45:1) is also the name given to a musical instrument, possibly on account of its shape.

וכד'לך שושן אסם אלה מן אלת אלמוסיקי. ויחתמל אן תכון תסמיתהא כד'לך מן חית' שכלהא.⁴⁸⁰

Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 59r

Furthermore, lily (*šôšân*) (Psalms 45:1) is the name given to a musical instrument, possibly on account of its shape.

[59 א] שושנים (תהלים מה:א) אסם אלה מן אלת אלמוסיקי.

Finally, David b. Joshua Maimonides also cites Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion on the meaning and function of the “*conductor (mānaṣṣeah)*” (Psalms 4:1). He states:

The term ‘*leader of the minstrels*’ (*menasseah*) (Psalms 4:1) refers to the player of musical instruments and the master of melodies whose accents are a source of stimulation.⁴⁸¹

ואלמנצה הו צאחב אלת אלמוסיקי ואלרייס פי אלאגאני אלמתחדי באלאקואל

Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 6r

The meaning of “*for conductor (la-mānaṣṣeah) upon the instruments (nāḡînôt)*” is that the

ומעני למנצה בנגינות (תהלים ד:א) אן אלמנצה והו צאחב אלה אלמוסיקא

⁴⁸⁰ (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129).

⁴⁸¹ (Fenton 1982, Ar. 127 Eng. 129). The similarity in language between David b. Joshua Maimonides and Ibn Chiquitilla confirms that his commentaries still circulated in the Eastern Mediterranean, as late as the 15th century.

mānaṣṣeah, who is the master of musical instruments

Other writers in the Eastern Mediterranean also adopted Ibn Chiquitilla's rational approach.⁴⁸² Poznański suggests some later writers may have used his work directly. These include Joseph Qimḥî (c. 1105, al-Andalus);⁴⁸³ Judah Ibn Tibbon (b. c. 1120 - Granada);⁴⁸⁴ Aaron ben Joseph of Constantinople (c. 1260 – c. 1320);⁴⁸⁵ David Qimḥî (1160-1235, Narbonne);⁴⁸⁶ Joseph Ibn 'Aqnîn (b. 12th century- d. c. 1126, Barcelona, Aleppo),⁴⁸⁷ and Samuel Ibn Tibbon (c. 1160-1232, Lunel, Marseille).⁴⁸⁸

Poznański also thought that Ibn Chiquitilla's commentaries endured in Provence after his death. He points to evidence that David Qimḥî quotes him more clearly than Ibn Ezra and portrays passages which derive from Ibn Chiquitilla as his own.⁴⁸⁹ Whether this is proof of a direct link remains to be seen. In the East, Joseph b. David the Greek (13th century) cites examples of Ibn Chiquitilla not found in Ibn Ezra. Aaron b. Joseph might have had access to his text, however, inaccuracies led Poznański to conclude that Ibn Chiquitilla was not available to him.⁴⁹⁰ Poznański concludes that the manuscripts and citations above show that people were still able to read him in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean up to the 13th century.⁴⁹¹

In Western Europe the influence of Ibn Chiquitilla had already disappeared by the end of the 12th century.⁴⁹² They were entirely reliant on Abraham Ibn Ezra and viewed Ibn Chiquitilla's rationalism with increased hostility. Abraham Ibn Da'ûd, writing in the 12th

⁴⁸² (Fenton 2000).

⁴⁸³ On his life and works (J. Martínez Delgado 2010j; Talmage 1968; 1975; Talmage and Walfish 1999).

⁴⁸⁴ (Ferre 2010a).

⁴⁸⁵ (L. Charlap 2005).

⁴⁸⁶ (Talmage 1975, 9).

⁴⁸⁷ (Prats 2010).

⁴⁸⁸ (Ferre 2010b).

⁴⁸⁹ (Poznański 1895, 58–61).

⁴⁹⁰ (Poznański 1894b, 19; 1895, 63).

⁴⁹¹ See samples and references *supra*, dating from the 13th century.

⁴⁹² (Poznański 1895, 51, 69). Ibn Chiquitilla's name does not seem to have survived in S. France for long. His name does not appear on a list of scholars by Don Bonet Abram, Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi, Ha-Pənîni (c. 1270- c. 1340 in his *'igḡeṛet ha-ḥiṭnaṣṣalût* (*Letter of Apology*), see (Ben-Shalom 2017, 287–88).

century, showed ambivalence towards him in *the Book of Tradition*, (written in Toledo in 1126) as one of the scholars, “*who wrote books, liturgies [pîyyûṭîm] hymns, and praises to our Creator, His Name be Praised, and consolations for Israel to encourage them in the lands of their exile.*”⁴⁹³ Under the guise of a war against Qara’ites, the language expresses Ibn Da’ûd’s anti-radicalism and anti-rationalism and his antipathy towards certain Rabbanites, whose understanding of the prophecies of consolation struck him as erroneous and harmful to religious belief in a messianic redemption.⁴⁹⁴

Following Poznański’s analysis we add Joseph of Constantinople (c. 1100/active 1050-1148) to a list of scholars who either knew directly or indirectly Ibn Chiquitilla.⁴⁹⁵

Moreover, a quotation from Ibn Chiquitilla’s *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta’nîṭ* [*The Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns*] is found in Isaac b. Samuel Ha-Sephardi Ibn Al-Kanzî’s (active in Fustât around 1090-1127)⁴⁹⁶ commentary on 1 Samuel.⁴⁹⁷ To this we can add the 13th century book-sellers list, the child’s scrap of paper citing Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentary on Job, and David b. Joshua Maimonides citation of Ibn Chiquitilla from the 15th century, all of which confirm Poznański’s theory that Ibn Chiquitilla was still circulating widely in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Ibn Da’ûd’s veiled criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla is repeated by Naḥmanides (1194-1270) who calls him, “*the stubborn Rabbi Moses ha-Kohen*” and, “*the deceitful priest*” for his view that the last eleven chapters of Isaiah refers to the time of Hezekiah in his *Book of Redemption*.⁴⁹⁸ Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508) too attacks his linkage of Joel 3 to the times of Jehoshaphat as a “*direct lack of faith of that same Rabbi Moses Ha-Kohen and those who follow him with regard to the coming of the Messiah, until they had to distort the words of the prophets and have them refer to the past, and make the signs and future*

⁴⁹³ (Ibn Daud and Cohen 2010, Heb. 73, Eng. 300-3).

⁴⁹⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion on Isaiah’s authorship has been treated by U. Simon in an essay comparing Ibn Ezra to other writers on the subject (Simon 1991, 114, n. 7).

⁴⁹⁵ (Eldar 1994, 2:19; 1988, 497, n. 68; L. R. Charlap 2013, 129). The text was produced as a PhD, but I was unable to access it (Qostandini and Perez 1984).

⁴⁹⁶ (Marina Rustow 2010).

⁴⁹⁷ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, 287).

⁴⁹⁸ (Simon 1991, 114).

wonders they were foretelling into events that had already happened.”⁴⁹⁹ The disappearance of any trace of Ibn Chiquitilla in Western Europe by the 13th century and the shift in the intellectual climate of Iberia may explain why he received a less favourable treatment by later scholars.

In summary, Ibn Chiquitilla belongs to a circle of scholars who migrated from al-Andalus to the city of Saragossa, where they reconstituted, and advanced their grammatical studies of Hebrew. He was respected for his advanced knowledge of grammar and is cited by many leading figures in the generations that followed. However, Ibn Chiquitilla was a controversial figure, who challenged many of the traditional assumptions of how to interpret the Bible. Most prominent among these were his views on messianism and rejection of supernatural miracles. The latter was adopted and developed by Maimonides in *The Guide*. However, Ibn Chiquitilla’s views were less well received by other writers in the period, including Judah Ibn Bal’am and particularly later writers in Western Europe, who probably did not have access to the original text. In the East his works continued to circulate until at least the 15th century, where it was received both positively and negatively.

In the following chapter, our focus is the shifting boundaries of emic and etic knowledge in the development of Iberian hermeneutics through the prism of modern pragmatic linguistics, Qur’anic hermeneutics and Rabbinic *derash*.

Chapter 2

Modern Pragmatics Linguistics

In the previous chapter we described the historic background to Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentary on Psalms. We highlighted his role as a grammarian, rhetorician and poet in

⁴⁹⁹ Commentary on Joel, gloss beginning “*the general intention*” corrected according to MS Escorial G-1 II, see (Simon 1991, 114).

Judaeo-Arabic speaking community of Iberia. In this chapter, just as Gaul was divided into three parts, so too we shall look at three hermeneutical methods for deriving meaning; modern pragmatic linguistic, Qur'ânic hermeneutics and the transformation of Qur'ânic hermeneutics into emic knowledge in Iberian Jewish Biblical exegesis. In the first section, we define the methods of modern pragmatic linguistics and show how the meaning of words are always underdetermined by semantic context and can only be understood through emic knowledge. In the second section, we look at the relationship between Qur'ânic hermeneutics and modern pragmatic linguistics and the degree to which Qur'ânic hermeneutics adopts the necessity for emic knowledge to attain meaning. In the third section, we look at the historic transformation of etic knowledge into emic knowledge of Qur'ânic hermeneutics by Iberian exegetes, and its application to Biblical exegesis.

In this section, we show *how* possession of emic knowledge is essential for effective communication and that etic knowledge in the form of semantic categories always underdetermines meaning.⁵⁰⁰ Applied to linguistics, the distinction between emic-etic knowledge is between the *phonemic* and *phonetic* accounts of the sounds of language.⁵⁰¹ Emic knowledge comes to be *all* the qualitative linguistic knowledge described as it is encountered.⁵⁰² Etic knowledge, is 'scientific,' quantifiable and exists apart from its cultural and historic context.⁵⁰³ To illustrate this, we shall use the Europeans' discovery of the platypus, as an analogy for the difference between emic versus etic knowledge; what Umberto Eco calls encyclopaedic knowledge versus dictionary knowledge.

In his essay titled, *Kant and the Platypus*, Eco asks how people arrange knowledge.⁵⁰⁴ Drawing an analogy to the platypus, he identifies two types of knowledge, encyclopaedic

⁵⁰⁰ Modern pragmatic linguistics emphasise the natural logic of conversation as essential to discovering meaning. By natural logic, we do not mean the Socratic syllogism common to Greek philosophy, but the type of knowledge that arises from within a cultural-historic setting see (Herbert Paul Grice 1957; 1968; 1971; H. P. Grice 1975).

⁵⁰¹ (Markee 2012, 1).

⁵⁰² (Markee 2012, 1). For a parallel description in musical anthropology (Powers 1981, 439) and its application in law (Ancselovits 2007, 26).

⁵⁰³ (Markee 2012, 1).

⁵⁰⁴ (Eco 2000, 224–79).

and dictionary. Encyclopaedic knowledge draws information from any relevant field, whilst dictionary knowledge attempts to arrange that information in files. However, the dictionary files are devoid of knowledge and can be moved around according to need, whilst encyclopaedic knowledge remains untouched by its rearrangement.⁵⁰⁵ In the story of the platypus, what was known about it was incompatible with the pre-existing categories by which the animal kingdom was classified. European biologists were flummoxed by its contradictory appearance. Some of the platypus's features matched those presupposed as belonging to birds, and some which belonged to mammals.⁵⁰⁶ Their solution was to invent a new family of animals, Ornithorhynchidae and genus Ornithorhynchus to accommodate the bird-like and mammalian features of the platypus and other echinoids.⁵⁰⁷ Most importantly, though the biological classification of the platypus according to dictionary knowledge did not actually describe what the animal looked like, as that belongs to encyclopaedic knowledge: duck-billed, lays eggs, lactates, beaver-tailed, otter-footed, *etc.* Eco writes that:

Support of a dictionary representation maintains that such representations take account of relations within language, leaving aside elements of knowledge of the world, while knowledge in encyclopedic format presupposes extralinguistic knowledge.⁵⁰⁸

Eco's terms differ from those usually used by anthropologists as he is writing for the general public. More commonly the terms *emic* versus *etic* knowledge are used,⁵⁰⁹ a choice which emphasises a given culture's knowledge rather than the development of

⁵⁰⁵ Rearrangement is analogous to the repositioning files in a filing cabinet. The content of the filing cabinet remains unchanged by the repositioning of the files.

⁵⁰⁶ We saw evidence for presupposed extralinguistic knowledge in our explanation of Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss to Ps. 45:1, *supra*.

⁵⁰⁷ An account of this story is presented by Eco (Eco 2000, 224–79).

⁵⁰⁸ (Eco 2000, 226). Actual pre-modern dictionaries, such as those created by Hebrew grammarians in Iberia from the 9th century onwards, do not provide abstract definitions of words, but collate citations of words and describe their meaning by implication. Among those dictionaries arranged according to the tri-literal system of Hebrew roots familiar to Ibn Chiquitilla are Ibn Nağrîla's *al-'istiğnâ*, Ḥayyûj's *al-Lîn* and Ibn Janâḥ's *'Uşûl*. Menaḥem's *Maḥberet* too follows a version of this arrangement, although it predates the triliteral root system.

⁵⁰⁹ (Ancselovits 2007, 26).

knowledge at an historic moment. For Eco the changing knowledge about the platypus mirrors the everchanging emic and etic knowledge of human beings. Early Europeans' encounter with the platypus was an example of etic knowledge integrated with their emic knowledge of animals. This argument rings true for linguistics and students of historical linguistics who must treat the discoveries made about the meaning of words, as dependent on our every changing emic-etic knowledge. In this sense it presupposes extralinguistic knowledge as necessary to determine words in the same way as Eco describes.⁵¹⁰

To further understand what we mean by these terms, we shall discuss the difference between emic and etic knowledge as acquired through semantic knowledge and pragmatic analysis, whereby we shall show that semantic knowledge is an insufficient mode of analysis for comprehension of meaning. Writing on this in 1938, Charles Morris observed an error among linguists resulting in the meaning of a linguistic expression being conflated with its semantic and pragmatic properties. He writes that:

... syntax is the study of "the formal relation of signs to one another," semantics is the study of "the relations of signs to objects to which the signs are applicable," and pragmatics is the study of "the relation of signs to interpreters." Even today, this is roughly the way most philosophers and linguists conceive of the fundamental divisions within the domain of theoretical linguistics. But there are dissenters: those who believe that the task of semantics does not extend beyond providing adequate translation manuals, cannot accept this distinction between syntax and semantics, and those who subscribe to the view that the meaning of a linguistic expression is identical to its use must reject the proposed distinction between semantics and pragmatics.⁵¹¹

⁵¹⁰ At times we also use the terms locutionary-illocutionary knowledge as equivalents for linguistic-extralinguistic knowledge.

⁵¹¹ (Gendler Szabo 2005, 1).

Taking up the problem of the “formal relationship of signs to one another” and “the relationship to the interpreter,” the pragmatist Kent Bach, asserts that, “*semantic content is a property of the sentence, not the utterance*,”⁵¹² while the meaning of an utterance is, “*the speaker’s communicative intention*,”⁵¹³ which if successful, the listener understands.⁵¹⁴ Bach argues that those who restrict language analysis to its semantic content *always* underdetermine the speaker’s meaning, since what a speaker means is dependent on his communicative intention, which remains unsaid. The implication of a speaker’s intent is *always* in operation when speaking, whether literally or figuratively, and cannot be explicitly found in the semantic content, but in the *implicature*, *i.e.*, emic knowledge.⁵¹⁵

Implicature maybe illustrated by a quotation from a speech delivered by J. Enoch Powell. He emphasises the linguistic and non-linguistic elements presupposed when law is enacted in the British Parliament:

... a bill becomes a law because certain words of Norman French are pronounced in specific circumstances: the same words in other circumstances and synonymous words in the same circumstances would not make law.⁵¹⁶

Powell’s statement shows how emic knowledge of Parliamentary procedure is essential for mutual comprehension between the speaker and listener.⁵¹⁷ The same locutionary acts,

⁵¹² (Bach 2005a, 23).

⁵¹³ (Bach 2005a, 23; H. P. Grice 1975; Herbert Paul Grice 1957, 375–76; 1968, 230).

⁵¹⁴ “*What is said*” (Bach 2005a, 25). *What is said* is dependent upon other non-semantic features, truth conditions, and may be about something even though the truth condition makes no reference to that thing. Determining truth conditions of utterances of a sentence is an interaction of context with meaning, only when triggered by the grammar of the sentence (Cappelen and Lepore 2005, 70).

⁵¹⁵ (H. P. Grice 1975, 43). Unfortunately, Grice did not always recognise the presence or absence of implicature in figurative language (Bach 2005b, 1–16).

⁵¹⁶ Speech to the Carlyle Club, Peterhouse, Cambridge, 24 May 1980 (Scruton 2012, 119).

⁵¹⁷ Grice’s cooperative principle (H. P. Grice 1975, 41–58). Iser describes the problem as, “*the whole text can never be perceived at any one time*” and that the reader “*has to build up the object for himself – often in a manner running counter to the familiar world evoked by the text.*” Thus, he writes that the “*incompleteness of each manifestation necessitates syntheses, which in turn brings about the transfer of the rest to the reader’s consciousness.*” (Iser 1978, 108–9).

inside and outside of Parliament, differ in that only in *one* context does the listener understand that law has been promulgated. This is not to fall into the platitude of context, but to reject the process by which the semanticist determines contextual meaning. The semanticist forms a set of parameters, whose values delimit the semantic value of expressions with variable references according to context, whilst the pragmatist understands context as the interaction between two parties where the “*salient mutual knowledge between conversants, and the relevant broader common knowledge*”⁵¹⁸ forge comprehension. In the above pronouncement, the speaker and listener *already* presupposed the “*specific circumstances*” to which Powell refers - laws are made in the Houses of Parliament. Without this extralinguistic knowledge the semanticist could not make sense of the presence of Norman French in the Speaker’s statements.

In Powell’s text there is a distinction between the semantic properties of a sentence and the communicative intent of the uttered sentence. Nobody need understand anything either about the linguistics of Norman French or any of the specific circumstances in Parliament, to comprehend what is communicated, a law.⁵¹⁹ This is because Powell’s listeners know what is being talked *about* and so communicative intent and utterance remain distinct. The illocutionary act is extralinguistic and is *only* revealed as emic knowledge in the mind of the listener. Or as Bach puts it, “*Saying something is one thing, stating or otherwise meaning it is another.*”⁵²⁰

Arabic Pragmatics

When we apply modern pragmatic linguistics to the historic study of Arabic grammar in the Mediaeval period, the technical term for expressing the communicative intent of an

⁵¹⁸ (Bach 2005a, 21). The common knowledge arbitrarily known by the community of speakers, which relates signs to a value (de Saussure et al. 1959, 113).

⁵¹⁹ (Bach 2005a, 18).

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.* 25. Also see discussion of parrots in al-’Askarī *infra*. Also “*extratextual*” (Kermode 1986, 192).

utterance is *taqdîr*.⁵²¹ Owens identifies *taqdîr* as ‘*recoverability of meaning*’ and a key concern of mediaeval Arabic grammatical theory.⁵²² In his discussion of ellipsis, he identifies two types of motivations that preoccupy mediaeval grammarians of Arabic; the logic of their own rules and pragmatic reasoning. These he divides into two types; those motivated by *both* presupposed context and structure, and those motivated *only* by structural examples. Contextual examples include information that is easily recovered when trying to work out the meaning of a phrase, whilst structural examples adhere to a preferred word choice arrangement.⁵²³ He states that:

In Arabic practice on the other hand there are two main motivations, as has been explained, one structure and the other pragmatic. In regards to the latter, like deletions in transformational grammar the limitation condition is loss of information as to the identity of the ellipped item, but this identity can be extralinguistic. ...

Secondly, there is a difference in emphasis between the two which may be summarized as follows: ellipsis in Arabic theory is orientated towards reconstituting lost items whereas in transformational grammar it is orientated towards decomposing complete ones.

This point rests on the observation that the Arabic grammarians are to a considerable extent interested in ‘reconstructing’ poetry and the Qur’ân in order to give a clearer interpretation of the meaning.⁵²⁴

Owens outlines some of the differences between ‘*recoverability of meaning*’ in modern transformative grammar and traditional Arabic *taqdîr*, rests on the latter’s interest in

⁵²¹ Synonyms of *taqdîr* include the *niyya*, *ma’nâ*, *yurîd*, *ka-’annhu qâl* and *’ayy* (Levin 1997, 157–61; A. Kasher 2009, 360–80). For its introduction into Jewish circles, see (Shai 1992; Basal 2001, 66, 140 nn. 96, 144). For historic details of the changes to the technical language, see (Carter 1991, 121–35; Versteegh 1993, 199–205; 1994, 271–96).

⁵²² He calls this the limiting condition of ellipsis (Owens 1988, 45:198).

⁵²³ *Ibid.* 186–7. Carter, describes a similar process by which variant forms are measured against an ideal through analogy in Sîbawayhi. He goes further and classifies structure as either *ḥasan* [good], *qabiḥa* [bad], *mustaqîm* [right] and *muhâl* [wrong]. Sîbawayhi reaches his assessment by focussing on what Carter calls ‘the immediate constituent of homologous structures’, differentiating their semantic functions without reference to their ‘lexical meaning.’ The dividing line between good-bad refers to structurally correct/incorrect, whilst right-wrong refers to comprehensible/incomprehensible to the listener (Carter 1973, 146–57).

⁵²⁴ (Owens 1988, 45:196).

extralinguistic knowledge. Furthermore, the contrasting aims of transformative grammar and Arabic grammar means that modern transformative linguistics is interested in the exact conditions by which loss of information occurs, whereas their Arabic counterparts are interested in meeting either the logic of their own rules or a Qur'ânic ideal. Thus, modern transformative linguistics starts with a redundant phrase and then explains *how* the final form is reached, whereas Arabic theorists state what the final form *is*, and then work backwards to explain how the final form is arrived at. For example, Qudâma Ibn Ja'far (d. 922/948/945) and 'Abû al-Hilâl al-'Askarî (d. 1005), view *ḥaḍf* [ellipsis] of the first of two correlatives in an *'iḍâfa* [annexation] as permitted, provided the *ma'nâ* [meaning] does not suffer, *bayt l-Maqdas*⁵²⁵ [Temple] changes to *al-Maqdas*⁵²⁵. Proof of an omission is derivable through *taqdîr al-'ir'âb* [recovering elided terms]⁵²⁶ after establishing the *tafsîr al-ma'nâ* [explanation of the meaning].⁵²⁷ In this arrangement *ma'nâ* is not derived from an understanding of the literal utterance, but it is the art of communication actualised in speech, reflective of linguistic conventions and emic knowledge.⁵²⁸ *Taqdîr* verbalises this concealed knowledge by linking the elision in the sentence, to what the unspoken knowledge the speaker and listener already possess about the context.⁵²⁹ Under these circumstances the morpho-syntactic analysis is restricted to an adequate translation of the *lafẓ* with the relevant detail added in. Ibn Jinnî (934, Mawsûl -

⁵²⁵ (Kanazi 1988, 107–8). This is tied to *qîṣâr* [brevity] as an aesthetic expression of *'ijâz al-Qur'ân* [inimitability of the Qur'ân] in Ibn Qutayba (McKay 1991, 29–26; van Gelder 1981, 82, n. 29). On *'ijâz*, in Arabic poetry as *balâġa* [eloquence] through *معاني في الفاظ قليل* [multiple meanings through few words], see (van Gelder 1981, 78–70; Boullata 1988, 143). Similarly, in *Ṣinâ'tayn*, al-'Askarî states “what is *'ijâz*? He says *ḥaḍf*.” (al-Bajawi and Ibrahim 1952, 179, also 177). Al-'Askarî discusses superfluity and verbosity as two of the most serious defects within discourse as well as the need for brevity and ellipsis (Kanazi 1988, 68).

⁵²⁶ *'Irâb* provides internal coherence with the *lafẓ* though *'amal* [governance]. Ibn Chiquitilla uses the term *'âmil* in *עאמל פיה מפעול בה* [it's governor (God) acting on the predicate] Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 5v. and in *עאמל* “and is the governor (*'âmil*) of (the wicked),” Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 20r.

⁵²⁷ Wansbrough calls *tafsîr* “the transmission of authoritative witness,” (Wansbrough 2004, 154, 156).

⁵²⁸ The ambiguous term *ma'nâ* can mean either the semantic meaning of a word or the intent/topic/sense/theme/thought of the sentence (van Gelder 1982, 131; Sadan 1991, 57–91 n. 12; Meisami 1992, 255). The former is not much more than the semantic definition found in a lexicon or dictionary, whilst the latter is a description which incorporates the presupposed emic knowledge. Also see (Almagor 1999, 270–71, 307; Wansbrough 1970, 247; Heinrichs 1984b, 111, 115–16).

⁵²⁹ Levin, in the above cited article investigating *taqdîr* among the grammarians concludes that they are not a reconstruction of the words used, but an expression of the unspoken intent not found explicitly in the words. Contra Wansbrough who calls *taqdîr*, “restoration of elliptical phraseology and resolution of synthetic constructions.” (Wansbrough 1970, 259; Almagor 1999, 199). For example, al-Fârisî and Al-Jâḥiẓ's description of intent as deriving from what is hidden in the heart of a soul, *supra*.

1002, Baġdâd) expresses this limited function of grammatical analysis in *Ḳaṣâ'is*. He writes that:

Tu vois bien qu'il y a une différence entre reconstruire la représentation sous-jacente voulue par la grammaire et paraphraser le contenu informationnel [*ma'nā*] d'un énoncé. Par conséquent, si tu trouves ce genre de choses chez les grammairiens, prends garde à ne pas t'y livrer inconsidérément. S'il t'est possible de faire coïncider la représentation sous-jacente et la paraphrase, c'est parfait, sinon, il te faut accepter la paraphrase telle qu'elle est et reconstruire correctement la représentation sous-jacente [i.e. conformément aux exigences de la grammaire et sans tenir compte du sens exact] : prends donc bien garde à ne pas t'y lancer inconsidérément, car tu gâterais cela même que tu entends arranger.⁵³⁰

ألا ترى إلى فرق ما بين تقدير الإعراب وتفسير المعنى، فإذا مر بك شيء من هذا عن أصحابنا فاحفظ نفسك منه ولا تسترسل إليه، فإن أمكنك أن يكون تقدير الإعراب على سمت تفسير المعنى فهو ما لا غاية وزاءه، إن كان تقدير الإعراب مخالفاً لتفسير المعنى قبلت تفسير المعنى على ما هو عليه وصححت طريق تقدير الإعراب حتى لا تشذ شيء منها عليك وإياك أن تسترسل وتفسد ما نُؤثر إصلاح،

Ibn Jinnî cautions against confusing the grammarian's task to identify the constituents of either a word or phrase with recoverability of meaning.⁵³¹ A responsible grammarian distinguishes between assigning semantic values to words according to their role in a sentence and *al-ṣinâ'a al-ma'nâ* [*the art of meaning*].⁵³² These distinct functions are explained by Ibn Jinnî elsewhere as an act of inference deriving from elsewhere (*i.e.*, emic knowledge); "*taqdîr of a certain elliptical sense can be inferred from the*

⁵³⁰ (Kouloughli 2014, 27–29).

⁵³¹ Van Gelder describes *taqdîr* as the recovery of the *lafẓ* by digging up a hidden hoard, see (van Gelder 1982, 107).

⁵³² (van Gelder 1982, 107).

circumstances under which these sentences are expressed.”⁵³³ Since it comes from elsewhere, converging with the paraphrase is irrelevant to the process of categorising the syntactic components of a word, phrase or sentence. Explaining the *lafẓ* through *taqdîr al-’i râb* is about making sense of the internal coherence of the *lafẓ*’s semantic content.⁵³⁴ What is said about an utterance, the *ma ’nâ*, may be more or less tightly connected to the *lafẓ* as the circumstances indicate.⁵³⁵ Ibn Jinnî’s attitude to *ma ’nâ*, may be summarised as *taqabbalat tafsîr al-ma ’nâ ’alâ mâ huwa ’alayhi* [accept the explanation of the intent, as it is].⁵³⁶

This connection of *ma ’nâ* with the intent of the phrase separates it from its *lafẓ* with *taqdîr* describing the formal relationship of signs to one another, but it cannot tell us what the text is about, as that lies beyond the words used. Thus, *taqdîr* is a limited sort of recovery of meaning that only identifies where something is unuttered in a phrase and presents it in a simplified format that conforms to a preferred word-order. Evidence for what is unuttered is concealed in the mind of the speaker as summarised by Levin:

It can be inferred that the grammarians assume the *taqdîr* to exist in the speaker’s mind in the following four cases: (1) When they hold that a given part of the sentence is unexpressed by the speaker since it is “concealed” in his mind [. . .]. (2) When they assume that the literal utterance contains a “superfluous” part [. . .]. (3) When they believe that the literal word order of the utterance differs from that intended by the speaker [. . .]. (4) When they hold, that when uttering given utterances, the speaker intends to express another utterance, corresponding in sense to his literal utterance [. . .].⁵³⁷

⁵³³ (Levin 1997, 157). Owens writes of Ibn Jinnî that “*The basic principle of ellipsis is that “nothing can be deleted unless there is something which refers to it in the context, and unless there is an awareness of it in its absence,”*” (Owens 1988, 45:186).

⁵³⁴ Versteegh identifies this with *Sîbawayhi* (Versteegh 1994, 285).

⁵³⁵ (Kouloughli 2014, 29). Or conventional versus unconventional expressions, (H. P. Grice 1975, 151). Ibn Jinnî is exclusively concerned with Arabic, a product of his religious and historic setting, (Versteegh 1994, 283–85).

⁵³⁶ For a history of the foci of rhetoric and grammarian, see (Bonebakker 1971, 75–96).

⁵³⁷ (Levin 1997, 144; Versteegh 1994, 280).

According to Levin, *taqdîr* recovers a structural relationship between words that synthesises the gap between the *lafẓ* and the *tafsîr al-ma'nâ*. This can be illustrated by the classical example: “*Zayd fî al-dâri* [*Zayd is in the house*].”⁵³⁸ The sentence includes an intended elision by the speaker: “*Zayd istaqarra fî al-dâri* [*Zayd has been staying in the house*].”⁵³⁹ Levin calls the elided element ‘*superfluous*’ as the speaker and listener understand that Zayd has been staying in the house. The grammarian is not interested in explaining *why* he knows *Zayd is in the house* as opposed to being either somewhere else or doing something in the house, visiting, eating, drinking *etc.* We do not know if ‘*istaqarra*’ really is the right word to fill in the gap left by the sentence, as we do not know what the sentence is about. *Zayd fî al-dâri* is a metalinguistic category to explain that there is an ellipsis in the sentence and its position. Actually, knowing what is ‘concealed’ cannot be inferred from the semantics of the sentence, since words only provide a clue that something has been left out.

For Qur’ânic exegetes who adopt the grammatical hermeneutic tradition, when interpreting sacred texts, must explain its language both in a manner that conforms to an idealised form and in keeping with preconceived traditional interpretation.⁵⁴⁰ Their use of *taqdîr* is bound by the structural relationship of a sentence and presupposed extralinguistic knowledge.⁵⁴¹ In these circumstances *ma'nâ* incorporates what is hidden in an utterance (the implicature).⁵⁴²

Finally, Owens suggests that there is no mechanism in Arabic theory for how to recover the intermediate structure from the grammar, analogous to a preferred grammatical and syntactic paradigm. In the Arab grammatical tradition, the process “*applied by speakers in the course of speaking*” lacks a paradigmatic rule like Verb Noun Person ---> Verb, if

⁵³⁸ It may also be described as the ‘Underlying Levels,’ see (Versteegh 1994, 283–85).

⁵³⁹ (Levin 1997, 142–66; A. Kasher 2009, 360–68).

⁵⁴⁰ (Versteegh 1994, 279).

⁵⁴¹ “*Paraphrases of words, phrases or whole verses are introduced by yurîdu "he intends to say", ay "i.e.", ya'nî "this means, he means."* The constant re-phrasing of the text led to an awareness on the part of the commentators that there is a discrepancy between what one says and what one means. Very often the speaker articulates his thoughts in such a way that the meaning is hidden; in other words, there is an element of *idmâr* “*hiding*” in articulated speech. In the early commentaries on the Qur’ân *idmâr* is used almost exclusively as an explanation for semantic deletions in the surface structure.” (Versteegh 1993, 146–7).

⁵⁴² Owens’ “*recoverability of meaning*” (Owens 1988, 45:198).

an understood object is not to be explicitly expressed in the words.⁵⁴³ However, we suggest in the next section that the search for a paradigmatic rule is irrelevant, as the presence of an ellipsis is by definition extralinguistic knowledge, dependent on all the salient feature of a given utterance.

The Application of Pragmatic Linguistics to the Lafẓ-Ma'na Dichotomy

In the previous section we identified a lack of a formal rule to explain recoverability of meaning in Arabic grammar. In this section we propose that grammarians account for this through reasoning; asking the salient questions that will lead to an understanding of the text. In doing so, we examine how the Arab rhetoricians account for a gap between the formal relation of signs to one another, and the intent of the utterance, the *lafẓ-ma'na* dichotomy. Do they take into account extralinguistic, emic knowledge as part of their understanding of how communication is achieved? Our discussion is limited to those Arab rhetoricians who might have influenced Ibn Chiquitilla, but we also note the contribution of his contemporary al-Jurjânî (d. 1078/81), despite the fact that Ibn Chiquitilla probably did not know him.⁵⁴⁴

The poet 'Attâbî (d. 827) attempts to describes the relationship between *lafẓ* and *ma'na* as analogous to that of the body and soul أرواح والمعاني أرواح [The *alfâẓ* are bodies and *ma'ânî* souls].⁵⁴⁵ This common-place analogy, can be explained two ways. The first explanation joins the body and soul together. Just as a body cannot exist without a soul, so too, intent cannot exist without words.⁵⁴⁶ The second separates the body and soul; just as a soul endures without a body, so too meaning endures without specific words. Unlike the first explanation in which word and intent are inseparable, in the second explanation they are separate. In linguistic terms the soul is no more than the general intent of words

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.* 197-98.

⁵⁴⁴ On al-Jurjânî's life and works, see (Abu Deeb 2010).

⁵⁴⁵ (al-Bajawî and Ibrahim 1952, 175). De Saussure describes this relationship as assuming linguistic significance when associated with sound-images, (de Saussure et al. 1959, 103).

⁵⁴⁶ It preferences *ma'na* over *lafẓ*. A view taken by al-'Askârî (Kanazi 1988, 93).

and gives no account as to why word-choice matters. Two sentences with the same *ma' nâ*, but different *lafẓ* are saying the same thing.

Al-Ḳaṭṭâbî (d. 998) builds upon this duality, and tries to resolve the above analogy by introducing a third element to the *lafẓ-ma' nâ* dichotomy which he calls “*a link stringing these together*.”⁵⁴⁷ That link forms a triangular relationship between *lafẓ* and *ma' nâ*. He suggests that apparently either synonymous words or constructions in context cannot easily replace each other without altering their meaning. This discovery of the fallacy of paraphrase, contributes to a theory of construction, which recognises the significance of word-choice in conveying meaning. Comprehension is contextual. But what does he mean by context? Does al-Ḳaṭṭâbî mean a set of parameters whose values either fix or delimit the semantic values of expressions (a semanticist's view), or does he mean it conceals extralinguistic knowledge (the cooperative principle of the pragmatist)?⁵⁴⁸ According to Abu Deeb, al-Ḳaṭṭâbî does not elaborate on this.⁵⁴⁹

The search for what joins *lafẓ* and *ma' nâ* continues with al-ʿÂmirî (c. 992). He offers the same body-soul analogy in his discussion of the relationship between *lafẓ* and *ma' nâ*, arguing that the non-linguistic element rests in the “*honourable temperament*” of the speaker. He states that:

As it is with noble souls,” he goes on to say, “that their praiseworthy qualities [or actions] (*aḡḡāl*) will not appear [or manifest themselves clearly] except in bodies which are endowed with honourable temperaments, so it is with genuine [or true] meanings: it will not be possible to present them [or express them] except with appealing words.”⁵⁵⁰

Al-ʿÂmirî considers *al-ʿÂdâb al-Ṣinâʿa* [*the art of composition*] to be a part of *bayân* [*explanation*].⁵⁵¹ His interpretation of the *lafẓ-ma' nâ* relationship identifies the art of

⁵⁴⁷ (Abu Deeb 1979, 6–7).

⁵⁴⁸ (Bach 2005a, 15–44).

⁵⁴⁹ (Abu Deeb 1979, 7–8).

⁵⁵⁰ (Abu Deeb 1979, 7–8).

⁵⁵¹ (Gabrieli F 2010).

successful communication with the effect of the speaker on the listener. He who is endowed with “*honourable temperament*” - the ability to use words skilfully will be understood by the listener.⁵⁵²

This process of identifying the illocutionary element of either communication or discourse reaches its zenith with al-Jurjânî, in what Abu Deeb calls the “psychological element” of the comprehension of speech and language. He connects this with the *naẓm* [arrangement] of the text and argues that neither form nor meaning alone expresses eloquence. Al-Jurjânî writes in *dalâ’il* that:

En un mot, ce que j’ai voulu te montrer, c’est que, chaque fois que tu trouves beau un discours, c’est nécessairement que ton jugement se fonde sur un aspect déterminé [de ce discours], et sur une cause rationnelle, et que nous avons le moyen d’exprimer cela, et de démontrer la validité de ce jugement.⁵⁵³

وجملة ما أردت أن ابينه لك أنه لا بد لكل كلام
تستحسنه ولفظ تستجده من أن يكون لاستحسانك
ذلك جهة معلومة وعلّة معقولة، وأن يكون لنا إلى
العبرة عن ذلك سبيل وعلى صحة ما ادعينه من ذلك
دليل

Al-Jurjânî discovers that the relationship between the arrangement of words and their meaning is synonymous. This discovery establishes the meaning of *ma’nâ*, as buried within the unspoken intent of the speaker. As Kouloughli writes:

Les recherches de Ğurğānî dans cette direction vont le conduire à sa découverte fondamentale, celle de la stricte corrélation entre une variation minimale de forme et une variation minimale de signification dans des énoncés paraphrastiquement reliés. Cette

⁵⁵² Grice writes that the basic requirements of communication is to, “*Avoid obscurity of expression. Avoid ambiguity. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). Be orderly.*” (H. P. Grice 1975, 46). Does al-‘Āmirî’s use of the term “*honourable temperature and eloquence*” fulfil Grice’s maxim of MANNER? Yes. On the surface, al-‘Āmirî’s concern for honourable temperature and eloquence shares Grice’s concern for clarity of expression.

⁵⁵² On the ‘psychological element’ (de Saussure et al. 1959, 67). We equate this with Grice’s appeal to cooperative communication and specifically the logic of natural language (H. P. Grice 1975, 43).

⁵⁵³ (traduction J.-P. G.), from (Kouloughli 2014, 37).

découverte, qui établit le principe d'une relation rigoureusement fonctionnelle entre la *forme* d'un énoncé et sa valeur conduit Ġurġānī à « déplacer » l'acception du terme *ma' nā*: en effet, s'il est établi qu'une différence de *lafẓ*, aussi minime soit-elle, implique nécessairement une différence de valeur qui va être perçue par l'interlocuteur, et si l'on admet par ailleurs qu'un utilisateur compétent de la langue ne recourra à cette différence qu'intentionnellement, il faut alors en conclure que la visée du locuteur est strictement corrélée au *lafẓ* qu'il va employer pour la manifester, et que, par conséquent, la *valeur* du *lafẓ* n'est rien d'autre que le *ma' nā* intenté par l'énonciateur. Du même coup, et selon nous pour la première fois dans la littérature technique, le terme de *lafẓ* peut se voir réduit au sens univoque de *signifiant*, c'est-à-dire de pure séquence de sons.⁵⁵⁴

With this intellectual shift to a recognition that intent is illocution, it is no longer possible to retain the claim that two different texts could have the same *ma' nā* and consequently that differentiation of intent resides in difference in the *lafẓ*. It is necessary to pose a new thesis that differences in form originate from differences in *ma' nā* and that this difference is necessary and a sufficient condition for two texts to have a different *naẓm* [arrangement].⁵⁵⁵

With this important discovery of *naẓm*, we shall return to our discussion of al-Jurjānī's predecessors and discuss examples of illocutionary, emic knowledge essential to uncovering the intent of an utterance. There attempt to resolve this problem does not reach al-Jurjānī's conclusion, although the pave the intellectual road for him to reach it. For example, 'Abd al-Jabbār (c. 1025) describes *kalām* [discourse] as “the manner of interrelation [*tarīqat al- 'ittisāl*].⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ (Kouloughli 2014, 37–38).

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 21

⁵⁵⁶ Abu Deeb does not rule-out 'Abd al-Jabbār's influence of al-Jurjānī's though he contests the more exaggerated claims of *Ḍaif* (Abu Deeb 1979, 9). Ortony's view of metaphor is tied to its task; communication through discrete symbols of language what is usually experienced as a continuum, (Ortony 1975, 46). White the antithetical relationship between meanings and not the supposed relationship between a text and its meaning, (White 1978, 2). Ullmann, the common properties (Ullmann 1962, 213).

Discourse (*kalām*) is appreciable if there is achieved in it the manner of interrelation (*ṭarīqat al-ittisāl*) and it is comparable to interrelated bodies and could be described as woven, harmonious, and interrelated (*mu'allaf, manzūm, muttaṣil*).⁵⁵⁷

The interrelation described by 'Abd al-Jabbār forms a triangular relationship between *lafẓ* and *ma'nā* that seeks to overcome the gap between what is communicated between speaker and listener. In an analysis of this relationship, Kouloughli identifies *the* process of acquiring the *ma'nā* as independent from the *lafẓ*. Commencing with 'Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. 1005), Kouloughli argues that he connects *ma'nā* to the salient emic knowledge of the speaker and listener. Al-'Askarī states that:

Ma'nā désigne la visée qui fait que l'énonciation apparaît sous une forme plutôt qu'une autre; dans l'usage courant, le *ma'nā* d'un discours peut désigner ce à quoi se rapporte cette visée. On dit 'anaytu-hu 'a nī-hi ma'nān [« Je l'ai visé / je le vise d'une visée » : c'est la manière normale, dans les dictionnaires, de présenter les deux formes conjuguées du verbe et son nom verbal, ou *maṣḍar*]. *Maṣḍar* [i.e. le schème maCCaC] peut être aussi bien *maṣḍar* que nom de lieu, et c'est ici un *maṣḍar* : de la même façon, tu dis [*daḥala*] *madḥalan ḥasanan* [« il est entré d'une belle entrée », i.e. « il a fait une belle entrée »] au sens de *duḥūlan ḥasanan* [même sens ; *duḥūl* est la forme la plus courante pour le *maṣḍar* du verbe en question]. C'est pourquoi Abū 'Alī [al-Fārisī, grammairien et lexicologue mort en 987] – que Dieu l'accueille en Sa miséricorde – disait que le *ma'nā*, c'est le fait de viser ce que l'on vise par la

إن المعنى هو القصد الذي يقع به القول على وجه دون وجد، وقد يكون معنى الكلام في اللغة ما تعلق به القصد يقال عنيته أعني معنى. والمفعول يكون مصدرًا ومكانًا وهو ههنا مصدر، ومثله قولك مدخلًا حسنًا أي دخولاً حسنًا ولهذا قال أبو علي رحمه الله عليه إن المعنى هو القصد إلى ما يقصد إليه من القول فجعل المعنى القصد لأنه مصدر. قال ولا يوصف الله تعالى بأنه معنى لأن المعنى هو قصد قلوبنا إلى ما تقصد إليه من القول. والمصدر هو المعنى والله تعالى وليس بمعنى

⁵⁵⁷ (Abu Deeb 1979, 9).

parole : pour lui, *ma 'nā* désignait le fait de viser,
 car c'est un *maṣḍar*. Il ajoutait : « On ne peut
 qualifier Dieu – qu'Il soit exalté – de *ma 'nā*,
 puisque *ma 'nā* désigne le fait que notre esprit vise
 ce qu'il vise par le biais de la parole ; la chose
 visée est le *ma 'nī* [participe passif], et donc Dieu,
 qu'Il soit exalté, est *ma 'nī* et non *ma 'nā*. »⁵⁵⁸

For Al-ʿAskarī, *ma 'nā* is a *qawl* [enunciation], whose comprehension is tied to its *qaṣd* [intention].⁵⁵⁹ Citing al-Fārisī “the *ma 'nī* is the *qaṣd* which is aimed at in the *qawl*,” Al-ʿAskarī views the relationship as triangular; *lafẓ* and *ma 'nā* are tied together by the *qaṣd*, which requires something ‘extra’ to turn words into communication. In this arrangement, *lafẓ* is either the individual or groups of words chosen to make up the *qawl*. It may be presented in “one form or another [*wujd dūn wujd*],” without altering the *ma 'nā*, which is its outcome. *Qaṣd* on the other hand is dependent on the intention behind an utterance which is hidden, *i.e.*, *implicated* in the mind of the speaker. Whether the means of communication is conventional or unconventional, for Al-ʿAskarī creation of *ma 'nā* requires something beyond *what is said*.⁵⁶⁰ For him, *what is said* presupposes extralinguistic, emic knowledge, as illustrated by the following example.

Ma 'nā, comme nous l'avons dit, c'est la visée qui
 fait que l'énonciation prend une forme plutôt
 qu'une autre, et le discours ne se répartit en
 déclaratif, interrogatif et ainsi de suite [selon les
 rhétoriciens de l'époque, tous les énoncés peuvent
 se répartir en quatre catégories : déclaratif,

المعنى القصد الذي يقع به القول على وجد دون وجد على
 ما ذكرنا والكلام لا يترتب في الإخبار والاستخبار وغير
 ذلك إلا بالقصر. فلو قال قائل محمد رسول الله ويريد محمد
 بن جعفر كان ذلك باطلا ولو أراد محمد بن عبد الله عليه

⁵⁵⁸ (Kouloughli 2014, 17).

⁵⁵⁹ Ibn Chiquitilla uses *qaṣd* to express the general sense, Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 11r, 47r, 99r, 113r. On the interchanging of *qaṣd*, *ḡaraḍ* and *ma 'nā* in Maimonides (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 13; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 270; Sadan 1991, n. 28). Al-ʿAskarī seeks a restoration of the *balāḡa*. The restoration of the textual elegance is equated with the grammatical eloquence.

⁵⁶⁰ Al-ʿAskarī assumes that the most frequently used forms are the most salient and affective at communication.

interrogatif, jussif et prohibitif] que par la visée
[de l'énonciateur]. Et si quelqu'un disait «
Muḥammad est le prophète de Dieu » en voulant
parler de Muḥammad fils de Ġa'far [i.e. un
individu quelconque], ce serait faux, mais s'il
voulait parler de Muḥammad fils de 'Abdallāh –
que le salut soit sur lui – ce serait vrai. Ou encore
s'il disait « Zayd est dans la maison » en
entendant par « Zayd » l'exemple des
grammairiens, il ne déclarerait rien [i.e. il ne
s'agirait pas d'une assertion portant sur Zayd,
mais d'un exemple grammatical à portée
métalinguistique].⁵⁶¹

سلام كان حقاً أو قال زيد في الدار يريد تمثيل البحويين لم
يكن مخبراً

In the above passage, Al-ʿAskarī predicates the understanding of an utterance on external knowledge before the relationship between the *lafẓ-ma'nā* is realised. So long as the cultural knowledge is sufficient to understand the intent of the words, precise language is incidental.⁵⁶² Like modern pragmatics, he recognises extralinguistic, emic knowledge as a prerequisite to knowing what something is about. Al-ʿAskarī contrasts the examples, “*Muḥammad is the prophet*,” and “*Zayd is in the house*,” to illustrate the difference between predicative and non-predicative knowledge [*muḥabbar*]. *Muḥammad* presupposes which *Muḥammad* is being spoken of. That knowledge is drawn from the extralinguistic, emic knowledge in which *Muḥammad* is the prophet of God and not somebody else.⁵⁶³ In contrast, *Zayd* is just a place filler to illustrate the formal structure of grammar as it lacks predicative knowledge. In Al-ʿAskarī's mind *ma'nā* possesses meaning or intent if it belongs to *kalām* [utterance], which is associated with either speech production or other forms of communication and entails all semantic or narrative

⁵⁶¹ (Kouloughli 2014, 18).

⁵⁶² (von Gruenebaum 1941, 51–57).

⁵⁶³ Or as in the example taken from Enoch Powell.

information.⁵⁶⁴ *Lafẓ*, on the other hand, is limited to the constituent parts of a sentence and is the concern of grammarians.⁵⁶⁵ Distinguishing one declarative statement from another presupposes extralinguistic knowledge, including realisation that “*Zayd is in the house*” is a heuristic tool of the grammarian.

Al-‘Askarî’s sensitivity to the problem of where communication comes from is expressed through an analogy to a parrot. A parrot’s nonsensical phrases are devoid of *ma ‘nâ* and cannot claim linguistic significance.⁵⁶⁶ He writes that:

Ce qui prouve que la *faṣāḥa* concerne l’expression [lafẓ] et que la *balāḡa* prend en charge le *ma ‘nâ*, c’est que l’on qualifie le perroquet de *faṣīḥ* [« doué de *faṣāḥa* »] mais pas de *balīḡ* [« doué de *balāḡa* »], puisqu’il articule les sens mais n’a pas l’intention [d’exprimer] le *ma ‘nâ* qu’il transmet.⁵⁶⁷

ومن الدليل على أنّ الفصاحة تتضمّن اللفظ، والبلاغة تتناول المعنى أنّ المبناء تُسمّى فصيحاً، ولا يسمى بليغاً، إذ هو مقيم الحروف وليس له قصدٌ إلى يؤدّيه

Al-‘Askarî thinks that the external force lending *ma ‘nâ* communicative intent is predicated on intelligence. Only humans possess intent so they can express *faṣāḥa* [speech] and *balāḡa* [eloquence] through *lafẓ*. The parrot may technically reproduce the sound of words *muqîm al-ḥurûf*, but that does not create intention - *laysa lah_u qaṣd^{um} ‘ilâ al-ma ‘nâ allaḏî yu’addîh* [there is no intention (expressed) except for the intention which is transmitted]. However, Al-‘Askarî fails to identify an obvious problem; there is no difference between either a parrot or a human being reciting Norman French outside of

⁵⁶⁴ As such God refers to the *Ma ‘ânî* [meanings] and not the *ma ‘nâ* for al-Fârisî. Furthermore, “the Arab tradition does not recognise in speech any exclusivity with regard to the expression of *ma ‘ânî* (plural of *ma ‘nâ*). It identifies four other means allowing humans to express their aims, namely: the use of signs (*îṣāra*), writing (*ḥaṭṭ*), dactylonomy (*‘uqad*) and finally the situation itself (*naṣba*).” (Kouloughli 2014, 18).

⁵⁶⁵ Another usage of *lafẓ* is for the sound-quality of words in Arabic literary criticism, but this does not concern us, see (Abu Deeb 1971, 49–50).

⁵⁶⁶ (Kouloughli 2014, 21).

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

parliamentary procedures from the point of view of the listener it is all nonsense.⁵⁶⁸ In both circumstances comprehension can occur. However, he is correct that the utterance lacks any intended effect unless *something* is communicated to the listener.⁵⁶⁹ His limitation of intelligent communication to human beings recognises that communication is about the sharing of mutual knowledge. In the case of the parrot and the human being, only the human being has the potential to communicate. In this way, he recognises something about the process of communicating and that understanding is illocutionary.

Al-‘Askarī’s analogy to the parrot opens up the question of where intent comes from? In his introduction to *Kitâb al-Ši‘r wal-Šu‘arâ*, Ibn Qutayba (9th century) asks whether *ma‘nâ* can be thought of from the perspective of its effect on those listening. He uses the themes or motifs, which he calls *ma‘nâ*, of pre-Islamic *Qaṣīdas* [odes] to ask whether meaning is functional. What emotions are aroused by listening to an ode?⁵⁷⁰ According to Ibn Qutayba social context contributes to the production and effect of poetry.⁵⁷¹ By its very nature as a form of communication, poetry must rely on mutual recognition on the part of speaker and listener to be effective. This we may call either psychology, extralinguistic, or emic knowledge.

In a slightly different manner, al-Jâhiz, in *Kitâb al-Bayân wal-Tabyîn*, links *ma‘nâ* with what he calls the psychological effect of eloquent words on the listener. Borrowing the language of the *mu‘tazilite* theologian Bišr Ibn al-Mu‘tamir (d. 825-40), he explains that:⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁸ Even this conveys information, a point missed by Al-‘Askarī but understood by Lewis Carroll, and demonstrated by his poem *The Jabberwocky*.

⁵⁶⁹ This important discovery seemingly contains a contradiction. The term *balīġ* [eloquent] cannot apply to the parrot as it is predicated on *ma‘nâ*. Al-‘Askarī indicates that the parrot has no *ma‘nâ*, but at the same time admits the existence of *lafẓ*, correctly pronounced, as transmitting *ma‘nâ*. Kouloughli notes this contradiction. He argues that Arab rhetoricians think of *ma‘nâ* as the aim or intent of the speaker, which presupposes an anthropocentric view of meaning, as human speech, and semiotics, whilst *lafẓ* corresponds to the linguistic-semantic sign, see (Kouloughli 2014, 19).

⁵⁷⁰ “*The relationship between [lafẓ-ma‘nâ] were understood as those between a prepared nucleus and the finished literary product that results from the poet’s creative contribution to it; it was generally agreed that the materials in the common reservoir already had a certain stylistic shape (wording), since a meaning cannot otherwise spread.*” (Sadan 1991, 62–64).

⁵⁷¹ The Andalusian poets were not, despite the impression given by their purely Biblical style, imitating it. Rather, it is their Arabic colleagues who they imitate, see (Schippers 1988, 24, 41–45).

⁵⁷² Considered the oldest text on rhetoric. (*Ibid.*) Also see (Nader 2010).

Celui qui cherche à exprimer une idée [*ma' nā*] élevée, qu'il recherche pour cela une expression [*lafz*] élevée, car une idée noble mérite une expression noble, et toutes deux méritent d'être protégées de ce qui les corrompt et les rabaisse, bref de tout ce qui te met dans une situation plus mauvaise que [celle où tu étais] avant de tenter de les rendre l'une et l'autre publiques [i.e. l'idée et l'expression] et d'assumer la responsabilité de les traiter en leur rendant leur dû.⁵⁷³

ومن أراد معنى كريماً فليلتبس له لفظاً كريماً، فإن حق المعنى الشريف اللفظ الشريف، ومن حقها أن تصونها عما يفسدها ويهجنها، وما تعود من أجله إلى أن تكون أسوأ حالاً منك قبل أن تلتبس إظهارها، وترتهن نفسك بملاستها وقضاء حقها

Al-Jāhiz recognises artful communication is linked to the psychology of the listener, who recognises that something noble has been communicated.⁵⁷⁴ He tries to explain how one obtains the psychological knowledge to recognise that he has heard poetry. He writes that:

L'un des maîtres des *lafz* et des fins critiques des *ma' nā* [N. B. : il s'agit certainement d'al-Ġāhiz lui-même] a dit : les *ma' nā* qui ont pour siège le cœur des humains, qui s'agitent dans leurs âmes, indissolublement liés à leurs pensées secrètes et découlant de leur réflexion, sont cachés et secrets, inaccessibles et sauvages, comme dissimulés sous un voile ou un masque : en un mot, bien qu'existant, c'est comme s'ils n'étaient pas. L'homme ne peut connaître [directement] ce que recèle l'intérieur de son ami, ni ce dont a besoin

قال بعض جهابذة الألفاظ ونقاد المعاني: المعاني القائمة في صدور العباد المتصورة في أذهانهم، المتخلجة في نفوسهم، والمتصلة بخواطرهم، والحادثة عن فكرهم مستورة خفية، وبعيدة وحسية، ومحجوبة مكنونة، وموجودة في معنى معدومة، لا يعرف الإنسان ما في ضمير صاحبة، ولا حاجة أخيه وخليطه، ولا معنى شريكه والمعاون له على أموره، وعلى ما يبلغه من حاجات نفسه إلا بغيره – وإنما تحب تلك المعاني في ذكرهم لها، وإخبارهم عنها، واستعمالهم إياها -، وهذه الخصال هي التي تقر بها من الفهم وتجلبها للعقل، وتجعل الخفي، منها ظاهراً، والغائب شاهداً، والبعيد قريباً. وهي التي تخلص الملتبس، وتحل المنقذ. وتجلب الممهل

⁵⁷³ (Kouloughli 2014, 25).

⁵⁷⁴ His analogy of *lafz* to filigree on a headband reflects the aesthetic-ornamentalist approach to literary eloquence. By this we mean that metaphors are reduce to their hidden intent, with the tenor of the metaphor incidental to meaning, see (Heinrichs 1969, 70). On *ma' nā wal-balāga*, see (Baalbaki 1983, 7–23).

son frère, ni ce que veut lui faire comprendre son associé et son compagnon, celui grâce auquel il obtient ce qu'il ne peut se procurer par lui-même : pour donner vie à ces intentions [*ma 'nā*], il faut qu'ils les manifestent, qu'ils les expriment, qu'ils en fassent usage. C'est cette capacité qui les établit dans l'entendement et qui les conduit vers l'intellect, rendant manifeste ce qui était caché, présent ce qui était absent, proche ce qui était lointain ; c'est elle qui débrouille ce qui était confus, qui dénoue ce qui était emmêlé, qui détermine ce qui était équivoque et rend générique ce qui était déterminé, qui rend connu ce qui était inconnu, apprivoise ce qui était sauvage et qualifie ce qui était équivoque ; qui spécifie ce qui était vague et définit ce qui était [simplement] spécifié. Et l'intention [*ma 'nā*] se manifeste d'autant plus clairement que la signification [i.e. l'acte de signifier] est plus claire, la désignation plus exacte, la concision plus heureuse et l'entrée en matière plus précise : plus la signification est claire et fluide, plus la désignation est manifeste et lumineuse, plus [le discours] est efficace et bénéfique. Signifier clairement une intention [*ma 'nā*] cachée, voilà en quoi consiste l'expression [*bayān*] que tu as entendu Dieu – qu'Il soit béni et exalté – célébrer dans le Coran, l'expression à laquelle Il appelle et Il incite : c'est ainsi que parle le Coran, c'est en cela que rivalisaient les Arabes, c'est en cela que se mesure le mérite des autres nations.⁵⁷⁵

مقيداً، والمقيد مطلقاً. والجهول معروفاً، والمحشي، مألوفاً، والغفل موسوماً، وعلى قدر وضوح الدلالة، وصواب الإشارة، وحسن الاختصار، ودقة المدخل يكون اظهار المعنى وكلما كانت الدلالة أوضح وأفصح، وكانت الإشارة أبين وأنور، كان أنفع وأنجح والدلالة الظاهرة علن المعنى الخفي هو البيان الذي سمعت الله تبارك وتعالى يمدح ويدعو إليه وتحث علنه. وبذلك نطق القرآن. وبذلك تفاخرت العرب وتفاضلت أصناف العجم

⁵⁷⁵ (Kouloughli 2014, 26).

For al-Jâhiz, the process of *ma'na* belongs to the rational intellect [*'aql*] of the soul [*nafs*]. Using logic, the *'aql* resolves the ambiguity found in human expression [*bayân*].⁵⁷⁶ This logic, like the questions asked by modern pragmatic linguists, reconciles the tension between *lafẓ* and *ma'na*. Despite their different methods, modern and Arab pragmatists coincide when they acknowledge extralinguistic knowledge as prerequisite to forming the relationship between the *lafẓ* and *ma'na*. As we suggested at the beginning of this chapter, for both the story of the platypus and Powell's description of parliamentary procedure, linguistic knowledge, or even the existence of a formal mechanism is irrelevant to comprehension. An illustration of the type of psychological or extralinguistic reasoning that is required can be demonstrated in Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss on Psalm 45:1.⁵⁷⁷ He writes that:

Evr-Arab. 3906 I, 28r

<p>“A Song of <i>Yəḏīḏūt</i>” (Psalms 45:1). <i>Yəḏīḏūt</i> is an attribute [<i>ṣifa</i>] of the Song (<i>šîr</i>), meaning it is a pleasing love-song [<i>našîd maḥbûb</i>], which is desirous to listen to.</p>	<p>שיר ידידות (תהלים מה:א) ידידות צפה ללשיר אי אנה נשיד מחבוב מסתחסן ירגב פי סמאעה.</p>
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Ibn Chiquitilla links Psalm 45 with the social and psychological arguments for the formation of *ma'na*, put forward by Ibn Qutayba and Al-Jâhiz. The effect of hearing a love song arouses desire in the listener, with the word *Yəḏīḏūt* functioning as a short-hand description [*ṣifa*]⁵⁷⁸ for a love-song” [*našîd maḥbûb*]. This sets the theme of Psalm 45, which may be connected to the Tyrian princess in verses 10-12. She is encouraged to accept her fate as being the daughter of a conquered king and embrace her new life with King David.⁵⁷⁹ This interpretation displays the limit of Ibn Chiquitilla's emic knowledge.

⁵⁷⁶ (Heinrichs 1969, 70).

⁵⁷⁷ So too Tanḥûm Yerushalmi in his discussion of Ps. 45:1 *supra*.

⁵⁷⁸ Or *wasf* [description], see (Schoeler 2010, 11).

⁵⁷⁹ So too Tanḥûm Yerushalmi in his discussion of Ps. 45:1 *supra*.

He cannot identify the modal form of *našîd maḥbûb* [love-song] as no musical tradition for Psalms has been preserved. Indeed, we might even surmise that his identification of *Yəḏīdūt* as a *našîd maḥbûb* [love-song] straddles the boundary between etic and emic knowledge.⁵⁸⁰

The straddling of the boundary between emic and etic knowledge is repeated in Ibn Chiquitilla's use of *ma'nâ* to explain the semantic meaning and identification of the Psalm rubrics with a theme. For example, David and Habakkuk's use of the words *Šiggayôn* [error] (Psalms 7:1) and *Šigyônôt* [errors] (Hab. 3:1) establishes the theme and effect of the psalm/prayer as remorse. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Ev.-Arab. I 3583, 8v

<p>The phrase “<i>a Šiggayôn of David</i>” (Psalms 7:1) signifies what troubled his heart about the matter of Cush, as far as God concealed him (from Cush), therefore he sang the song (<i>šîr</i>), and as if he said ‘<i>šîr Šiggayôn of David.</i>’ ...</p>	<p>וק' שגיון לדוד (תהלים ז:א) יעני מא שג'ל באלה מן אמר כוש חתי כ'פאה אללה פקאל אלשיר פכאנה קאל שיר שגיון לדוד ...</p>
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Ibn Chiquitilla links the theme of *Šiggayôn* with David's remorse for cutting the corner of Saul's garment (1 Sam. 24:6).⁵⁸¹ Similarly, *Šigyônôt* (Hab. 3:1) in Habakkuk indicates remorse for an erroneous understanding of Divine justice. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 49r

<p>An identical meaning, “<i>upon Šigyônôt</i>” (Hab. 3:1). Meaning, what troubles the prophet's heart. What his intellect [<i>aql</i>] has rejected in the verse: “<i>why do you show me iniquity</i>” (Hab. 1:3). He then requested God's forgiveness again through</p>	<p>ומן הד'א אלמעני על שגיונות (חבקוק ג:א) יעני מא שגל באל אלנבי ממא אנכרה עקלה פי ק' למה תראני און ועמל תביט (חבקוק א:ג) פעאד יסתגפר אללה מנה באלדעא ותצחיה אלנט'ר פי סו עאקבה אלט'אלמין אלד'י קאל ענהם כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק (חבקוק</p>
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⁵⁸⁰ On the importance of modes in European music (Powers 1981, 428–470)

⁵⁸¹ It may refer to other instances when Saul tried either to kill or have David killed, for example TB *Mo'ed Kaṭan*, 16b. Cf. Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Radaq, *ad. Locum* and Talmudic sources cited by them.

entreaty and revision of his reflection on the “*unjust retribution*” accruing to the wicked which he states; “*for the wicked surround the righteous*” (Hab. 1:4) saying that their state will finally lead to what is described in “*a fig-tree will not flower*.” (Hab. 3:17).⁵⁸² (The failing of their harvest) will result in the cutting off of their sustenance, whereas he will be preserved from the trials which befall them (the wicked). “*I will rejoice in my salvation*.” (Hab. 3:17-18).

א:ד) פקאל אן חאלהם תלך תוֹלֵל אלי מא דִּכְרֵי מן
קו' כי תאנה לא תפרח (חבקוק ג:יז) וג' וד'לך יקתצ'י
קטע ארזאקהם ואנה אלמעאפֿי ממא יבתלון בה. ד'לך
קו' ואני ביי אעלזה (חבקוק ג:יח).

In this passage the significance of *Šiḡyônôṭ* as indicating error and remorse is expressed in contemporary language of mediaeval rationalism. Habakkuk is transformed into a prophet struggling to cultivate the right ‘*aql* [*intellect*] to explain why the righteous struggle. The charge is delivered through a series of metaphors in chapter 1 and 2, and culminates in chapter 3:17, with Habakkuk finally accusing God of judging unfairly. This attack on the dispensation of Divine justice is only resolved after further contemplation and actively seeking forgiveness for in the form of his prayer.

Another example thematic signifiers at the head a Psalm is Psalm 60. Here, the theme of the Psalm, ‘*qedût* (*testimony*) is God’s approval of David. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 77r

It states “*Šūšān*.” (Psalms 60:1) A singular form of *Šōšānīm* U (*Šūrūq*).⁵⁸³ Most are vocalised with a O (*Hōlām*), but here (the *Š* {*Šīn*}) is vocalised with (a) U (*Šūrūq*),⁵⁸⁴ as in “*were of Lily design* (*Šūšān*)” (1 Kings 7:19). The reward

וקו' שושן (תהלים ס:א) ואחד שושנים ואכת'רה בחלם פי
אלשין וקד ג'א שרק הנא פי קו' מעשה שושן באולם
(מלכים א ז:יט) אלג'זאה שהאדם עלי אכ'תצאץ לאללה לה
ודלילא עלי רצ'אה ענה. וקולה ללמד (תהלים ס:א) יעני אן
עלם ד'לך מן יג'הלהם מן חאלה

⁵⁸² Described by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi in his commentary on Habbakuk, *infra*.

⁵⁸³ Like *hōdēš*, *hōdašīm* etc.

⁵⁸⁴ In Iberia the U (*šūrūq*) and O (*Hōlām*) were pronounced as U (J. M. Martínez Delgado 2013, 82–83). The rubric *šūšānīm/šūšān* appears three times in Ps 45, Ps. 60 and Ps. 80.

is their testimony of God's selection of him and proof of approval of him. And it states, "to instruct" (Psalms 60:1); meaning that he taught this on account of their ignorance of his circumstance.

The meaning of *Šūšān ʿedūt* is an everlasting testimony, which David composes.⁵⁸⁵

In the above examples, Ibn Chiquitilla links the theme of the Psalm to its heading. In Judg. 13:8, however, the problem is not defining the meaning of an unusual word, but matching the form with a meaning that takes into account the future birth of Sampson. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 57v,

Their correlation with the meaning of the (*MaFʿûl*) is necessary for "the lad who will (lit. was) be born (*la-Na ʿaR YûLLāD*).” Then it has multiple meanings [*ma ʿanât*], although it intends [*ma ʿnâ*] "lad who will be born."

פאלחאק לנער היולד בהא ואג'ב אד' הו פי מענאח
ואמא כונה פי מעני אשר יולד.

In this example the form of "the lad who will be born (*la-Na ʿaR YûLLāD*)" is comprised of a noun and *Qal* passive imperfect, linked by the definite article H (*Hē*). Ibn Chiquitilla observes many potential *ma ʿanât* [meanings] of the expression, but only one fits the context, 'lad who will be born.' He concludes in favour of this meaning from what Grice calls the natural logic of conversation - the narrative is about the future birth of Samson.⁵⁸⁶ In the chapter's follow this, we shall examine other examples of emic knowledge drawn from the semantic tradition of comparative Semitics and post-Biblical Hebrew in Ibn Chiquitilla.

⁵⁸⁵ A reference to a battle fought against David's enemies, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 77r-v.

⁵⁸⁶ (H. P. Grice 1975, 41–58).

Chapter 3:

Justification for the Adoption of the Arabic and Qur'anic Hermeneutical code

In the previous section, we examined the role of emic knowledge in forming the Islamic rhetorical tradition. We showed how knowledge of this type, culturally specific to rhetoricians of Qur'anic hermeneutics was essential in bridging the gap between form and meaning. In this section, we analyse how Ibn Chiquitilla imports Qur'anic hermeneutics and its aesthetic values into his Biblical exegesis. He fuses the etic knowledge into the fabric of emic knowledge.⁵⁸⁷ The areas where this can be seen includes comparative Semitics, Rabbinic Hebrew and exegesis, metaphor and philosophically challenging passages.⁵⁸⁸

The historic process and forces bringing about the importation of Qur'anic hermeneutics derives from the models used by Muslim exegetes interpreting the Qur'ân. It has been discussed at length and identified with Se'adyah Ga'ôn (882-942, b. Fustât, d. Baġdâd).⁵⁸⁹ The result of this encounter between Muslims and Jews led to a shift in the hermeneutic process and aims of Biblical exegesis, with a focus on the exoteric meaning of the text,

⁵⁸⁷ Alfonso calls this SELF and OTHER (Alfonso 2008, 3). The paradigm for Alfonso's analysis is Benedict Anderson's 'imagined community', in which he identifies the religious community and dynastic realms as the two frames of reference by which pre-18th century European and non-European societies operated. These systems seemed self-evidently and plausible to them (Anderson 2016, 12–13). In our context, Anderson's idea of an imagined community is applicable to Iberian exegetes, with the possibility of self-identity forged around the sacred language of Hebrew. On sacred languages and the forging of community, see (Anderson 2016, 12–15). For its application to Iberia, (Alfonso 2008, 9–34; Valdeón Baroque and Brann 2007, 13–18). For a discussion of how Arabic literary models interfered with existing Jewish literary model forms in the eastern and western halves of the Islamic worlds, see (Drory 2000, 25:131–45, 200–231).

⁵⁸⁸ *Contra* to Viesel's description of philological exegesis rising and falling (Viesel 2017, 48–88), we argue that it left a permanent marker on Jewish Biblical exegesis, resurfacing when reception to it increases. The numerous super-commentaries on Ibn Ezra attests to this, see (Gutwirth 1990, 147–54; Simon 1990b, 86–128; Visi 2006, 50–151; Lawee 2010, 401–30).

⁵⁸⁹ For a history of Se'adyah's contribution to the study of Biblical exegesis, see (Malter 1969, 141–46; R. Brody 1996, 75–88; Sklare 1996; Wansborough 1970, 259–66; 2004, 5, 9, 35, 37, 77, 84, 200; Drory 1992, 53–54). For opposition to his aims as untraditional by Aharon Ibn Sarjado (Ga'ôn of Pumpedita, 942–960), see (Allony 1969, 102–3). For a discussion of how he absorbed Arabic literary forms and turned them into respectable Rabbanite literature (Drory 2000, 25:143). For a brief biography of him, see (Franklin 2010).

ẓāhir al-naṣṣ. The result is the reframing of the traditional, narrative exegesis of the Rabbis around formal concepts of language in the style of the Qur'ānic grammar, rhetoric, and exegesis.⁵⁹⁰

By contrast, the act of constructing a self-identity around Hebrew has been discussed less often.⁵⁹¹ In one such study, Alfonso presents the self-perception of Iberian grammarians about the Hebrew language. She reframes the phenomenological changes brought about by the historic encounter with Qur'ānic exegesis and Jews into anthropological terms.⁵⁹² It follows from her observations that the conventions of language and specific contexts in which the new elements of Qur'ānic exegesis are synthesised with the old elements of Rabbinic exegesis are part of the modes by which Iberian exegetes express themselves.⁵⁹³ Drory calls this process literary 'interference,' in which new cultural and historical circumstances alter the existing literary norms. In the case of Iberia, she identifies an admiration for the Arabic literary forms as forcing the creation of new Jewish literary forms. The exponent of the new form seek to convert the unfamiliar audience to these new forms.⁵⁹⁴ Thus, the introduction of Qur'ānic exegesis as a form of etic knowledge entails the preservation of the semantic conclusions found in Rabbinic exegesis as a form of emic knowledge.⁵⁹⁵ This forces Iberian exegetes to search for harmonisation between

⁵⁹⁰ For example, *al-Sab' in Lafẓa al-Mufrada*. For a publication of the text, see (Allony 1962; Aron Dotan 1989). For a discussion of its methods and anti-Qārā'ite aims, see (Allony 1969; 1982, 101–27; Allony, Morag, and Tobi 1991; Aron Dotan 1990, 155–68; Aharon Dotan 2005; Roger Jay Kaplan 1995, 15–33).

⁵⁹¹ Alfonso, Brann and Rosen have discussed construction of social meaning in the context of language, rhetoric and gender (Brann 2002; Rosen 2003; Alfonso 2008). Naturally, our discussion develops Alfonso's work on language as it relates to Ibn Chiquitilla.

⁵⁹² (Alfonso 2008, chap. 1). Halkin attributes this to the desire to reach a broader audience, the alleged unsuitability of Hebrew and an attempt to respond to the phenomenon of 'Arabiyya (A. Halkin 1966, 784–805). Allony, Rabin and Roth develop Halkin's idea of 'Arabiyya. Allony describes 'Arabiyya as the threat to Iberian Jewish self-identity – the supremacy of the Arabs, their life style and culture, for which the use of Hebrew poetry functioned as a form of resistance to that ideal; and *Šu'ūbiyya* – the Arabisation of Jews, drove Jews to use Hebrew, (Allony 1979b, 80–136; 1979c, 177–87; Rabin 1979, 240; Roth 1983, 63–84). Another argument is the lack of sophistication of the Jewish authors' Arabic, see (Joshua Blau 1988, 97–88; 1999, 22–24). Drory adds to this an aesthetic reason for using Arabic for prose and Hebrew for beauty (Drory 1992, 53–66).

⁵⁹³ (Alfonso 2008, 10).

⁵⁹⁴ (Drory 2000, 25:129, 202, 213)

⁵⁹⁵ For a study of the sociolinguist relationship between Hebrew and Arabic (A. Sáenz-Badillos 1997, 49–75; Stillman 2019, 41–55). Stillman links this process of Arabisation to sociolinguistic patterns shared by both communities, (Stillman 2019, 41–55).

their linguistic enquires and Rabbinic law and lore whenever possible.⁵⁹⁶ In particular, their use of comparative Semitics as a tool for establishing the meaning of words.

This tension between etic and emic knowledge was felt most acutely when it came to explaining the meaning of words in Hebrew. Here, painfully aware of their limited corpus of Hebrew in comparison to Arabic, grammarians disputed the validity of using comparative Semitics as a mode of analysis. Resistance to this was expressed in Menaḥem's *Mahbēret*. He does not make explicit references to Arabic, nor does he openly compare Arabic with Hebrew. Rather he argues that the Hebrew language is different from all other languages and without the need to make comparisons.⁵⁹⁷ Dunash Ibn Labraṭ criticises his failure to avail himself of the of etic knowledge gleaned from Arabic and Aramaic that can best serve understanding Hebrew. Comparison with Arabic, in his view is a useful tool for the philologist.⁵⁹⁸ Even so, Menaḥem's stance seems more rhetorical than substantial, for Dunash Ibn Labraṭ identifies implicit comparative Semitics in Menaḥem's *Mahbēret*.⁵⁹⁹

The intensity of the dispute continued with the *Responsa* of the Disciples of Menaḥem Ibn Sarūq and Dunash Ibn Labraṭ. The Disciples of Menaḥem attack comparison between Hebrew and Aramaic as killing the souls and bodies of Hebrew words, with both supporters and opponents of comparative linguistics and Arabic metrics invoking Se'adyah's cultural authority at their convenience.⁶⁰⁰ As Alfonso observes:

⁵⁹⁶ This topic has been treated at length by a number of scholars, see (Allony 1947; 1974; 1985; Basal 1999a; 1999b; Bacher 1882b; 1882a; 1884; 1892; 1911; Becker 1998b; 1992a; J. Martínez Delgado 2007a; 2007b; 2009a; 2009c; 2009b; Al Khalaf and Martínez-Delgado 2017; J. Martínez Delgado and Arévalo 2017; J. Martínez Delgado and Saidi 2007; Aharon Dotan 2005; G. Goldenberg 2013; Maman 1996; Maman and Lyons 2004; Perez 1981b; Téné and Maman 2016; Téné 1998, 223; Wated 1994; Zwiep 1996, 1996). For a parallel process in the Syriac tradition and its influence on Hebrew grammar (Aron Dotan 1990, 155–68; Drory 2000, 25:138; King 2010, 189–210).

⁵⁹⁷ “Inasmuch as God made wonders with all breathing creatures, but particularly with humans, by giving them excellence in language, He also made greater wonders with the people (am) of His choice than with the rest of peoples and communities (kol am we-ummah) on the earth. Inasmuch as He made man more admirable [by giving him] language, He also made the Holy language more admirable than the language of all other peoples and nations. Before the capacity of thinking and speaking had been given to the inhabitants of the world, God chose this language, engraved it [on the Tablets] (Exodus 32:16), and spoke in it the day of His appearance in the Horeb.” (Alfonso 2008, 11).

⁵⁹⁸ (Alfonso 2008, 12). Also see (Drory 1993, 201).

⁵⁹⁹ (Alfonso 2008, 12, n. 20). For examples, see (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1980, sec. *80).

⁶⁰⁰ (Alfonso 2008, 13). Also see (Drory 1993, 201).

In this understanding of the Hebrew language as a duplication of the Self, knowledge of language does not depend on comparative linguistics, but it is inextricably linked to an idealized past, and identified with national territory and security. The borders of that national territory are projected onto the borders of the language⁶⁰¹

In the two or three generations following the Disciplines of Menaḥem and Dunash, the grammatical disputes between the respective sides subsided into justification for the method of comparative linguistics.⁶⁰² The greatest exponent of Hebrew language, Ibn Janāḥ, takes up this challenge on two levels, the functional and the religious. In a passage from *al-Luma*, Ibn Janāḥ offers religious motivation for the study of grammar and rhetoric as worthy of Divine reward.⁶⁰³ This seemingly internal motivation ties study of language to the religious communal identity and emic knowledge.⁶⁰⁴ He writes that:

Following this, since the art of the science of language is an essential tool for all, and the starting point of all inquiry, striving to obtain its purpose and mastery of all of its branches and a desire to plumb the depths and understand clearly what is weak from strong; *plene* from *lene*; literal from figurative; customary from unusual and furthermore what is substituted, commanded and obligatory, something necessary – mastery of all these is mastery of all meanings [*ma 'ānī*], ... Also, it is because God's reward, may He be blessed, is

אמא בעד פאנה למא כאנת צנאעה עלם אלסאן אדאה
לכל מטלוב ומדכ'לא אלי כל מבחות' ענה כאן
אלאג'תהאד פי אלבלוג אלי גאיתה ואלאחאטה בג'מיע
פנונה ואלחרץ עלי אלוקוף עלי נהאיתה ומערפה צחיצה
מן סקימה ותאמה מן נאקצה ומחכמה מן מג'אזה ומטרדה
מן שאדה וגיר ד'לך ממא יעתורה אמרא ואג'בא ושיא
לאזמה צ'רורא אד' באלאחאטה בה תכון אלאחאטה
בג'מיע אלמעאני ... ואיצ'א פאנה למא כאן ת'ואב אללה
תבארך ותעאלי אפצ'ל מא יקתניה אלמד פי דניאה ואג'ל
מא יכתסבה ויעדה לאכ'ראה וכאן אלוצול אליה לא יתם

⁶⁰¹ (Alfonso 2008, 13).

⁶⁰² One of the Disciples of Menaḥem was Judah Ḥayyūj. Evidence from the text shows he had already identified triliteralism, (Gaash 2019, 301, 316–17).

⁶⁰³ (Téné 1980, 355–77). Ibn Janāḥ borrowed his grammatical definitions from al-Mubarrad's *al-Muqtaḍab* (Becker 1998b, chap. Introduction).

⁶⁰⁴ For a survey of mediaeval attitudes towards Hebrew (A. Halkin 1963, 233–50; Zwief 1996, 41–61; Valdeón Baroque and Brann 2007, 13–28).

the ultimate reward in this world and the loftiest
 which he may earn and count upon in the afterlife.
 Obtaining it is best achieved through internalising
 the prophetic books, its commandments and
 admonishments.

אלא באלוקוף עלי מא תצ'מנתה כתב אלוהי ואמתת'אל
 אמרהא ונהיהא⁶⁰⁵

In the above section of Ibn Janâḥ's introduction to his magna opus *al-Luma* ' reveals his admiration for Arabic modes of analysis and literary form. Following Drory's model of 'interference', Ibn Janâḥ proceeds to explain to those unfamiliar with it why his methods do not threaten traditional reasons for studying.⁶⁰⁶ He imagines the study of *'ilm al-lisân* [*the science of language*] as the papilium for obtaining Divine reward.⁶⁰⁷ This is done by instructing the student on how to read the Bible competently (grammatically and rhetorically) and how to recognise, interpret, and translate the central text of Jewish life into Arabic vernacular. In doing so, he collapses the teleological goal into the heuristic goal,⁶⁰⁸ elevating grammar and rhetoric to the study of Rabbinic law and lore.⁶⁰⁹ Only a proper understanding of the language opens the way to a proper "*mastery of all meanings* [*ma 'ânî*]." ⁶¹⁰ This move has a clear pedagogical goal, validating the integration of *'ilm al-lisân* into Jewish education, and the innovation brought about by it. Ibn Janâḥ tries to

⁶⁰⁵ (Derenbourg and Ibn Janāḥ 1886, 1; Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ, Tibbon, and Wilensky 1964, 9). Hereafter *Luma* ' = *HaRiqmâ*.

⁶⁰⁶ (Drory 2000, 25:213).

⁶⁰⁷ A similar point is made by Sarna regarding the commissioning of Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentaries and grammatical works (Sarna 1993, 6).

⁶⁰⁸ A more limited expression of heuristic goal of writing good Hebrew is expressed by Ḥayyūj (Wated 1994, 35).

⁶⁰⁹ For Drory these motivations are ideological, but driven by the specific contexts in which a book is composed, (Drory 2000, 25:210–18). We shall return to this point again. For others historical justifications, excuses and reasons given for the introduction of external knowledge (Alfonso 2008, chap. 1; Rothschild 1989, 287–92).

⁶¹⁰ Even so, his view of post-Biblical language did not extend to its morphology. This he insists must conform to Biblical usage. The most famous critic of post-Biblical, poetic language is Abraham Ibn Ezra. However, his 'purists' attitude was not universally accepted. Even such masters of Hebrew as Maimonides and Tanḥûm Yerushalmi conceded the permissibility of Mishnaic Hebrew, even as they preferred Biblical forms (Yahalom 1985, 21, 24). Nonetheless, the view that the language of prayer ought to reflect the occasion quite easily led to the view that non-Biblical forms were not permissible, especially among Qara'ites (Yahalom 2008, 399).

demonstrate the validity of his claim by linking *‘ilm al-lisân* with semantic statements made by the masters of Talmud.⁶¹¹ He writes that:

Also, the greatest of our Sages, may God be pleased with them, did not cease to apply it (Hebrew) and strongly recommend it and to occupy themselves with it, as they say of the father's obligations towards their sons: “*he knows how to speak, his father teaches him the verses*” and (the verse) “*šema*” (Deut. 5:4), “*The law, Moses commanded to us*” (Deut. 33:4) and the Holy tongue. The proof is that to understand these books of revelation and to discharge the obligations that the Law imposes is to comprehend the interpretations alongside the proofs which reason furnishes. Of this our Sages, may God be pleased with them say, “*The Judeans preserved their language, their (knowledge) of their law endured. The Galileans did not preserve their language, their (knowledge) of Law did not endure for them.*” Furthermore, it is said of the Judeans, whom we descend from, we other inhabitants (Jews) of this country and whose example we must imitate and follow, “*because we preserve their language*” and, “*we have established signs*” and “*their law endured.*” For their words, “*we have established signs*”; one can say that we have established (the rules of)

ולם יזל אפאצ'ל אואילנא רצ'י אללה ענהם יג'תהדון פי ד'לך ויחרצון עליה ויחצון עלי אסתעמאלה כקולהם פי ג'מלה לואזם אלבא לאבנאיהם יודע לדבר אביו חייב ללמדו שמע ותורה צוה לנו ולשון הקדש.⁶¹² ואמא אלדליל עלי אן פהם כתב אללסאן ובלוג אלגאיה מן אלביאן מע מא ישחד בה אלעקל מן ד'לך פהו קול אלאואיל רצ'י אללה ענהם בני יהודה שהקפידו על לשונם נתקימה תורתם בידם בני גליל שלא הקפידו על לשונם לא תקימה תורתם בידם.⁶¹³ וקיל איצ'א פי בני יהודה אלד'ין נחן מעשר אהל הד'א אלצקע מנהם ולזמנא אלאקתדא בהם ואקתפא את'ארהם מתוך שהקפידו על לשונם ומתנחי להו סימני נתקימה תורתם בידם. פקולהם ומנתחי להו סימני אנמא יראד בהא וצ'ע אלאעראב ואלתדקיק ואלתעליל ...⁶¹⁴

⁶¹¹ (*Luma* ' 2 = *HaRiqmâ*, 16). Also see Ibn Qurayš's *Introduction* (Ibn Quraysh and Becker 1984, 116–19).

⁶¹² TB *Sukkah* 42a, *Tosephta Hagigah* 1:2.

⁶¹³ TB *Eruvin* 53a.

⁶¹⁴ (Derenbourg and Ibn Janāḥ 1886, 1–2; Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ, Tibbon, and Wilensky 1964, 9–10).

grammatical inflection, (bringing out the) finesse
and indicating the reason.

Ibn Janāḥ's remarks have three aims, to validate hermeneutical methods of *'ilm al-lisān* as essential to study of the commandments, to show that he is a direct successor to the Hebrew speaking Judeans, and grammar is the tool for preserving the Hebrew of Judeans.⁶¹⁵ He goes further in his efforts to justify the introduction of this novel approach to Biblical study. By citing examples of 'comparative philology of hoary antiquity' from the Mishnah and Talmud he creates an emic precedence. Thus, R. 'Aqiva's comparison with 'Arabic' (Aramaic words) in TB *Rosh Hashanah* 26a,⁶¹⁶ and the use of foreign languages by his Ge'onic predecessors, Se'adyah (882-942), Sherira Ga'ôn (ca. 906-1006, Baḡdād),⁶¹⁷ and Hayy (Hayya d. 1038, Baḡdād)⁶¹⁸ provide Ibn Janāḥ with his justifications for doing so.⁶¹⁹ He writes that:

And what lacks evidence for it in the Bible, I will
provide evidence for it from what is presented to
me in the Mishnah, Talmud and in the Aramaic
language, because all of that is also used by the
Hebrews. There are traces of this in the heads of

ומא לם אג'ד עליה שאהדא מן אלמקרא אסתשהדת
עליה במא חצ'רני מן אלמשנה ואלתלמוד ואללגה
אלסריאניה אד' ג'מיע ד'לך מן אסתעמאלת אלעבראניין
מקתפאי פי ד'לך את'ר ראס אלמתיבה אלפיומי רחמה
אללה פי אסתשאדה על אלסבעין לפט'ה אלמפרדה פי

⁶¹⁵ Like many Iberians, Ibn Janāḥ identified himself as superior in Hebrew and Jewish law to other Jews as a direct descent of the original tribe of Judah and Benjamin. This parallels similar Muslim thinking that the tribe of Quraysh spoke the purest form of Arabic, *'ijāz al-Qur'ān* (Alfonso 2008, 19). For its role in Andalusian (J. Martínez Delgado 2013, 299–317; Maman 1996, 272–75) and its impact on Qara'ite-Mu'tazilite modes of thinking (Drory 2000, 25:135–38).

⁶¹⁶ For this example and others see (*Luma* ' 7= *HaRiqmā*, 17-18).

⁶¹⁷ For his biography (Ackerman-Lieberman 2010).

⁶¹⁸ For his biography (R. Brody 2010a). Se'adyah already explained the use of Rabbinic Hebrew in his introduction to *Ṣab'in al-Lafza*. For a discussion of this and his rebuttals of the Qara'ites, (Allony, Morag, and Tobi 1991, 1:41, lines 19-21, 42, lines 12-14, 19–21; Netser 1983, 1–3; Tirosh-Becker 2005, nn. 540 41). For the Qara'ite usage of Rabbinic Hebrew (I. Davidson 1934, 43, 75–76; Al-Fāsi and Skoss 1936, XX liii-lix; Klar 1954; Tirosh-Becker 2005, 530–56). Another early Rabbinic dictionary is Rabbi Hāyy's al-Ḥāwī (Maman 2014).

⁶¹⁹ Also in *al-Mustalḥaq*; וקד פעל מתל הד'א רב סעדיה ז"ל פי ספר יצירה פאנה למא ד'כר הנאך אן אהל טבריה ינטקון באליא [Sā'adya, may he rest in peace, did the same in the Sefer Yēšira, because when he mentions there that the inhabitants of Tiberias pronounce the yod reduplicated, he also mentions that the Arabs do this and he includes some examples of this in that passage.] (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, Ar. 164; Eng. 322).

the Academies, (Se'adyah) the Fayyûmite, may God have mercy upon him, for which he brings proofs in *al-Sab'în Lafẓa al-Mufrada* in the Bible, from Mishnah and Talmud, as well as other Ge'onim, Rabbi Sherira Ga'on and Rabbi Hāyy, may God favour them and others like them.⁶²⁰

אלמקרא מן אלמשנה ואלתלמוד ואת'ר גירה מן אלגאונים איצ'א כרב שרירא ורב האי רצ'י אללה ענהמא ואת'ר גירהמא איצ'א.⁶²¹

Ibn Janāḥ's justification of comparative Semitics combines both old and new hermeneutics and manoeuvres the Rabbis into the position of being *the original linguists* before the rise of the Arabic grammatical and rhetorical tradition. He opens the door to novel ideas from outside the traditional fields of knowledge by creating a useful Jewish past.⁶²² This manoeuvre requires only minor modifications of traditional Qur'ānic hermeneutics to fit Jewish requirements: the replacement of the Qur'ān, classical Arabic

⁶²⁰ Perhaps Samuel ben Ḥophni (d. 1013, Baḡdād).

⁶²¹ (*Luma'*, 6-7 = *HaRiqmā*, 16-17).

⁶²² Perhaps an exemplary example of this is found in Judah Ha-Levi's *al-Kazāra*, 2:66.

The Rabbi: What is thy opinion of Solomon's accomplishments? Did he not, with the assistance of divine, intellectual, and natural power, converse on all sciences? The inhabitants of the earth travelled to him, in order to carry forth his learning, even as far as India. Now the roots and principles of all sciences were handed down from us first to the Chaldaeans, then to the Persians and Medians, then to Greece, and finally to the Romans. On account of the length of this period, and the many disturbing circumstances, it was forgotten that they had originated with the Hebrews, and so they were ascribed to the Greeks and Romans. To Hebrew, however, belongs the first place, both as regards the nature of the languages, and as to fullness of meanings.

קאל אלחבר, ומא טנך בעלום שלמה וקד תכלם עלי גמיע אלעלום בתאייד אלאהי ועקלי וגריזי וכאן אהל אלארץ יקצדונה לינקלוא עלומה אלי אלאמם, חתי מן אלהנד. פגמיע אלעלום אנמא נקל אצולהא וגמלהא מן ענדנא אלי אלכשדים אולא. תם אלי פרס ומדי. תם אלי יון. תם אלי אלוים. ולבעד אלעהד וכתרה אלוסאיט לא ידכר פי אלעלום אנהא נקלת מן אלעבראניה, לכן מן אליונאניה ואלרומיה ואלפצל ללעבראניה פי דאת אללגה ופי מא צמנת מן אלמעאני.

(Hirschfeld 1905, 124; Ha-Levi and Hirschfeld 1931, 124; ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969, Ar. 124, Eng. 124; Baneth 1977, 79). Other examples of constructing a useful past as a counterweight to *'Arabiyya* are cited by Allony, (Allony 1979c, 185–87). The ideological motivation for recasting the lost past to serve the present is discussed at length by Drory, (Drory 2000, 25:208–21).

poetry and pseudo-native resources used by Sībawayhi⁶²³ with the Bible and Rabbinic sources (*Targûm, Mishnah, Midrash, Talmud etc.*).⁶²⁴

Comparative Semitics: Biblical Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic

Ibn Janâḥ's appeal to tradition as his justification for developing his grammatical and rhetorical methods rests on references to comparative Semitics in Rabbinic sources. He was not the first to realise the linguistic relationship between Hebrew and other Semitic languages. In *ʿĒḡrôn*, Seʿadyah makes use of Arabic, Aramaic, Rabbinic Hebrew and other languages, and shows awareness of the linguistic relationship between them.⁶²⁵

However, one figure who stands out the most for his contribution to comparative semantics is not mentioned in the above source, Judah Ibn Qurayš (10th century).⁶²⁶ His analysis of the relationship between Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic in *al-Risâla*, presents some of the morphological and phonological differences between the languages. Despite the polemic tone at the beginning - an attack against those who have abolished the use of the Aramaic *Targûm* in the synagogue or abandoned studying it

⁶²³ “The fact that nearly all the material examined by Sībwayhi is either from the *Qurʾān* or pre-Islamic poetry is not evidence of an antiquarians bias, ... but points to the cultural background of the Book's composition, for it was written in a period when all norms – legal, ethical, aesthetic as well as linguistic, were being sought in the earliest phrases of Arab history.” (Carter 1973, 146; Bonebakker 1971, 82). Rabin argues that the attitude of the Jew towards the poetical register was the same as the Muslim to Arabic. Thus, the use of Biblical Hebrew in contemporary poetry is dominated by the opinion of the grammarians and lexicographers. Their ruling opinion on accidence and vocabulary was no addition to the established use was allowed. He concludes that “Just as the Arab grammarians and lexicographers concerned themselves entirely with the language of poetry and neglected the language of prose, so the Hebrew grammarians and lexicographers restricted their efforts to biblical Hebrew. The linguistic difference between Jews and Moslems is not exhausted by the above enumeration. Both groups also had several passive registers concerned with holy scripture, edificational literature, and prayer. These were of course Arabic for the Moslems (Koran, *Hadīth*, and prayer), while they were Hebrew for the Jew (Bible, *Mishnah*, and *Midrash*, the prayer books), although in the case of the Bible Hebrew was underpinned by the existence of written Arabic translation,” see (Rabin 1979, 238–39). This too is Drory's view, describing it as a ‘literary-aesthetic language,’ (Drory 1992, 57–63).

⁶²⁴ Precedent for native facility is found in the Talmud when R. Judah consults his maid for the meaning of a word TB *Megilah* 18a, *Rosh Hashanah* 26b, TB *Nazir* 3a and TB *ʿEruvin* 53a.

⁶²⁵ Strictly speaking this begins with his teacher Eli ben Judah Ha-Nazir, see (Allony 1969, 56).

⁶²⁶ (Maman 2010).

entirely – his analysis is measured and foreshadows the heuristic argument put forward by Ibn Janâḥ for studying grammar later on. He writes that:

I saw that you have abolished the custom of reciting from the Aramaic Targum of the Torah in your synagogues, ... The Targum is something that your predecessors did not leave, your ancients did not discard, your sages did not cease to study it⁶²⁷

אמא בעד פאני ראיתכם קטעתם עאדאת אלתרג'מה
באלסריאני עלי אלתוריה מן כנאסכם ... ותרג'ום
אכרמכם אללה הו' שי לם יצ'עה אסלאפכם ולא רפץ' בה
קדמאאוכם ולא אקקט תעלימה עלמאוכם ואל אסתג'נא
עמה אואילכם ...

The ancient practice of translating the Bible into Aramaic, was by this time, no longer fit for its original purpose: to make understandable the Bible in the vernacular of the populace. Ibn Quryaṣ exploits the retention of this moribund tradition for the introduction of new grammatical methods and comparative Semitics. He writes that:

Indeed, there are in it (the Bible) many words, especially Arabic, that are scattered. Indeed, there are in it many exceptional words which we have found to be pure Arabic, so much so that there is no difference between Hebrew and Arabic except the substitution of *šade* for *ḏad* ... The cause of this similarity and the reason for this intermingling are the neighbouring proximity of the lands [in which these languages were spoken] and the genealogical closeness [of the original speakers]. Indeed, Terah, the father of Abraham, was an Aramean, and Laban too, was an Aramean. Ishmael and Kedar were speakers of

ולא סימא אלערביה כ'אצה פאן פיהא כת'יר מן גריב
אלפאט'הא וג'דנאה עבראניא מחצ'א חתי לא יכון בין
אלעבראני ואלערבי פי ד'לך מן אלאכ'תלאף אלא מא
בין אבתדאל אלצאד ואלצ'אד ... ואנמא כאנת אלעלה פי
הדא אלתשאבה ואלסבב פי הד'א אלאמתזאג' קרב
אלמג'אורה פי אלבלאד ואלמקארבה פי אלנסב לאן פי
הד'א תרח אבו אברהם כאן סריאניא ולבן סריאניא:
וכאן ישמעאל וקדר מסתערב מן דור הפלגה זמאן
אלבלבלה פי בבל: ואברהם ויצחק ויעקב עליהם אלסלם
מתמסכין בלשון קדש מן אדם הראשון פתשאבהת אללה
מן קבל אלממאזג'ה כמא נשאהד פי כל בלד מ'אור לבלד
מכ'אלף ללג'תה מן אמתזאג' בעץ' אלאפאט' בינהם
ואסתעראה אללסאן בעצ'הם מן בעץ' פהד'א סבב מא

⁶²⁷ (Berlin 1991, 59; Ibn Quraysh and Becker 1984, 116).

Arabic since the generation of the Tower of Babel, while Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, peace be upon them, clung to the holy tongue [in an unbroken chain] since [the time of] Adam. The [Hebrew] language came to resemble [the others] by means of the intermingling, as we see in every land adjacent to a land having a language different from it the exchanging between them of some words, and linguistic borrowing one from the other. This then, is the reason for the similarity between Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic, which we found, except for the nature of the letters ...⁶²⁸

וג'דנאה מן תשאבה אלעבראני בעלרבי גיר טבע
אלחרוף ...⁶²⁹

The explanation for the similarity between Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic is a central feature of *al-Risâla*. Added to this is the pre-existing knowledge that Rabbinic Hebrew can aid understanding Biblical Hebrew.⁶³⁰ This opens the door to the acceptance of comparative Semitics throughout the Arabic-speaking Jewish world.

Writing in *Kitâb al-Mustalḥaq*, Ibn Janâḥ justifies comparison between Arabic and Hebrew on account of their similarity. He writes that:

I think that I am going to illustrate for you this
with examples from the language that we use
today, which is Arabic. I am not going to establish

קד ארי אן אמתל לך פי ד'לך מתאלא מן אללגה
אלמסתעמלה פי זמאנא הד'א והי אללגה אלערביה
לאג'על אללגה אלערביה חג'ה עלי אללגה אלעבראניה

⁶²⁸ English Translation, (Berlin 1991, 59–60).

⁶²⁹ (Ibn Quraysh and Becker 1984, Introduction, 116-17).

⁶³⁰ (*al-Risâla*, Chapter 2, 168-225). This even has Talmudic precedent in the form of a statement by Rabbi Yoḥannan; לשון תורה לחדוד לשון חכמים לחדוד “*the language of the Bible for itself, the language of the Rabbis for themselves*” (TB *Avodah Zarah* 58b). For variations in the text, see (Yahalom 1985, 189). By distinguishing Biblical Hebrew from Rabbinic Hebrew, he recognises *use* of language by its speakers as what gives it understanding. The distinction between Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, draws a line between *emic* and *etic* knowledge in the mind of Rabbi Yoḥannan. He *speaks* in Rabbinic Hebrew, and knows *about* Biblical Hebrew. This is no different to Ibn Qurayš’s pronouncement that he found some Arabic words to be pure Hebrew. The close proximity of Hebrew to Arabic makes the latter an excellent source of *emic* knowledge *about* Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic for which he possesses *only* *etic* knowledge.

Arabic as an argument for Hebrew, because I am aware that many Israelites were not used to hearing anything like it and neither did they know it and one who has not been used to hearing a certain thing rejects it at first and fears it, he finds it disagreeable and it terrifies him, which is why I find it appropriate to add some evidence and clarification about what I said ...

I beseech he who sees what I have said about this case, those who live an austere life, the humble, that what I have said about similar cases that are used in Arabic, not to censure me because I do not make use of Arabic as evidence on a constant basis in my methodology and because the Hebrew language has no need for the Arabic language; I have only said that for the vast majority of Israelites, they were not happy to hear such an assertion and as I fear that they will not have the slightest intention of changing their mind, I have shown them these examples that are used in another language that is not ours. Să'adya, may he rest in peace, did the same in the *Sefer Yēšira*, because when he mentions there that the inhabitants of Tiberias pronounce the yod reduplicated, he also mentions that the Arabs do this and he includes some examples of this in that passage.

לכן לאני אעלה אן כתירא מן אלעבראניין לסיעתאדו
סמאע מתל הד'א אלקול ולא ערפיה ואן מן לם יעתאד
סמאע שי מא רבמא נאפרה פי אול והלה ואסתבשעה
ואתפצ'עה פד'לך מא ראית אן אזיאדך וצ'והא וביאנא פי
לגתהם ...

ואנא ארגב אלי מן ראי קולי פיה מן אלמתקשפין
אלמתכשעין ודכרי למא אסתעמלתה אלערב פי נוה אל
ינכר ד'לך עלי פאני לם אסתשהד בלגה אלערב עלי
סביל אתתבית למדהבי פיה ולא לאן אללגה אלעבראניה
מצ'טרה אלי אללגה אלערביה בל למא ד'כרתה לך מן אן
כתירא מן אלעבראניון לם יעתאדו סמאע מתל הד'א
פכשית אן יסבק אלי קלובהם אנכאהה פראיתיהם אן
מתל הד'א מסתעמל פי גיר לגתנא וקד פעל מתל הד'א
רב סעדיה ז"ל פי ספר יצירה פאנה למא ד'כר הנאך אן
אהל טבריה ינטקון באליא אלמשדדה ד'כר איצ'א אן
אלערב קד תפעל ד'לך ואסתשהד בבעץ' כלאמהם
פיה.⁶³¹

In the above passage, he justifies the introduction of comparative Semitics in the form of an apologetic. Ibn Janâḥ is writing in Saragossa, outside his indigenous culture of al-

⁶³¹ (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, Ar. 156, 163-4; Eng. 319, 322). Here after, *al-Mustalḥaq*.

Andalûs. Could this explain why he needs to justify what he is doing. Ibn Janâḥ shows awareness he is introducing knowledge from outside of Jewish tradition to explain tradition, something those who disagreed with him will attack.⁶³² This he defends on the grounds that such etic knowledge can assist, but not replace, the essential emic characteristic of Hebrew language studies.

Evidence of an emic-etic tension is expressed in poetic terms by Ibn Chiquitilla in his introduction to his translation of Ḥayyûj's grammatical treatise on weak verbs. There he stresses the result of speaking "*strange people's*" tongue, which deprives Jews of emic knowledge of their language. He writes that:

This is a book composed by a man of intelligence and learning, acquainted with Jewish grammar and understanding Hebrew logic; hereafter shall his name and that of his father be famous, and at the end of all things shall he be celebrated as the head of philosophers and of those who understand the properties of the Hebrew language. Yet forasmuch as a strange people bears rule over us, and we are swallowed up among nations of a deep speech and of a hard language, and lions have scattered the dispersed sheep of Israel till the day when the judgment shall be set and the books opened; and forasmuch as the language of the sanctuary is lost among the languages of the world, and they who speak them are numerous as the sand, while we are left but few out of many,

זה ספר אשר חברו איש שכל יודע מבין בדקדוק לשון יהודית ומשכיל בהגיון שפת עברית. עוד ינקב בשמו ואם אביו ויודע בסוף הדברים כי כן היה בראש המדברים ומביני תכונת לשון עברית. אך מפני אשר גברו עלינו עם לועז ונבלענו בגיוס עמקי שפה וכבדי לשון ושה פזורה ישראל אריות הדיחו. עד יום דינה יתיב וספרים פתחו. ושקעה לשון הקדש בין לשונות החול. אשר רבו בעליהן כחול. ונשארנו מעט מהרבה ואבדה חכמת חכמינו. ונסתתרה בינת נבוינו. ולא נשאר ממי נשמע תוכן הלשון. ולא נותר ממי נלמוד כל עניניה. כי אם מה שנזהר מן הנמצא בכתבי הקדש ונלמוד מן הנכתב בספרי הנבואה. והוא מעט מזער מן הכל. לפי שלא באו הנביאים לחקור כל הלשון כי אם לפי צרכם בדברי נבואתם ועניני חזיונם. ולזאת הצרכו מחברי דקדוקי לשון הקדש מבארי רזי שפת עברית לחבר ספריהם בלשון ערבית מפני שהיא עוברת בפי אומה

⁶³² A similar argument is proposed by Drory for Moses Ibn Ezra and translators for S. France, (Drory 2000, 25:213–31). Menahem and his pupils' aversion to comparative Semitics, stems from their view that languages should be understood via-emic knowledge. They rejected comparisons between Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew, on grounds that they are not the same languages. Also, they cautioned that the presence of *faux amis*, words which have the same form [lafẓ], but differ in meaning [ma'nâ] demonstrated the need to avoid false analogies. For example, *ṣadîq* in Arabic means friend, but in Hebrew a pious man. Another prominent figure who argues in favour of an etic understanding of Hebrew is Ibn Gabirol, see (Alfonso 2008, 16–17).

and the wisdom of our wise men has perished and the prudence of our prudent ones is hidden; and forasmuch as no one is left from whom we may learn the properties of the language, and none remaining from whom we may acquire all its meanings, but only what we may understand from the materials afforded in the holy Scripture, and learn from the prophetic books; - though that is but a small portion of the whole, inasmuch as the prophets did not come to employ the language in its full extent, but only so far as they required for their prophecy and vision. For these reasons therefore Jewish grammarians were obliged to compose their works in Arabic, this being current in the mouth of a powerful people and easy of comprehension, while Hebrew was obscure; the former clear and intelligible, the latter of doubtful meaning; as it was proper to explain the obscure by the clear, the difficult by the intelligible. The men of Zarephath⁶³³ however, that dwell in the dominions of our brethren the children of Esau,⁶³⁴ do not for the most part understand Arabic, while they dearly love and are accustomed to speak the holy tongue.⁶³⁵

גוברת. והיא מבוארת ולשון עברית עלומה. ולשון ערבית גלויה ומפורשת. ולשון הקדש סתומה. ויכון לפרש הנעלם במבואר. ולפרש הסתום במפורש רק אנשי צרפת היושבים בגבול אחינו בני עשו אין רובם מכיר לשון ערבית והרבה מחבבים לשון הקדש ורגילים לדבר בה:

In this passage, Ibn Chiquitilla acknowledges two problems faced by all Jews that reflects the emic problem faced by any Mediaeval (and modern) biblical exegete: the lack of knowledge about Hebrew equal to that of native speakers of the language and the

⁶³³ France.

⁶³⁴ The Christians.

⁶³⁵ (Nutt and Hayyuj 1870, Heb. 1, Ar. 1).

incomplete record left behind by the biblical prophets.⁶³⁶ Seen from the perspective of problem of communication and decay, Ibn Chiquitilla's use of Rabbinic Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic to explain the meaning of words is unremarkable. Yet, he does not use it in all situations.⁶³⁷ An example in favour of Rabbinic Hebrew is found in Ibn Chiquitilla's analysis of Hos. 8:13. He writes that:

“*My sacrifices*” (Hos. 8:13) as our Rabbis (of הבהבי (הושע ח:יג) כדברי רבותינו ז"ל ולא הבהבה (משנה
שבת ב:ג)⁶³⁸ blessed memory) “*But not burnt out*” (*Mishnah*
Shabbath 2:3)

This secondary use of Rabbinic Hebrew, combines traditional emic knowledge with etic knowledge. Ibn Chiquitilla adopts a preferential system of Biblical forms over later Rabbinic Hebrew that mirrors the aesthetic-ethical system of Arab hermeneutics that preferences establishing grammatical norms from material found in the Qur'ân and *Ḥadîṭ*.⁶³⁹ The result of this import is a tension in which etic value system of the Arabs *could* exert an influence on the preferred meaning of the biblical word. For example, Se'adyah states in his commentary on Psalms that the irregular word *hārôṭ* (Amos 1:13) is assessed by the aesthetic-ethical norms of Arabic culture, in which the Biblical writers are free to use unusual forms in their writings. He writes that:

⁶³⁶ Maimonides is ambivalent towards Hebrew, see the functionality of Arabic as superior, (Alfonso 2008, 23–24; Drory 1992, 60–61), but others are very much concerned about the state of decay, (Drory 2000, 25:208–21; Rothschild 1989, 279–302; Schippers 1993, 75–93). This element of decay made translation of Psalms particularly difficult. It reached a point that the rhyming Arabic translation of the Christian Ḥaṣṣ Albar al-Qûṭî became an invaluable tool for the meaning of Psalms in the writings of Ibn Chiquitilla and Moses Ibn Ezra (Schippers 1996, 219–26). One might go so far as to say that al-Qûṭî, despite not knowing the original Hebrew, but basing himself off Jerome who did, was incorporated into the emic tradition of Andalusian exegetes and poets. For the use of Christian sources, including Jerome and al-Qûṭî, see our discussion in Chapter 1 and (J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 245–63; Schippers 1996, 221).

⁶³⁷ This might reflect Menahem's reluctance to use comparative methods, stressing linguistic purity of the Biblical language and its sufficiency to explain itself, (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 124; Yahalom 1985, 20–21). For Menahem's influence on Ibn Chiquitilla (J. Martínez Delgado 2014b, 34–58).

⁶³⁸ (Poznański 1895, 102).

⁶³⁹ (Bonebakker 1971, 82; Carter 1973, 146; Rabin 1979, 238–39).

I explained maidens (*‘alâmôt*) ... I do not find it strange that our fathers used the masculine gender for what ought to be feminine and use the feminine gender for what ought to be masculine, as in “*Because they ripped open the Mountains of Gilead*” (Amos 1:13).⁶⁴⁰

ופרסת עלמות ... ולם אג'ד מנכר ענד אבאינא אן יד'כרוא אלאסם אלמונת' אוקאתא וינת'ון אלמד'כר מת'ל הרות הגלעד אלד'י היה הרים.

Se‘adyah’s attitude to form validates his preferred meaning, a calculus not explicitly the concern of the Aramaic Targûm, “*the pregnant woman of the land of Gilead*.”⁶⁴¹ This

⁶⁴⁰ (Se‘adyah, *Psalm*s, 163-4).

⁶⁴¹ In his response:

You bring in the same section “*hârôt*” (Amos 1:13), together with “*hârîm*” (Judg. 5:5). But “*hârôt of Gilead*” resembles “*hârâh*” (Gen. 16:11).

If you reflect on the types of crimes mentioned in this passage, you will understand that they are all acts of cruelty. When he says; (1) “*for having devastated Gilead with iron threshes*” (Amos 1:13), (2) “*because he burned the bones of the king of Edom to lime*” (Amos 2:1), and (3) “*because they ripped open the pregnant women of Gilead*” (Am 1:13). Slicing open pregnant women is truly cruel, as is burning the bones (to lime); whereas, there is no cruelty in either splitting cities, mountains, or countries.

My proof against you, Menaḥem, is what (King) Menaḥem did, as he wrote: “*At that time, [marching] from Tirzah, Menaḥem subdued Tiphseh and all who were in it, and its territory; and because it did not surrender, he massacred [its people] and ripped open all its pregnant women.*” (2 Kings 15:16). And the same thing: “*Why does my lord weep?*” asked Hazael. “*Because I know,*” he replied, “*what harm you will do to the Israelite people: you will set their fortresses on fire, put their young men to the sword, dash their little ones in pieces, and rip open their pregnant women.*” (2 Kings 8:12).

Should you say: what does the issue of slicing open the womb of pregnant and parturient women have to do with the expansion of the territory of the text, “*the pregnant women of Gilead in order to enlarge their own territory.*”?

הרות והבאת בחלק אחד: על בקעם הרות הגלעד (עמוס א:יג), עם הרים נזלו מפני יי (שופטים ה:ה). ואין הרות הגלעד כי אם כמו הרה ויולדת (בראשית טז:יא). והתבונן לפשעים הנכתבים עם הפסוק הזה, תדע כי הם כלם מעשה אכזריות. באמרו: על דושם ברחצות הברזל את הגלעד (עמוס א:יג), על שרפו עצמות מלך אדום לשיד (עמוס ב:א) על בקעם הרות הגלעד (עמוס א:יג) ובקוע הרות חיות הוא אמת אכזריות, כשריפת העצמות, ואין אכזריות בבקוע ערים והרים ומדינות.

ועדי עליך, מנחם, את אשר עשה מנחם, ככתוב: אז יכה מנחם את תפסח ואת כל אשר בה ואת גבוליה מתרצה כי לא פתח ויד את כל ההרותיה בקע (מלכים ב טו:טז). וכמהו: ויאמר חזאל מדוע אדני בכה ויאמר כי ידעתי את אשר תעשה לבני ישראל רעה, מבצריהם תשלח באש ובחרויהם בחרב תהרג עולליהם תרשש והרותיהם תבקע (ב מלכים ח:יב).

ואם תאמר: ומה ענין בקוע הרות ויולדות מן רחב הגבול הכתוב על בקעם הרות הלגעד למען הרחיב את גבולם,

I will answer you: how are they going to expand their territory except by killing their large and small enemies including their infants and pregnant women? From the words of our father Isaac, you will realise with the rebellious enemy's withdrawal, the territory expanded. It says: "*He moved from there and dug yet another well, and they did not quarrel over it; so he called it Rehoboth, saying, 'Now at last the LORD has granted us ample space to increase in the land.'*" (Gen. 26:23). Reflect and do not open a gap in the language of Peres (Cf. Gen. 38:29)

(Schroter 1866, sec. §19, 6-7). His student Yehudi Ibn Sheshat adopts this opinion in his defence of his master, (Sheshet and Varela Moreno 1981, *15-6). In the responsa of the Disciples of Menahem, Judah Hayyūj defends the interpretation "*mountain*." He first criticises Dunash Ibn Labrat's distinction between unnecessary cruelty in war, and wanton cruelty. Thereafter, he explains why morphologically, *pregnant* makes no sense. He states that:

And your answer is that all the crimes that are mentioned in the passage are acts of cruelty (*i.e.*, war crimes), such as: "*for having devastated Gilead with iron threshes*" (Amos 1:13), "*because he burned the bones of the king of Edom to lime*" (Amos 2:1), whilst cleaving mountains, cities and regions is without cruelty. In fact, we cannot say that the entire passage is about cruelty, only that it wished to list its crimes, whether they are cruel.

He mentions there, as we find written his inclusion of this crime: "*Because they exiled an entire population*" (Amos 1:6), although it is not a sin of cruelty like that of "*because he burned the bones of the king of Edom to lime*" (Amos 2:1). However, there is no talk of cruelty in the whole passage, for the killing of small and old as you say, but of the action of splitting mountains to widen their territories; it is on account of having seized cities that do not belong to them, and splitting in two the mountains of the territory of their neighbours that is considered a crime, the same as Judah, "*they have spurned the Teaching of the LORD*" (Amos 2:4) and having abandoned the precepts, even though there is no cruelty in that action.

Although there are elements of cruelty in some of the crimes, is it necessary to group them all together on account of their cruelty?

Work harder! Based on the structure of the word and its punctuation, it is not *harāh* (*pregnant*) in the phrase "*hārōt ha-Gil 'aḏ*" (Amos 1:13). The H (*Hē*) of *hārōt* must be in the construct, as in "*harat*" (Je 20:17). It is *harāh*, in the construct - the H (*Hē*) transforms into T (*Taw*), as in *šanāh*, into "*šənāt*" (Is. 63:4), with the H (*Hē*) punctuated with *šawa'* (*šəḥa'*). That is the norm for the *Ā* (*Qāmeṣ*), as it is said: *yāpāh*, and in construct, "*yāpāt-tō'ar*" (Deut. 21:11); and in the plural equally, *yāpōt* and not *yāpōt*. Be

אומר איך לא ירחיבו את גבולם בהרגם אויביהם גדוליהם וקטניהם עד עולליהם והרותם? ומדבר אבינו יצחק תלמד כי בסור האויב המריב ירחב הגבול, באמרו: ויעתק משם ויחפר אחרת ולא רבו עליה ויקרא שמה רחובות ויאמר כי עתה הרחיב יי לנו ופרינו בארץ. והתבונן ואל תפרץ בלשון פרץ.

והישובות עליו בפתרו על בקעם הרות הגלעד. ותשובתך זאת היא כי הפשעים כולם הבאים בעניין מעשה אכזריות המה באומרו: **על דושם בחרצות הברזל** (עמוס א:ג), **ועל שרפו עצמות מלך אדם לסייד** (עמוס ב:א), ואין בבקוע הרים וערים ומדינות אכזריות. כי לא נאמר העניין כלו בעניין אכזריות, כי אם רצה להגיד פשע[י]הם, הן באכזריות הן בלא אכזריות.

הוא מזכירו שם, כאשר מצאנו כתוב, הזכירו פשע זה: **על הגלותם גלות שלמה** (עמוס א:ו). ואין פשע זה אכזריות, כי אם **שרפו עצמות מלך אדם לסייד** (עמוס א:ו) ולא נמצא בהריגת קטניהם וגדולים, כאשר דברת, כי אם בקיעת הרים להרחיב גבולם בכל עניין אכזריות, כי אם למען קחתם ערים לא להם, ובקעם הרים מגבול שכיניהם, נחשב להם לפשע, כאשר נחשב ליהודה **מאסם תורת יי** (עמוס ב:ד) ועזבם חקיו, ואין בדבר זה אכזריות.

ואם היה במקצת הפשעים דברי אכזריות, לומר על כולם כי באכזריות נאמרו?

ומבניין המלה ונקודתך תוסיף אומץ בדבר, כי איננה הרה באמרו הרות הגלעד, ותהא ההא הרות בסמיכה כמו ותהי לי אמי קברי ותמה הרת עולם (ירמיהו כ:יז) זו הרה, אבל לסמיכה נהפכת ההא תיו, כמו שנה, שנת גאולי, וההא נקודה שבא. וזה הדין לקמיצה, כאשר נאמר יפה, ולסיכה יפת תאר ולקביצת כמו כן יפות, ולא יפות. וזהו פן תהיה לגדופות ולחרפות.

opinion is recorded by Joseph b. David the Greek (13th century), as Ibn Chiquitilla's too.⁶⁴² He states that:

“*Because they ripped open the Mountains of Gilead*” (Amos 1:13) meaning (mountains) and the proof of this is the statement of the verse “*In order to increase their frontiers*” (Amos 1:13).⁶⁴³ על בקעם הרות הגלעד (עמוס א:יג) מענין הרים והראיה על זה מאמר הכתוב למען הרחיב את גבולם⁶⁴⁴

If the text is an accurate record of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion, then he may prefer explaining Biblical Hebrew with as little recourse to Rabbinic Hebrew as possible. The logical context clinches the argument for destroying mountains with the verse, “*In order to increase their frontiers.*”⁶⁴⁵ This means the rejection of the non-grammatical analysis of the Aramaic Targûm is not about inaccuracies (with the form-analysis necessary to make sense of the Aramaic Targûm), but its contextual plausibility.

Ibn Chiquitilla's ignoring of Rabbinic Hebrew, as an authority to explain the irregular form *Hârôt* demonstrates its lower aesthetic-ethical status. However, it does not lead to a rejection of the value of Rabbinic Hebrew entirely. A discussion of the meaning of *ba'alil* in Ibn Chiquitilla makes use of Rabbinic Hebrew in its analysis.⁶⁴⁶ In this example, we can trace the development of grammatical analysis of the word, which culminates in what

careful, lest you become a cause for opprobrium and ignominy.

(Benavente Robles and Sáenz-Badillos 1986, *45, Sp. 72). On Ḥayyûj's authorship, see (Gaash 2019, 299–300). For further discussion, see (Simon 1989, 185, n. 36).

⁶⁴² For his identify, see Introduction.

⁶⁴³ This matter is a major dispute between Menahem (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, 54) and his students' victory (S. G. Stern 1870, 81–82), against Dunash's students (Sheshet and Varela Moreno 1981, 15).

⁶⁴⁴ For references to this example, see (Poznański 1895, 103; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 124). Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad. Loc.*

⁶⁴⁵ He follows a similar method for the word *ŠiNāN* see earlier, rejecting rabbinic tradition in favour of the information supplied by the logical context. On aesthetic preference for Biblical Hebrew, see (Téné 1980, 355–77; A. Halkin 1982, 133–55; Zwiep 1996, 41–61).

⁶⁴⁶ For further references and a discussion of this word, see (Segal 1936, 161, n. 7; Tirosh-Becker 2005, 540–41).

Mordechai Cohen calls the ‘strong reading’ of the *peshat*.⁶⁴⁷ We shall trace this analytical development through a selection of sources relevant to Ibn Chiquitilla’s analysis of *ba’alil* beginning with Se’adyah and ending with Abraham Ibn Ezra.

Se’adyah translates *ba’alil* as *bawâtiq* [crucible] in his *tafsîr* on Psalm 12:7.⁶⁴⁸ Later, Ibn Qurayš adds a visual image of the *ba’alil* from a description found in *Mishnah Rosh Hashanah*. He writes that:

“Refined silver, clearly in the land” (Psalms 12:7) *Ba’alil* in place of ‘solid (*muṣāq*).’ Its explanation (*tafsîr*) is ‘poured’ or ‘cast.’ The *Mishnah* (*Rosh Hashanah* 1:5) says of the moon, that when it tilts downwards, they see it *ba’alil* as if poured out because of its direction being downwards.

כסף צרוף בעליל לארץ (תהלים יב:ז) בעליל מקאם מוצק ותפסירה מצבוב מפרג' ואלמשנה תקול פי אלהלאל אד'א כאן מצבובא ראוהו בעליל כאנה מצבוב לתצויבה אלי אלאספל.⁶⁴⁹

The addition fleshes out the image of a crescent moon in the shape of an upturned crucible, *ba’alil*.⁶⁵⁰

Later Ibn Janâḥ sharpens the relationship between the received meaning and grammatical analysis. He introduces several additional grammatical and exegetical terms alongside

⁶⁴⁷ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 65).

⁶⁴⁸ He states:

Like molten silver in crucibles [bawâtiq] or what the people of the land are accustomed (to use). (Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 71).

⁶⁴⁹ (*al-Risâla*, 170-173).

⁶⁵⁰ *Mishnah Rosh Hashanah* 1:5. R. Abbahā in *TB Rosh Hashanah*. Also, *Tosephta Soṭah* 7:1, *Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael* 22:6 and *TB Menahoth* 64a, which also attributed this to R. Jose. Se’adyah describes a crucible in commentary on Ps. 12:7. He writes that:

I found the craft of melting (metal) is to be performed in different ways, thus, I say that the interpretation of “Crucible (ba’alil) of the land” is in a crucible or in any (apparatus) the inhabitants customarily use.

כאלפצ'ה אלמסבוכה פי אלבוטק או מא עאדת אהל אלבלד.

ווג'דת צמאעה' אלסבך תסתעמל עלי וג'ה שתי פמנהא קלת אן תפסיר בעליל לארץ (תהלים יב:ז), פי אלבוטקה או מא עאדה' אהל אלבלד אן יסבכון בה.⁶⁵⁰

(Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 71). Also, Maimonides *Mishnah Rosh Hashanah* 1:5 *ad. loc.* and Rashi, *Psalms*, Heb. 815, Eng. 257. A discussion of this word appears in Tirosh-Becker’s article on Qara’ite use of Rabbinic sources. (Tirosh-Becker 2005, 541–56). Jepheth b. Eli, translates it as “crucible” [*rûbâs*] (*Jepheth b. Eli*, 19).

tafsir - 'ašl, 'iḏâfa, ma'nâ, taqdîr, tarjama and zâ'ida to explain the morpho-syntax of *ba'alîl*. He states that:

He (Ḥayyûj) also did not pay attention to the meaning of “*Terrible is the (Most) High*” (Psalms 66:5).

Now “*Crucible of the land (ba'alîl)*” (Psalms 12:7), in our opinion bears multiple interpretations:

[EXPLANATION 1] The B (*Bēṭ*) is part of its root ['ašl], whilst the L (*Lāmed*) is identical, as in the identical R (*Reš*) of *SaGRîR* (Prov. 27:15) and *ŠaP̄RîR* (Jer. 43:10). Its (contextual) translation [*tafsîr*] is ‘*master of the soil and its leader,*’ as in ['ay] ‘*greatest master of jewelry and metal.*’ The L (*Lāmed*) of “*the earth (lā- 'āreš)*”⁶⁵¹ replaces the H (*Hē*) of definition as it says, “*whose arm the (la-mēṭēk) king was leaning on*” instead of *ha-mēṭēk*, as if it said ‘*ba'alîl hā- 'āreš*, [as in ‘*master of the earth*].

This we mentioned in [*Kitâb*] *al-Luma*.⁶⁵² This is the meaning, without the L (*Lāmed*) functioning in place of the H (*Hē*) of definition, but as an annexation ['iḏâfa], as if it stated “*Who is our master*” (Psalms 12:5), (and) “*He made him Lord of his household*” (Psalms 105:21) [as if to say ‘*master of the land*’].”

[EXPLANATION 2] The B (*Bēṭ*) is pleonastic [*zâ'ida*], without meaning, just as it is pleonastic in “*Everything (ba-kōl) with which*

ולא אבה איצ'א אלי מעני נורא עלילא (תהלים סו:ה)

ואמא כסף צרוף בעליל (תהלים יב:ז) פחתמל ענדנא אקואלא.

מנהא אן תכון אלבא פיה אצליה ותכון אללאם מצ'אעפה כתצ'אעף [רא] סגריר (משלי כז:טו) ושפריר (ירמיה מג:י). ותכון תפסירה בסיד אלטרב וראיסה אי סיד אכת'ר אלג'ואהר אלמעדניה. ותכון אללאם פי לארץ מכאן הא אלטרעריף כמא קיל אשר למלך נשען על ידו (מלכים ב ז:ב) מכאן המלך וכאנה קאל בעליל הארץ [אי סיד אלטרב]. וקד ד'כרנא הד'א פי [כתאב] אללמע. וקד יקום הד'א אלמעני דון אן תג'על אללאם מכאן הא אלטרעריף בל תכון לאלאצ'אפה כמא קיל מי אדון לנו (תהלים יב:ה). שמו אדון לביתו (תהלים קה:כא) [פכאנהקאל אדון לארץ].

ומנהא אן תכון אלבא זאידה לא מעני להא כזאידתהא פי בכל אשר תרמש האדמה [ובכל דגי הים] (בראשית ט:ב) עלי מא ד'כרנא פי כתבא אללמע. ויכון עליל מג'אנסא

⁶⁵¹ A more literal translation would be soil following his translation of 'āreš as *turâb* [soil].

⁶⁵² (*Luma* ' 49,4 = *HaRiqmâ*, 62, 6).

the earth is astir - and upon all the fish of the sea; they are given into your hand" (Gen 9:2) as we mentioned in *Kitâb al-Luma*.⁶⁵³ It is possible, 'alîl is a homonym [*mujânasa*] of the verse "*The Most high glory* ('*alîlâ*)" (Psalms 12:7), "*With hands upraised* (*ba-mo 'al*)" (Neh. 8:6) (and) "*I buried my glory* ('*olaltî*) *in the dust*" (Job 16:15). Its translation [*tarjama*] is '*nobles* (lit. *refined*) *of the land*.'

[EXPLANATION 3] The B (*Bet*) is also pleonastic [*zâ'îda*], without effecting the meaning, and is a homonym [*mujânasa*] of the verse, "*Then came* [*Chaldeans*]" (Dan. 4:4), "*Came to the banquet*" (Dan 5:10) (and) "*Brought before me*" (Dan. 5:15). Its (contextual) translation [*tafsîr*] – '*inside the earth*' as in '*extract from metal*.'

[EXPLANATION 4] The B (*Bet*) is also pleonastic [*zâ'îda*] and its (contextual) translation [*tafsîr*] and its translation [*tarjama*] – '*like purified silver inside the heat of the earth and refined*' – just as it is known that crucibles are not taken except from hot mud, as we said in the (contextual) translation [*tafsîr*] of "*In earthen moulds*" (1 Kings 7:46).⁶⁵⁵ The L (*Lamed*) of "*the earth* (*lā- 'ārēṣ*)" in this manner can also replace the H (*Hē*) of definition. And we establish, following this analogy, *hā- 'ārēṣ* in place of *hā- 'āḏāmā* just as *hā- 'āḏāmā* replaces *hā- 'ārēṣ* in many places.

לקולה נורא עלילה (תהלים יב:ז). ובמועל ידיהם (נחמיה ח:ו). ועללתי בעפר קרני (איוב טז:טו) ויכון תרג'מתה רפיע אלתראב.

ומנהא אן תכון אלבא איצ'א זאידיה פיה לא מעני להא ויכון מג'אנסא לקולה באדין עלין [חרטמים] (דניאל ד:ד). לבית משתיא עללת (דניאל ה:י) הועלו קדמי (דניאל ה:טו)⁶⁵⁴ ויכון תפסירה דכ'יל אלתראב אי אן מאכ'וד' מן אלמעאדן.

ומנהא אן תכון אלבא זאידיה איצ'א ויכון תפסירהא פ'י⁶⁵⁶ פתכון אלתרג'מה כאלפצ'ה אלמכ'לצה פי חר אלתראב ורפיעה כמה הו מעלום אן אלבואטק לא תתכ'ד' אלא מן אלטין אחר כמה קלנא פי תפסיר במעבה האדמה (מלכים א ז:מו). ותכון לאם לארץ פי הד'א אלמד'הב איצ'א מכאן הא אלתעריף. וג'עלנא הארץ פי הד'א אלוג'ה מכאן האדמה כמה ג'על האדמה פי כת'יר מן אלמואצ'ע מכאן הארץ.

⁶⁵³ (*Luma* ', 69, 21 = *HaRiqmâ*, 82, 2).

⁶⁵⁴ Following *HaŠôrāšîm*, 368.

⁶⁵⁵ ('*Uṣûl*, 497, 4-10 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 350-1).

⁶⁵⁶ Neubauer indicates this word is erroneous.

[EXPLANATION 5] Others (Se'adyah)

וקד תרג'ם גירנא בעליל פי אלבואטק עלי חסב אלמעני.⁶⁵⁷

translate [*tarajama*] *ba'alil* as crucibles

according to the context [*ma'nâ*].

In keeping with his multi-valent reading of the meaning of words, Ibn Janâḥ describes *ba'alil lā- 'ārēṣ* as ambiguous: “Which in our opinion bears multiple interpretations.” In the course of his analysis, he offers five different explanations, with the main task how to categorise the root, morphosyntax, and literal meaning of the word within its figurative context. He includes many different hermeneutical terms, *tafsîr*, *'aṣl*, *'idâfa*, *ma'nâ*, *taqdîr*, *tarjama* and *zâ'ida*. For each explanation, Ibn Janâḥ draws upon either one or more of these terms as the starting point for his grammatical and syntactic analysis of the word.⁶⁵⁸

Explanation 1 offers a coherent analysis of the morphology that ignores Se'adyah's opinion in favour of a different *tafsîr* [translation]; “master of,” derived from Menaḥem's *Maḥbērēt*,⁶⁵⁹ as in the master refiner of the silver in the crucible.⁶⁶⁰ Ibn Janâḥ defends this explanation by classifying the morpho-syntax of *ba'alil lā- 'ārēṣ*⁶⁶¹ as B- ' -L.⁶⁶² In explanations 2 and 3 the B (*Bēṭ*) is pleonastic [*zâ'ida*], making the root ' -L-L. In explanation 2, Ibn Janâḥ draws an analogy between Psalm 12:7 and the pleonastic form *'alilâ* (Psalms 65:8), whose *tafsîr* [interpretation] uses *mujânasa* [homonym]⁶⁶³ to arrive

⁶⁵⁷ (*'Uṣûl*, 523, 6-524, 1 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 368).

⁶⁵⁸ A table of the meanings appears below.

⁶⁵⁹ As in sharing the *ma'nâ* with *'aḥî* (father, master, pioneer). Menaḥem writes:

'-B ... “(And the name of his brother was Jubal;) he was the pioneer (*'aḥî*) of all who play the lyre and the pipe.” Gen. 4:21).
אב ... אבי כל תופש כנור הוא ראשון לכל תופשי כנור (בראשית ד:כא).

(Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, *16).

⁶⁶⁰ The verse translates as, “The words of the Lord are pure words, silver purged by the master of the soil, refined sevenfold.”

⁶⁶¹ *'aṣl* [root]. Either an attributive phrase or an *'idâfa* [annexed].

⁶⁶² B-L-L follows the patterns of *SaĠRîR* (Prov. 27:15) or *ŠaPîRîR* (Ps. 43:10). (*Luma'*, 116 17-18 = *HaRiqmâ*, 137, 11 ft. 8) and the table below.

⁶⁶³ The distinction between *tafsîr* and *tarjama* in Ibn Janâḥ requires a more detailed analysis. Perhaps, *tarjama* is an adequate translation, whilst *tafsîr* is contextual exegesis. Se'adyah uses the separate terms *tarjama* and *tafsîr* to distinguish between mechanic reproduction of the Hebrew text in Arabic and a contextual translation (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 70, n. 157; 2011a, 36–37).

at an explanation for the meaning “raise up.”⁶⁶⁴ In explanation 3, Ibn Janâḥ also uses the *tafsîr-mujânasâ* combination and compares it to the Aramaic in Dan. 4:4, Dan. 5:10 and Dan. 5:15 to reach a meaning “bring” or “extract.”⁶⁶⁵

In Explanation 4, the B (*Bet*) is *zâ'ida* [pleonastic], and its meaning is derived by a comparison with 1 Kings 7:46. Writing in *al-Luma*,⁶ he states that:

“In earthen moulds” (1 Kings 7:46) [was] mentioned in [*Kitâb (al)*] *Hurûf al-Lîn*. (The meaning) of “In earthen moulds” (1 Kings 7:46) is in crucibles and the analogies [*tamâtîl*] are either to pouring bronze or the like into it. Now it is taken from the best mud, which has thickened, is moist, and congealed. It is the same idea for the verse “Earthen moulds” (2 Chron. 4:17).

במעבה האדמה (מלכים א ז:מו) [קד] ד'כר פי [כתאב] חרוף אללין. (ומעני) **במעבה** פי אלבואטק ואלתמאת'יל אלתי יפרג פיהא אלנחאס וגיר ואנמא תתכ'ד' מן אפצ'ל אלטיאן והו אגלט'הא ואלזג'הא ואסמנהא. והד'א הו אלמד'הב פי קולה פי אלנסכ'ה אלאכ'רי **בעבי האדמה** (דברי הימים ד:יז).⁶⁶⁶

The narrative description of the construction of a crucible from mud is supplied by Ibn Janâḥ as the image of Psalm 12:7. He links the meaning *tarjama*, “crucible” to the contextual *tafsîr* to form an analogy, *tamâtîl* (pl. *tamâtîl*). A morphological analysis of the

⁶⁶⁴ The *'ašl* [root] is derived from other examples of pleonasm, including Ps. 66:5, the subject of Ibn Janâḥ's commentary. He cites his opinion in *'Uṣûl*, as a philological proof for this conclusion. He writes that:

For “Terrible Most-High (*'alîlâ*)” (Ps. 65:6) is a qualifier following another qualifier referring to God. Their interpretation [*tafsîr*] is ‘the Terrible Most-High’ over mankind, as it says “*held in awe by all around Him?*” In my opinion, *'alîlâ* is derived from “*I buried my head in the dust.*” (Job 16:15). Its interpretation [*tafsîr*] in my opinion is ‘*I bury my head in the dust.*’

(*'Uṣûl*, 80, 2-5 and 340, 14 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 97, 4 and 357, 2). The verse translates as, “The words of the Lord are pure words, silver purged raised up from the soil, refined sevenfold.”

⁶⁶⁵ The verse translates as, “The words of the Lord are pure words, silver purged extracted from the soil, refined sevenfold.”

⁶⁶⁶ (*'Uṣûl*, 497, 4-10 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 350-1).

syntax of *’ārēṣ* in Psalm 12:7 is then given before he argues for an equivalent meaning of *’ārēṣ* and *’āḏāmā*.⁶⁶⁷

Explanation 5 differs from Explanation 1-4, as it makes no attempt to apply morphological analysis to the meaning *crucible*. It relies on an understanding of the verse derived from emic knowledge, “*according to the intention (al-ḥasab al-ma’na)*.”⁶⁶⁸ A summary of his opinions is presented in tabular form.

Exp.	’aṣl	Paradigm (wazn)	Tafsîr	Taqdîr	Tarjama	Function of B (Beṭ)
1	B-’-L	<i>Pa’LiL</i>	<i>greatest master of the soil [rafi’ al- turâb]</i>	<i>greatest master of jewelry and metal</i>		<i>Root</i>
2	’-L-L	<i>Pa’iL</i> ⁶⁶⁹			<i>nobles of the land [rafi’ al-turâb]</i>	Pleonastic (zâ’ida) no impact on the meaning
3	’-L-L	<i>Pa’iL</i>	<i>inside the earth [daḳîl al-turâb]</i>	<i>extract from metal</i>		Pleonastic (zâ’ida) no impact on the meaning
4	’-L-L	<i>Pa’iL</i>	<i>tafsîr = tarjama</i>		<i>like purified silver inside the heat of the earth and refined</i> ⁶⁷⁰ <i>[ḥarr al-turâb wa-rafi’]</i>	Pleonastic zâ’ida – extraneous to the root.

⁶⁶⁷ “The words of the Lord are pure words, silver purged extracted from the soil, refined sevenfold.”

⁶⁶⁸ “The words of the Lord are pure words, silver purged in an earthen crucible, refined sevenfold.” This matches Se’adyah’s remarks, “or what the inhabitants are customary to use” *supra*. This too is an explanation of the *Targûm - kûrâ’*, but it was composed later than Ibn Janâḥ (Stec 2004, sec. Introduction).

⁶⁶⁹ It derives from the same morphological form as “esteemed (’alîlâ)” (Ps. 66:5). See discussion below.

⁶⁷⁰ Silver in earthen ware.

5					Translation (<i>tarajama</i>) <i>crucibles</i> [<i>bawâtiq</i>]	
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The thrust of Ibn Janâḥ's explanations is a coherent grammatical and morphosyntactic explanation for the word *ba'alîl* that matches the intent of the verse. However, in his final answer which is a direct appeal to emic knowledge without accompanying analysis, he just accepts the meaning *bawâtiq* [*crucible*] found in earlier sources. A subtle difference in approach to Ibn Janâḥ develops among his three successors - Ibn Chiquitilla, Ibn Bal'am and Abraham Ibn Ezra. Each responds to his explanations, revealing something about the degree to which they are willing to use tradition when an alternative is available.

Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation of *ba'alîl* ignores Rabbinic tradition to explain the semantics of the phrase. He chooses the meaning *inhabitants* and precedes with an analysis of the morpho-syntax of the phrase and its figurative meaning. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 15r

It is possible that the phrase, "*inhabitants of the land (ba'alîl)*" (Psalms 12:7) is an attribute [*ṣifa*] of "*silver (keṣeṭ)*," as in the inhabitants of the lands who cultivate it.

ויג'וז פי קו' בעליל לארץ (תהלים יב:ז) אן יכון בעליל
צפה לכסף אי עאמר אלארץ' אלתי בהא עמארתהא.

He favours a *ṣifa* construction: *ba'alîl* is the attribute of *keṣeṭ* (*silver*). He excludes the B (*Beṭ*) as a root letter (Explanations 2-4) and translates it as "*inhabitants of the lands who cultivate it*". It approximates Explanation 2 in Ibn Janâḥ.

Ibn Ezra, following Ibn Chiquitilla, seeks a strong correlation between the morphological analysis and the meaning of the text.⁶⁷¹ He writes that:

⁶⁷¹ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 65). Preference for the semantic 'truth' is visible in Abraham Ibn Ezra's interpretation of *ṣeḳwî* (*rooster*) and Ibn Chiquitilla whereas Ibn Janâḥ adopts Rabbinic tradition. Even then, Abraham Ibn Ezra may accept a traditional reading, as in 2 Chron. 31:3, *supra*. The differences reveals a degree of resistance to 'unnecessary' comparison with Aramaic, Arabic (Perez 1981b, 213) and Rabbinic Hebrew.

The word “(master of the) crucible (*ba‘alil*)” (Psalms 12:7) is identical, as in *SaĠRîR* (Prov. 27:15) and is from the root ‘-L-L as in ‘masters of the land’ as in greatest master. “*Refined silver*” – Silver is master of the land.

ומלת בעליל (תהלים יב:ו) כפול הלמ"ד כדרך סגריד
והוא מגזרת ובעל הארץ שהוא אדניה ויהיה כסף צרוף
(תהלים יב:ו) - כסף אדוני הארץ.

Ibn Bal‘am too adopts the grammar of Explanations 2-4, introducing it as a *tafsîr* [translation] along with the traditional meaning *crucible* [*bawâtiq*]. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. II 618, 4r

“*Refined silver, clearly in the land*” (Psalms 12:7).
He (Ibn Janâh) explains it as ‘the best soil.’ And
He raises it up, just as it is known that the crucible
is not taken except from hot mud.

כסף צרוף בעליל לארץ (תהלים יב:ו) פסר פיה אג'וד
אלתראב וארפעא כאלמעלום אן אלבואטק לא תתכ'ד
אלא מן אלטיק אחר

This combination of semantic and tradition reflects is consistent with Ibn Bal‘am’s use of tradition to explain *hapax legomena*.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷² He states explicitly the role of tradition (= emic knowledge) in his commentary on Deut. 4:24.

Know that we do not remove a verse from its obvious sense (*ẓâhir*) except on account of three things: The first of those is if that a verse infringes upon reason. The interpretation (or reinterpretation; *ta‘wîl*) should be applied in order to divert it toward that which is reason[able]. And the second is that if it infringes on what is in another verse and the two [biblical] utterances contradict one another, then we must interpret (apply *ta‘wîl* to) one of them as befitting in order to harmonize them. And the third is if the verse opposes what has arrived from the tradition; then we interpret (apply *ta‘wîl* to) it as necessary to make it consistent with the tradition.

אעלם אנא לא נכ'רג' אלנץ ען ט'אהרה אלא ען ת'אלתה אשיא
אולהא א[ן] כאן ד'לך אלנץ מן [מא] יקדח פי אלעקל.
פאסטעמל פיה אלתאויל חתי נצרפה א[לי] מא פי אלעקל.
ואלת'אלת' אן קדח פי נץ אכ'ר ותנאקץ' אלולאן פאנה נתאול
אחדהמא כמא יליק חתי נופק בינהמא. ואלת'אלת' אן כאן
אלנץ ירד מא ג'א בה אלנקל פנתחאולה כמא יואפק אלמנקול

(M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 67–69, nn. 127–9; Ibn Bal‘am and Perez 1970, Ar. 46, Heb. 97). Conscious awareness of the introduction of a new meaning by the poets [*šū‘arâ*] and reliance on tradition is found in Judah Ibn Bal‘am’s remarks on Isaiah 33:7. He states that:

The divide between those who offer a close relationship between morphological analysis and meaning and those who rely on tradition reflect methodological preferences. The fruits of their analysis can easily coexist without radically altering the sense of the text.⁶⁷³ At most, the multi-valent meanings are slightly different perspectives on what image the text portrays. We may add, Ibn Chiquitilla's preference to ignore Rabbinic material is not absolute, but as we shall see below in his gloss on Psalm 12:7, must be semantically justifiable.⁶⁷⁴ The same argument extends to his use of Biblical Aramaic and Arabic. For example, Ibn Chiquitilla uses Aramaic as proof that the underlying form of *Ṣəḥîḥâ* "parched land." (Psalms 68:7) is *ṢəḥîYâ**.⁶⁷⁵ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 86r

<p>The meaning of "Parched land" is the desert which is wearying.⁶⁷⁶ It is derived from "Parched with thirst" (Is. 5:13), or perhaps it is in line with Aramaic (usage of the root, <i>i.e.</i>, <i>Ṣ-H-Y</i>).⁶⁷⁷</p>	<p>ויעני בקו' צחיהה (תהלים סח:ז). אלצחרא ד'את אלג'ב והו מן צחה צמה (ישעיהו ה:יג) ורבמא ואפק אלסריאני⁶⁷⁸</p>
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Elsewhere, Ibn Chiquitilla defines "Among the foliage" in Psalm 104:12, with a citation from the Aramaic text from the book of Daniel.⁶⁷⁹ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 66r

Behold, their messengers cry outside (Is. 33:7). They explain it as 'their messengers.' The poets create the names of angels from it and call them 'ar'ēlīm (messengers). This explanation is by conjecture and guesswork and the truth is far from it.
(*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*, 157-8).

הן אראלם צעקו חוצה פסר פיה רסלהם וצרף אלשערא מנה
אסמא ללמלאיכה פקאלו אראלים והד'א תפסיר עלי אלהם
ואלתכ'מין ואלחקיקה בעידה

⁶⁷³ (Isaac 2024)

⁶⁷⁴ Contrast this with Ibn Bal'am, who is careful not to compare Hebrew to Arabic without justification, (*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*, 75, n. 1), but he is not opposed to it ideologically, see (*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*, 231-2).

⁶⁷⁵ Ḥayyūj only lists the root *Ṣ-H-Ḥ*, see (*Al-Lîn*, 367-8).

⁶⁷⁶ On the meaning of this word see the root *L-Ġ-B* see (Joshua Blau 2006, 635).

⁶⁷⁷ The root *Ṣ-H-Ḥ/Ṣ-H-Y/Ṣ-H-Ḥ* means 'to be thirsty' see (Sokoloff 2002, 953, 958).

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Ibn Ezra, Is. 5:13. Also Ferrara "en segura," see (J. Martínez Delgado and Saidi 2007, 87).

⁶⁷⁹ From the root 'P-'.

“And sing” I think this word is Aramaic “*Its foliage was beautiful*” (Dan. 4:9).

יתנו קול (תהלים קד:יב) [ונ]ט'נה הד'ה אללפט'ה
אלסריאני ועפיה שפיר (דניאל ד:ט)

So too, he cites the book of Ezra 6:11, as part of his explanation of the meaning of “*Pluck you*” (Psalms 52:7). He states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 66r

It states “*Pluck you.*” A *Nip̄'al* imperfect verb from the root N-S-H, “*You shall be torn from the land*” (Deut. 28:63). It means ‘*pluck*’ and is close to the Arabic word. In Aramaic (it appears) in the *Hitpa'el* (form and) means removed, “*Shall have a beam removed*” (Ezra 6:11).

וק' ויסחך (תהלים נב:ז) מסתקבל נסח ואלאנפעאל מנה
ונסחתם מעל האדמה (דברים כח:סג) והו מן אלנקל ויקרב
מן לפט' אלערבי והו פי אלסריאני אפתעאל יתנסח אע
(עזרא ו:יא).

In the above example, Ibn Chiquitilla includes a semantic clarification of the Hebrew by comparing it to the Arabic word, *نسخ*, *nasak* [to remove]. The ‘intrusion’ of Arabic into the discussion reflects its pedagogical purpose and its status as a living language.⁶⁸⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla records this view in his introduction to his translation of Ḥayyūj’s *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf al-Lîn* cited above.⁶⁸¹

Ibn Chiquitilla’s use of Arabic is heuristic as he bridges the gap between native comprehension of Biblical Hebrew and an Arabic speaking audience. Thus, importation of Arabic to explain Hebrew, involves both a straightforward philological comparison, as

⁶⁸⁰ (Netser 1983; Alfonso 2008, chap. 1). Cf. Ḥayyūj’s introduction to *al-Nutaf* (Basal 2001, 77, 79; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 254).

⁶⁸¹

For these reasons therefore Jewish grammarians were obliged to compose their works in Arabic, this being current in the mouth of a powerful people and easy of comprehension, while Hebrew was obscure; the former clear and intelligible, the latter of doubtful meaning; as it was proper to explain the obscure by the clear, the difficult by the intelligible (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, Heb. 1, Ar. 1)

ולזאת הצרכו מחברי דקדוקי לשון הקדש מבארי רזי שפת עברית לחבר ספריהם בלשון ערבית מפני שהיא עוברת בפי אומה גוברת. והיא מבוארת ולשון עברית עלומה. ולשון ערבית גלויה ומפורשת. ולשון הקדש סתומה. ויכון לפרש הנעלם במבואר. ולפרש הסתום במפורש

well as formal analogy. The analogy is external evidence for the benefit of Arabic speaking Jews for what was incontrovertibly known to the native speaker and preserved through tradition.⁶⁸² Ibn Chiquitilla uses such an analogy when he compares the Hebrew and Arabic radicals P-‘-T and - F-‘-T to explain the figurative image of Psalm 77:5.⁶⁸³ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 98v

And “*I am overwrought (nīp‘amtī)*” is a homonym **ונפעמתי** (תהלים עז:ה) מג'אנס ללערבי אי אפעמט במא
[*mujānasa*] of the Arabic word *Af‘amtu*; His (the מלא צדרי פלם אטיק בה סלאמא.
Psalmist’s) chest was filled to overflowing and he
could find no peace.

The radicals that form the Hebrew *Nīp‘al* stem, “*I am overwrought (nīp‘amtī)*” (Psalms 77:5) are compared to their counterpart, the Arabic IV Form, *Af‘amtu*. This is used to explain the visual image of the original Hebrew to his audience.⁶⁸⁴

Elsewhere, for “*smash (təRo‘em)*” (Psalms 2:9), he uses Aramaic as his proof for how the meaning of the text matches its form.⁶⁸⁵ He writes that:

⁶⁸² Similarly, some Muslim thinkers are constrained by limitations imposed by the elevation of Qur’ānic Arabic to a divine status (Kopf 1956, 33–59; Maróth 1995, 101–8). For an alternative analysis which suggests that the influence was less restrictive even for these writers (Peña 2013, 233, n. 3).

⁶⁸³ Cf. Se’adyah *kaburtu* (Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 182). Also *Maḥberet* (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, 305). Hereafter *Maḥberet*. Ibn Janāḥ interprets it as “*smitten*,” but also cites “*swollen*” as valid (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Neubauer 1888; Abū al-Walīd Merwan Ibn Janāḥ and Ibn Tibbon 1896). Hereafter, ‘*Uṣūl*, 578, 21–24 = *Haṣṣōrāšīm*, 406. Also, *Rashi*, Eng. 513 Heb. 840; Ibn Ezra and Radaq *ad. locum*).

⁶⁸⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla’s comments assumes that the student understands that the implied relationship is limited to the meaning, rather than form.

⁶⁸⁵ Another example of this, is the Anonymous Psalm Commentary records an opinion on the meaning of *maškīyōt* (Ps. 73:7) that links the word with its homonym in Aramaic (they both share the root S-K-H). He writes that;

However, it is also a homonym of the Aramaic translation of ‘Onqelos “ <i>watchpost</i> ” (Gen. 31:49), and described for sight as in, “ <i>my heart observed</i> ” (Eccl. 1:16).	משכיות (תהלים עג:ז) ... אמא אן יכון מג'אנסא ללסריאני [1 ב] עני תרגום והמצפה (בראשית לא:מט) וסכותא (תרגום אונקלוס בראשית לא:מט) פוצפה באלנט'ר כק' ולבי ראה (קהלת א:טז)
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Evr.-Arab I 3734, 1r. This opinion is one of two opinions cited by the Anonymous Psalm Commentary. The first opinion is Ibn Chiquitilla’s explanation of *maškīyōt* (*thoughts*). Ibn Ezra cites both opinions in his commentary (*ad. loc.*), adopting the second opinion as his own. He distinguishes it from the first opinion, which he assigns to Ibn Chiquitilla. However, from the Anonymous Psalm Commentary’s text it is possible that both opinions are

The meaning of, “*You can crush them (təRo ‘em)*” (Psalms 2:9) is either to crushing or breaking. It is analogous [maṭal] “*Can iron break (yāRô ‘a) iron and bronze*” (Jer. 15:12), which is a weak medial root. In Aramaic its root has geminates (for second and third radicals), “*And like iron that smashes (məRa ‘Rā ‘)*” (Dan. 2:40). It may also be like that in Hebrew. It is a metaphor for [maṭal] severe punishment.

ומעני תרועם (תהלים ב:ט) אלרץ' ואלכסר והו מת'ל הירוע ברזל ברזל (ירמיהו טו:יב) והו מן אלמעטל אלעין וקד ג'א פי אלסריאני דא מ'ת'לין. וכפרזלא די מרעע (דניאל ב:מ). ויג'וז איצ'א כונה כד'לך עבראניה והו מת'ל לשדיד אלעקאב.

He offers two morphological solutions. The first matches the meaning with a hollow root R-W-‘ in Jer. 15:12. Following Ḥayyûj, Ibn Chiquitilla identifies *təRo ‘em* as a *Qal* imperfect weak medial root with the middle radical receiving either \hat{U} (*Šurûq*) or \hat{O} (*Hôlām*), as in *yāQûM* and *yāRô ‘a* in the *Qal* stem.⁶⁸⁶ *TəRo ‘em*, is a *Qal* form with a plural suffix, “*them*.” Furthermore, when a suffix is added to the imperfect weak medial verbs, the initial vowel \bar{A} (*Qāmāš*) shortens to a Θ (*Šəwa ‘*), as in *YəQômēm-təRo ‘em* with the medial vowel changing to a \hat{O} (*Hôlām*).⁶⁸⁷ The second answer also identifies *təRo ‘em* as the *Qal* imperfect 2ms 3mp, but from the geminate Aramaic loan-word, R-‘-‘ in Dan. 2:40.⁶⁸⁸ The difficulty in determining to which pattern *təRo ‘em* belongs is that both

Ibn Chiquitilla's. Ibn Ezra's presentation of the second opinion, as if it is not Ibn Chiquitilla's reflects his tendency to adopt the latter's opinion without attribution, cf. Ps. 16:6, *infra*. For other examples of Arabic see the discussion below of Ps. 68:11 and Ps. 74:19. For comparison with Aramaic see Ps. 2:12 and Ps. 7:12, Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 3v and 15r.

⁶⁸⁶ Ḥayyûj does not include the root R-‘-‘ in *al-Lîn*. However, he does include Psalm 2:9 and Jer. 15:12 under the root R-W-‘, (Sivan and Wated 2011, 102–3, 174–75, n. 221). Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Ezra include it in their translations of the *al-Lîn* into Hebrew under the same root, (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, 56). Also see Ibn Ezra on Psalm 2:9 *ad. loc.* Ibn Janāḥ also lists it under the root R-W-‘ (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Neubauer 1888, 672).

⁶⁸⁷ (Sivan and Wated 2011, 100–103).

⁶⁸⁸ *Trans.* “*smash*” from the Ar. Root R-Ḍ-Ḍ, see (Qafih 1980, 50; Sa’adia ben Joseph and Alobaidi 2006, Ar. 107, Eng. 406), R-‘, 5th meaning (*Maḥḇeṛet*, 345).

surface forms match the meaning.⁶⁸⁹ This is because a *tašdîd* (Heb. *dağēš*) cannot occur in the medial guttural letter preventing any surface proof of gemination.⁶⁹⁰

Whether the word is either Hebrew or Aramaic is unimportant for the definition of its meaning, as meaning exists independently of the subsequent morphological analysis of the word. Fitting Psalm 2:9 into the hierarchical system of grammar, without corrupting its received meaning, seems to be Ibn Chiquitilla's aim. This method of comparing one language with another is applied in a limited fashion to provide no more than an adequate translation of the Bible. In effect, Jewish interest in Aramaic and Arabic to explain Hebrew functions as a complimentary addition to the basic system of analogy, with the Talmud's use of foreign languages providing the internal 'emic' justification for doing so. Illustrative of this relationship with Rabbinic sources is Ibn Chiquitilla's citation of the Aramaic translation of Is. 30:26 in his gloss on Psalm 12:7. He states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 15r

<p>"Sevenfold" 'many times' Our ancestors multiplied these numbers; they compute it as forty-nine, seven time seven. Jonathan ben 'Uzzi' el states in his translation "<i>And the light of the sun shall become sevenfold</i>" (Is. 30:26). He states, '<i>One to three hundred and forty-three which is forty-nine times seven (343).</i>'</p>	<p>ושבעתים (תהלים יב:ז) מרארא כת'ירה. וקד צ'אעֶףֹ ואילנא הד'א אלעדד פג'עלוה מט' והו מצ'רוב ז' פי ז' וקד קאל יונתן בן עוזיאל ענד שרחה ואור החמה יהיה שבעתים (ישעיהו ל:כו) פקאל על חד מתלת מאה וארבעין ותלת (תרגום יונתן ישעיהו ל:כו) והו מצ'רוב מט' פי ז'.</p>
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⁶⁸⁹ Ḥayyūj's opinion, see (Sivan and Wated 2011, 174–75).

⁶⁹⁰ (Sivan and Wated 2011, 39–40). According to Ḥayyūj, a radical will always geminate unless a guttural letter, (Roger J Kaplan 1992, 184, 322). It is possible Ibn Chiquitilla wishes to show that an analogous relationship between *taRo'em* and other roots in which the underlying root is ambiguous, originates with the vocalisation of the massoretic text. An example of a variation in a manuscript producing different solutions is included by Ḥayyūj under the radicals M-Ṭ-Ṭ. He writes:

I found *NâMôṭṭû* (Ps. 17:5) doubled in some books and weak in others. If it is doubled then it is from this root (*i.e.*, M-Ṭ-Ṭ), but if it weak then it is from the medial weak radical (*i.e.*, M-W-Ṭ).

וגד'ת נמוטו פעמי משדדא פי בעץ' אלמצאחף ומכ'פפא פי בעצ'הא
פאן כאן משדדא פהו מן הדא אלאצל ואן כאן מכ'פפא פהו מן
אלאפעאל אלינה אלעין וקד מצ'א דכרה פי כתאב חרוף אללין.

(Sivan and Wated 2011, 344–45, n. 105). For the weak medial form, see (Sivan and Wated 2011, 58–59, 69–70). Since *taRo'em* includes a guttural R (*Rēš*), gemination will never appear in the surface form of the verb. See (J. Martínez Delgado 2014b, 43–44).

In this example the Aramaic functions as no more than an authoritative semantic source for his translation of the Hebrew.⁶⁹¹ It is this limited, shared semantic function which forges a link between the new hermeneutics of mediaeval exegetes pioneered by Se'adyah and his Rabbinic forbearers.⁶⁹²

However, we shall see in our analysis of figurative imagery in rabbinic literature in this chapter, and in Ibn Chiquitilla in chapter 5, the Rabbis and Ibn Chiquitilla differ in their attitude towards textual nuance. Jonathan ben 'Uzzi'el's translation of Is. 30:26 is tied to the specific language of the original.⁶⁹³ The Aramaic translation forges a narrative story around the tenor of the image and its topic.

In Psalms, the visual image of a blacksmith repeatedly refining the metal captures the tenor of the metaphor; the utmost purity of God's words. Ibn Chiquitilla ignores the close reading of the tenor-image relationship in the original Hebrew and Aramaic in favour of its conceptual intent "*sevenfold*" - '*many times*.' His use of the mathematical computation explains the underlying morphology of *šib' ātāyim* - seven and two more sevens. It is the selective use of Rabbinic sources as a source for meaning that is the subject discussed in the next sections.

Semantic Meaning Derived From Legal Tradition

Differences between the exegetical methods of the Rabbis and Ibn Chiquitilla comes to the fore when we analyse Ibn Chiquitilla's selective use of them as semantic evidence.

⁶⁹¹ (Stenning 1949, 101). On its authorship, see (Keil and Bleek 1952, vol. II, 265–275).

⁶⁹² Se'adyah's uses evidence from Rabbinic Hebrew to counter Qara'ite claims the Bible can be understood without it, see (Allony 1969, 32; Aron Dotan 1989).

⁶⁹³ The importance of seven, as opposed to another number in Semitic literature is hard to pin-point. If there was an astronomical significance to the number seven in the lunar month and calendar, then presumably it was understood by this Israelite audience. Since this is unknown to Ibn Chiquitilla it confirms his gloss ignores the metaphor's tenor.

For example, he selectively uses the *Siphra Behār* 5 6:2, as a source for the distinction between *nešēk* and *tarbît* (or *marbît*).⁶⁹⁴ The *Siphra* states that:

“Do not exact (*lit. bite*) from him advanced or accrued interest.” (Lev. 25:36) ... Which is *nešēk* and which is *tarbît*? Lending a *Sēla* for five *Denarius*, (which are worth more than a *Sēla*); two *sə‘ā* of grain for three — because he bites. ‘Which is *tarbît*?’ One who increases by way of produce.⁶⁹⁵ ...

אל תקח מאתו נשך ותרבית ... איזהו נשך ואיזהו תרבית
איזהו נשך המלוה סלע בה' דינרים סאתים חטים בג' מפני
שהוא נשך איזהו תרבית המרבה בפירות ...

The *Siphra Behār* describes two scenarios that exploits the semantic nuance between the words *nešēk* (*bite*) and *tarbît* (*increase*) for different legal scenarios. Ibn Chiquitilla incorporates the semantic meanings, but explains them in terms of formal grammatical categories. In his explanation of *nešēk* (Psalms 15:5) he writes that:

Evr.-Arab. II 618, 17v.

The proper [*ḥaḳīqa*] (meaning) of the word [*lafza*] “*Interest*” (Psalms 15:5) is to bite because it is what the moneylender bites off from the money of the borrower, increasing what he lent, but it is only *wariq*.⁶⁹⁶ However, when he increases either the (price) of the commodity or food then it is *tarbît* or *marbît* as it states; “*Do not lend him your money at advance interest or as accrued interest*” (Lev. 25:37). Our Rabbis do not behave like this.

[17 א] וחקיקה לפט'ה נשך (תהלים טו:ה) אלעין' פהו אד'א
מא יעצ'ה אלמקרקין' מן מאל אלמקתרין' זאידא עלי מא
אקרצ'ה וליס אלא פי אלורק. ואמא אלד'י ירבי עליה פי
אלסלאע או אלמאאכל פהו תרבית או מרבית כמא קאל את
כספך לא תתן לו בנשך ובמרבית (ויקרא כה:לז) וג' ומד'הב
אואילנא פיה גיר הד'א.

⁶⁹⁴ A shorter version appears in *Mishnah Bava Meši'a* 5:1.

⁶⁹⁵ The Hebrew word ‘fruit’ pertains not only to agricultural crops but also lime, plaster, dung, fleeces, eggs and bundles of wood etc., *Mishnah Bava Meši'a* 5:7 and *Tosephta Bava Meši'a* 6:4-5.

⁶⁹⁶ A cheap silver coin (Joshua Blau 2006, 759; Dozy 1927, 797).

Ibn Chiquitilla identifies *neṣṣeḳ*'s *ḥaqîqa* [proper meaning], "bite."⁶⁹⁷ He imports the semantic conclusion of the first scenario in the *Siphra* and does the same for the second scenario - the lender's proactive effort to accrue interest matches the causative meaning the *Hip̄'îl* forms *tarbîṭ* and *marbîṭ*.⁶⁹⁸ He is importing emic knowledge drawn from Rabbinic law to further explain his translation and understanding of the metaphors.

Moses Ibn Ezra too provides analysis of the semantic meaning that the Rabbis provided for the terms *neṣṣeḳ* and *marbîṭ* in *al-Muḥâḍara*. He offers the same analysis as Ibn Chiquitilla and adds that the term for this is *majâz*.⁶⁹⁹ He writes that:

According to the sages; the true [*ḥaqîqa*] of N-
 Š-K is from, "he is like a snake that bites"
 (Prov. 23:32) by way of figurative exegesis
 [*majâz*], meaning he bites with money.

וענד בעץ' אלשיוך' אן חקיקה נשך מן לגה והוא כְּנִנְחָשׁ יִשְׁךְ
 עלי מג'אז. במעני יעץ' פי אלמאל.⁷⁰⁰

Both authors agree with the semantic meaning of the words found in the Rabbis, bite and interest.

Aside from the above example of him adopting the semantic meaning found in Rabbinic exegesis, Ibn Chiquitilla also records one legal opinion that establishes the theme of the

⁶⁹⁷ This *ḥaqîqa-majâz* dichotomy is already found in Ibn Janâḥ, who establishes the figurative meaning through the semantic derivation of *Neṣṣeḳ* from its 'literal meaning.' He writes that:

And another meaning derived from [*muštaqqa*] this is (דברים כג:כ)
 "You shall not deduct interest (*taššîḳ*) from loans to
 your countrymen" (Deut. 23:20)"

(*Uṣûl*, 463,19-20 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 325). The *ma'nâ* [(figurative) sense], short for *ma'nâ al-majâz*, "to deduct."
 (*taššîḳ*) Deut. 23:20 is derived [*muštaqqa*] from the shared root with *Neṣṣeḳ*. This is repeat in *al-Luma'* where
 he calls it a *majâz*, "from the *majâz* "do not deduct interest (*taššîḳ*) from your brother" (דברים כג:כ)
 (Deut. 23:20), (*Luma'*, 315, 6 = *HaRiqmâ*, 321 n. 2).

⁶⁹⁸ Also, TB *Bava Meši'a* 60a. Cf. Rashi *et. al.* and Nahmanides' commentary on Lev. 25:36 (*ad. loc.*).

⁶⁹⁹ Se'adyah precedes Ibn Chiquitilla in presenting the language as the dichotomy of literal-figurative meaning in his translation and explanations of the term *Neṣṣeḳ*: "His monetary property" [*mâlahu*] (Ps. 15:2) (*Se'adyah*, *Psalms*, 74). ולא תדפע לה ורקך ושעאמך בעינה ולא ברבא. (Derenbourg 1893, *ad. loc.*) and "Do not loan him your wariq [*money*], nor assist him with your food at interest." (Lev. 25:37). Also, cf. Deut. 23:20 where he translates *neṣṣeḳ* as *tu'âna* [assist].

⁷⁰⁰ (*Muḥâḍara*, 172 = 193).

Psalm as returning safely from a journey by either land or sea as the theme of Psalm 107. He writes that:

“*The redeemed*” (Psalms 107:2) connects their command to the preceding verse “*Praise the Lord, for He is good*” (Psalms 107:1). According to our Rabbis, May God be pleased with them, state because this Psalm is associated with wandering in the wilderness, travel, crossing the sea, release from gaol, ransom, and recovery from an illness ... literally praise God, as they say “*Four must give praise; go down to the sea, those who travel in the desert, those who were ill and recovered and one freed from gaol, ... gathered together in ...*” (TB Berakhoth 54b)

קו' גאולי (תהלים קז:ב) יקתצ'י אמרהם בקול מא תקדם
מן קולה הודו ליי כי טוב (תהלים קז:א) עלי אן אואילנא
רצ'י אללה ענהם קאלו אלדי יתצ'מן הד'א אלמ[ז]מור מן
אלתאיהין פי אלבר אד'א אתוא ורכאב אלבחר אד'א נג'וא
אלאסרי אד'א פכוא ו[א]למרצ'י אד'א נקה [...] אל חקיק
בחמד אללה כמא קאלו ד' צריכין ל[הודות] יורדי הים
והולכי מדברות ומי שחלה ונתרפא ומי שהוציאווה מבית
האסירים

In this example, Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the thematic connection with the “*redeemed*” praising God. He cites the Rabbis use of this Psalm, as a biblical source for the traveller’s blessing on arriving home safely as apropos to the theme.

Semantic Meaning Derived from Pseudo-Rabbinic Text

The examples discussed up until now have relied upon semantic information gleaned directly from Rabbinic texts. One example using the semantic authority of a post-Talmudic text is Ibn Chiquitilla’s analysis of the *hapax legomenon* “*curbed (liblôm)*” in his comments on Psalm 32:9.⁷⁰¹ He writes that:

⁷⁰¹ BDB derives it from Aramaic (Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1906, 117).

And “*Must be curbed*” (Psalms 32:9) its form ולבלום (תהלים לב:ט) לפט'ה מפרדה פי מעני אלסד
[lafza] is a hapax-legomenon, meaning [ma'na] וקאל אואילנא בלום פין מלדבר.
'curb.' Our ancestors said, “*curb your mouth*
from speaking.”⁷⁰²

Ibn Chiquitilla's cites *Sepher Yeṣirah* (*The Book of Creation*), as the words of 'awwâ'ilna [our ancestors], indicating that he treated it with the same degree of importance as Rabbinic sources.⁷⁰³ He is not alone among Iberian exegetes in according it such a high status. Ibn Bal'am's commentary on Isaiah 29:11 describes it in the book in glowing terms⁷⁰⁴ and honour accorded to it is not just linked to its supposed authorship by the patriarch Abraham, but its valuable content.⁷⁰⁵ Se'adyah, however, only accepts the book's antiquity, and semantic information such as the definition *liblôm* as *yiljamân* [restrain a horse].⁷⁰⁶ This too is Dunash ben Tamîm's (active 10th century Qayarwân)⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰² *Sepher Yeṣirah* (*The Book of Creation*) 1:3a = (Tamim et al. 2002a, 52–53).

⁷⁰³ Notwithstanding the dispute over the dating of *Sepher Yeṣirah* – scholars date the book from between the 2nd to 9th century, see (Wasserstrom 1994, 1–30; 2002, 201–21; Ben-Shammai 1987, 1–9; Jospe 1989, 311–18; E. R. Wolfson 1992, 281–316; Dan 1998, 155–87; Tamim et al. 2002a; Fleischer 2002, 405–32; Langermann 1997, 495–522; 2002, 169–89). For example, Pss. 1:1, 19:15, *infra* and Ps. 24:7 (*supra*). This synchronic approach is consistent with other Jewish thinkers and traditional grammarians- Jews and Arabs alike, see (José. Faur 2009, 50–51; de Saussure et al. 1959, 66). Some research shows that *Sepher Yeṣirah* was not universally read this way by early writers, see (Kiener 1987, 1=42; T. Weiss 2013, 26–46). For *Sepher Yeṣirah* in Ibn Gabirol's poetry, as *Qabbālâ* (*mysticism*), see (Schlanger 1965, 125–35; Liebes 1987, 73–123).

⁷⁰⁴

In the language of the ancestors (= *Sepher Yeṣirah*)
saper, seper and sippûr.

(*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*, 142, n. 4).

⁷⁰⁵ Such as Judah Ha-Levi (Jospe 1989, 311–18). Judah Ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141) describes *Sepher Yeṣirah* in Book IV:24 of *al-Kazâra*, as containing a great many obscurities.

The Rabbi: To this belongs the 'Book of Creation' by the Patriarch Abraham. Its contents are very profound, and require thorough explanation. It teaches the unity and omnipotence of God by means of various examples, which are multiform on one side and uniform on the other. They are in harmony with regard to the One, their Director S'fâr, Sēfer, and Sippûr (*Sepher Yeṣirah* 1:1)

Text and translation, (Baneth 1977, 174; Ha-Levi and Hirschfeld 1931, 266–67; ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969, 201).

⁷⁰⁶ (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 104). On his attitude towards the book, see (Langermann 1997, 508).

⁷⁰⁷ (Wechsler 2010).

ופי כלאם אלאולון בספר וספור וסיפור

קאל אלחבר, מנהא ספר יצירה לאברהם אבינו עה, פיה גמוץ, ושרחה טויל, דל עלי אלוחדאניא ואלרבוביה באשיא מכתלפה מתכתרה מן גהה, לכנהא מתחזה מתפקה מן גהה אכרי. ואתפאקהא מן גהה אלו אחד אלדי ינטמהא פמנהא ספר וספור וספור.

opinion in his commentary on *Sepher Yeşirah*.⁷⁰⁸ Ibn Janâḥ also quotes the same passage from *Sepher Yeşirah*, but adds another authoritative passage from TB *Giṭṭin* 67b.⁷⁰⁹

<p>“<i>Must be curbed by bit and bridle</i>” (Psalms 32:9). Its meaning is ‘<i>shut</i>’ and ‘<i>curbed</i>.’ In the words of our ancestors [‘<i>awwâ’îlîn</i>] “<i>Curb you mouth from</i> <i>speaking</i>” (Book of Creation 1:8). And also “<i>A</i> <i>full (balûm) storehouse</i>” (TB <i>Giṭṭin</i> 67b)</p>	<p>במתג ורסן עדין לבלום (תהלים לב:ט) מענאה אלאטבאטק ואלסד. ופי כלאם אלאואיל בלום פיד מלדבר (ספר יצירה א:ח). ואיצא אוצר בלום (גטין סז"ב)⁷¹⁰</p>
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A similar laconic reference to our Masters is made by Abraham Ibn Ezra in his comments to Ps 32:9, without attribution.⁷¹¹ He states:

<p>“<i>Must be curbed</i>.” A word known by our Masters, of blessed memory.</p>	<p>לבלום - מלה ידועה בלשון חכמינו ז"ל.</p>
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Only Menaḥem restricts himself to a semantic analogy; drawing on Job 26:7 “*Comes to naught*” as in “*curbed*,” as per his preference for explaining a language within itself.⁷¹²

What matters in the above sources is not the historical relationship between the hermeneutics of the Rabbis and the Iberian exegetes, but the latter’s perception of

⁷⁰⁸ Vajda translates it as “*primordiaux*,” “yet Dunash explains that the Hebrew word means ‘suppression’ or ‘privation’”, see (Tamim et al. 2002a, 52–53). Also see (Langermann 2005, 347).

⁷⁰⁹ Previously, we cited his appeal to Se’adyah’s use of the book for knowledge of the meaning of words, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, Ar. 156, 163–4; Eng. 319, 322).

⁷¹⁰ (‘*Uṣûl*, 95, 31–33 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 66).

⁷¹¹ TB *Hullin* 89b, 107b 4 :13. See, (*Rashi, Psalms*, Heb. 882, Eng. 300 n. 20). Fenton suggests that Ibn Ezra translated Dunash ben Tamîm’s commentary on *Sepher Yeşirah*, (Fenton 2001, 33–60).

⁷¹² Elwolde describes the use of post-Biblical Hebrew in Menaḥem’s *Maḥberet*: “*Menaḥem’s success in describing lesser known biblical Hebrew vocabulary from within biblical Hebrew itself depends in part on his readers’ knowledge of Rabbinic/Mediaeval Hebrew, which was still ‘alive’ to them, at least from the perspective of literary consumption and production, and on the unspoken assumption that this later Hebrew is an integral part of the language of the Bible itself – there is no ‘target’ language, because the target language is the same as the ‘source’ language.*” (Elwolde 1995, 466). Also see (Elwolde 1995, 464; Alfonso 2008, 16; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 254; 2013, 299–317). Job 26:7 comprised of two words, *bālî* (without) and *mâ* (what) (*Maḥberet*, 84).

themselves in relation to Rabbinic exegesis. The near unanimous reliance on *Sepher Yeşirah* and/or TB *Giṭṭin* 67b among Iberian exegetes in the second example, reaffirms the emic link between them and traditional exegesis. Since their hermeneutical methods are unrelated to one another, we must conclude that they viewed meaning as emic knowledge and not derived from grammatical analysis.⁷¹³

Figurative Exegesis: Use of Rabbinic *ta'wil*

Occasionally, Ibn Chiquitilla borrows Midrashic material,⁷¹⁴ even then, he is careful to retain only those elements which best explain the semantics of the text. This rejection of the narrative element of Rabbinic exegesis by Iberian exegetes has distorted perceptions of the role of semantic knowledge in Midrashic texts and Iberian exegetes. The result is a focus of methodological differences which determine outcome. As such emphasises is placed on describing the historic encounter with Qur'ānic hermeneutics by Iberian exegetes, which leads to a rigorous semantic analysis of Hebrew grammar, rather how etic knowledge gleaned from Qur'ānic hermeneutics is integrated with the emic

⁷¹³ See Rashi, *incipit* “a full (*balûm*) storehouse.” *ad. loc.* TB *Giṭṭin* 67b belongs to a series of descriptions of the nature of various Tannaitic Rabbis’ learning. No explanation is given there for why Rabbi ‘Aqiva is described as “A full (*balûm*) storehouse.” However, the matter is elaborated on in ‘*Avoth d9-Rabbi Nathan* 18:1 (Version A) in narrative form. It states:

Rabbi 'Akiba is called "A well-stocked storehouse." To what might Rabbi 'Akiba be likened? To a laborer who took his basket and went forth. When he found wheat, he put some in the basket; when he found barley, he put that in; spelt, he put that in; lentils, he put them in. Upon returning home he sorted out the wheat by itself, the barley by itself, the beans by themselves, the lentils by themselves. This is how Rabbi 'Akiba acted, and he arranged the whole Torah in rings.

לרבי עקיבא קרא לו אוצר בלום. למה רבי עקיבא דומה לפועל שנטל קופתו ויצא לחוץ מצא חטים מניח בה מצא שעורים מניח בה כוסמין מניח בה עדשים מניח בה כיון שנכנס לביתו מברר חטים בפני עצמן שעורים בפני עצמן פולין בפני עצמן עדשים בפני עצמן. כך עשה ר' עקיבא ועשה כל התורה טבעות טבעות.⁷¹³

(Schechter 1886, 34). The term “A well-stocked storehouse” or “full” identifies R. Akiva as a master of legal analogy. Ibn Janâh strips this text of its narrative, leaving the semantic link with Ps. 32:9, *Sepher Yeşirah* 1:8 and TB *Giṭṭin* 67b intact. This semantic usage of *derash* predominates in Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentary, but there are also examples of narrative usage.

⁷¹⁴ On basic concepts in Rabbinic hermeneutics, see (José Faur 1997, 1–12). Attempts were made by Ge’onîm to connect their methods to the 32 hermeneutical methods of Rabbi Eliezer son of R. Jose the Galilean. On this and its authorship, see (Zucker 1954, 1–39; Greenbaum 1978, 93–95). However see Maimonides’ response in (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, chap. Conclusion). For the use of *ta'wil* to describe Rabbinic hermeneutics see the footnotes below.

knowledge about meaning contained in Midrashic texts. This has led to a description of Iberian exegesis, in the form of *ẓâhir al-naṣṣ* [*the apparent sense of the text*]⁷¹⁵ as the “plain” “straightforward” or even “literal” sense in which a word is used.⁷¹⁶ This claim is made, even when the so-called apparent sense of the text is littered with a modes of thought reflective of Mediaeval rationalism.⁷¹⁷

By contrast, Rabbinic exegesis has been characterised as narrative exegesis, [Heb. *derash*, Ar. *ta'wîl*],⁷¹⁸ playful,⁷¹⁹ independent analogy, adding something to the text - *tôṣepet ta'am* (*additional meaning*) or *'asmaḳtā* (*mnemonic*) - and either only indirectly or not at all connected to the Biblical context.⁷²⁰ In other words, because it does not ‘talk the language of grammar’ it must be ignorant of semantic knowledge. Thus, the variegated terms to describe *derash* conclude that it accrues, “meaning to a text independently of, or even in defiance of, its original context or meaning, in virtue of the use that has been made of it.”⁷²¹ The result has led to an accusation that the Rabbis either misread the

⁷¹⁵ The term approximates the Hebrew term *peshat*, except in the writings of Samuel ben Ḥophni, see (Wechsler and Tanḥûm Yerushalmi ben Joseph of Jerusalem 2010, 23; M. Z. Cohen 2012, 257–359). Ibn Chiquitilla uses the terms *ẓâhir*, but not *peshat* in his commentaries. His concession to non-Arabic grammatical technical language is limited *millâra* ‘(oxytone) and *mill'el* (paroxytone); Evr.-Arab., 3583 I: oxytone, 47r. paroxytone, 106r and *pasûq* (verse); Evr.-Arab., 3583 I, 1v, 8v, 18v, 34r, 41r, 46r, 46v, 53r, 66v, 68r, 73r, 76r and 81r.

⁷¹⁶ For evidence for the differing degrees of semantic knowledge, see (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 350–58). Also, see (Maori 2002, 210–11 n. 35; Joseph Cohen and Simon 2018a, 36–37; M. Z. Cohen 1996, 53–54; Lockshin 1989, 183–86 nn. 30–2; Simon 2013, 13–27).

⁷¹⁷ As in the description of the spheres in Ps. 68:5 *infra*. For examples of mediaeval rationalism in exegesis, see (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 49). Also, see Judah Ha-Levi *al-Ḳazâra* 3:71–73, (Baneth 1977, 143; Ha-Levi and Hirschfeld 1931, 218–20) *Trans.* (ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969, 68–69). Also see Judah Ha-Levi (Ha-Levi 1977, 143) and (Elbaum 2000, 65–74, nn. 7–8). For Maimonides, see (Elbaum 2000, 140–41, n. 92; M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 272, nn. 110; 278–80).

⁷¹⁸ (Berger 2007, 41–59; Ben-Shammai 2003, 33–50; L. Charlap 2010, 1–20; M. Z. Cohen 2003a, 417–58; 2011b, 8–9; 2012, 257–359; 2020; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997; Garfinkel 1996, 129–34; Gelles 1981, 3–6; Goldstein 2001, 41; Halivni 1994, 71–88; Hirshman 1998, 397–406; Japhet 2014, 239–98; Kamin 1980, 16–23; 1986, 11–16; Lockshin 1989, 173–86; 2018, 211–26; Loewe 1964, 140–85; Polinsky 2013a, 41–47; 2013b, 41–47; B. J. Schwartz 1994, 71–88; Simon 2016, 315–39; Simon and Greenstein 1988, 41–63; Viezel 2019, 256–75).

⁷¹⁹ (Fraenkel 1991, 11–12).

⁷²⁰ *'Asmaḳtā* is a mnemonic device which associates the oral law with the Biblical text (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 39 n. 21; Friedberg 2013, 207–41; Elbaum 2000, 64–74).

see Ibn Ezra’s prolegomenon to the Pentateuch, Lamentations, and Long Commentary on Ex. 20:1, where he outlines the fundamental rule of *māšāl* exegesis as adding *tôṣepet ta'am*. So too Se’adyah in his introduction to his *tafsîr* (Derenbourg 1893, 4).

⁷²¹ (Loewe 1964, 180). For an argument in favour of the rabbis having knowledge of the plain meaning of the text (Braude 1982, 31–38; José Faur 1997, 3 n. 12). *Contra.* (Loewe 1964, 140–85).

Biblical text or entirely ignores the plain meaning of the text, even when the plain meaning of the text could easily be spotted in Rabbinic *derash*.⁷²²

This is patently untrue, for how else could the rabbis read the text and produce adequate translations of the text into either Aramaic or Greek, or for that matter said anything about the text. Instead, one should approach both rabbinic and of Iberian exegesis as familiar with the semantic meaning of the text, but with different agendas.⁷²³ By focusing away from the hermeneutical difference between Iberian and Rabbinic exegetes, towards the etic and emic knowledge that forms meaning, a more fruitful path for identifying the semantic meaning of a word and what the text is about can be forged. Moreover, a careful reading of Rabbinic *derash* can identify a largely continuous meaning to words in Hebrew.

To illustrate the contrasting agendas between the two methodologies, we shall return to the body-soul outlined by the poet ‘Attâbî (d. 827). According to Abraham Ibn Ezra, who adopts the same body-soul analogy in his *peshat* exegesis the nuance between the first and second versions of the decalogues, one using *zāḳôr* (*remember*), the other *šāmôr* (*keep*) is irrelevant. Abraham Ibn Ezra rejects the simultaneous pronouncement of both versions as impossible to hear, preferring to see the minor linguistic variants as irrelevant to the overall conception of the text. He places the onus of identifying the relationship between the signs, *zāḳôr* and *šāmôr* and the object, the Sabbath to which they apply. He approaches it as a literary document comprised of form and meaning.⁷²⁴ In contrast, the pragmatic rabbis study the relationship between the signs *zāḳôr* and *šāmôr*, and interpret them as different ways of observing the Sabbath. The semantic nuance reflects two different realities about Sabbath-observance, its sanctification and refrain from work.⁷²⁵

⁷²² (Fraenkel 1991, 11–12). *Contra*. (Jackson 2002, 18:1–30; Ancselovits 2007, 10–49).

⁷²³ For example, Cohen has argued that the conventional view of *peshat* as an “objective” and static interpretation is incorrect. He rejects Yonah Fraenkel’s description of *derash* as “playful” and *peshat* as unoriginal. *Trans.* (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 485). Also see (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 1–4). Ancselovits in his analysis of *derash* rejects what he calls an atomistic reading of the text found in Albeck, (Albeck 1969, 88, 93). He notes this too in Raviv’s approach to the narrative element of Midrash, see (Raviv 2001, 179–80; 2003, 41–52; Ancselovits 2007, 32 n. 78).

⁷²⁴ (Ancselovits 2004, 152–89; 2007, 10–49).

⁷²⁵ See (Lockshin 2003, 83–91).

In effect, the Rabbis read the Biblical text as either a conversation or story, composed of common-sense norms, dependent on emic knowledge to make sense of the two versions.⁷²⁶ This is by no-means the totality of Ibn Ezra's approach, after all he still has to address integrating normative Rabbinic law into his exegesis (a topic that does not concern us), but it highlights the paradigmatic shift in emic knowledge that Iberian exegesis underwent as a result of its interaction with etic knowledge drawn from the world of Mediaeval rationalism.

Illustrative of Ibn Chiquitilla's limited usage of Rabbinic *derash* is his opening remarks on Psalms 1, where he cites TB 'Avodah Zarah 18b. He then offers his own explanation of the Biblical text's metaphor, along with semantic proofs. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab., 3583 I, 1r - v

The authors of the *Midrash* explain [ta'awwalūn] the following three consecutive words of the verse, I mean "he went," "he stood" and "he sat," as that which is after it is more severe than what precedes (it). On this they say, "if one walks [towards the wicked] he will subsequently stand with them, and if he stands he will in the end sit with them, and if he does sit, he will also come to scorn, and if he does scorn the scriptural verse will be applicable to him, If thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself, and "If thou scornest thou alone shalt bear it." (Prov. 9:12)."

And it may [yajūz] mean the reverse: the righteous are happy compared to the wicked, which he (David) mentioned, and they are

וקד כאן אהל אלמדרש [תא] ולון הד'ה אלג' אלפאט' אלמתואליה פי הד'א אלפסוק אעני הלך ועמ[ד] וישב אן אלד'י תאכ'ר מנהא הו אשד מן אלד'י תקדם ופי ד'לך יקולון שאם הלך סופי לעמוד ואם עמד סופו לישב ואם ישב [סופו] ללון ואם לך עליו הכת' אומ' ולצת ל[ב]דך תשא (משלי ט:יב).

וקד יג'ו כון ד'לך באלעכס לאנה למא גבט אהל⁷²⁷ אלפצ' [ל] מג'אנב אלשר ד'כר ולא אלמסאעדין [פ]יה והו מעני לא הלך (תהלים א:א) כמא קאל ותלכו במועצותם

⁷²⁶ *Contra* (Gelles 1981, 3–6; Kamin 1980, 16–23; 1986; Halivni 1994, 71–88; L. Charlap 2010, 1–20; Garfinkel 1996, 129–34; Goldstein 2001, 41; Lockshin 1989, 173–86; 2018, 211–26; M. Z. Cohen 2011b, 8–9; Viezel 2019, 256–75). Also the *Midraš* as the omni-significance of words (Kugel 1981a, 96–134). For additional references and criticism of this approach (Ancselovits 2007, 11 n. 3).

⁷²⁷ *Ditto*. אהל.

unaided by Him. This is the meaning [*ma'nā*] of “he did not follow” as it states “And have followed what they devised” (Mic. 6:16) and “But you followed the way of Jeroboam” (1 Kings 16:2). Now these are evildoers in their eyes. Furthermore, [...] a matter of secondary importance because of the increased distance from him. That is the sense [*ma'nā*] of “he stood.” Furthermore, he was happy as he did not tarry in the place of the wicked and become deeply involved with them. That is the meaning [*ma'nā*] of “not sit.”

(מיכה ו:טז) ותלך בדרך ירבעם (מלכים א טז:ב) [ו]האולי הם אלאשראר באעיאנהם ת'ם [...] אלי פצ'ל תפצ'יל מן זאד פי אלבעד ענה והו מעני עמד (תהלים א:א) ת'ם אנה גבט מן לם יצבר עלי [1 ב] אלמקאם מעאות'ה ואן תנשב בינהם והו מעני לא ישב (תהלים א:א).

Ibn Chiquitilla's citation and modification of the Midrash is selective in its application. He is interested in the *implicature*, what is not said in the Biblical text and teased out of it by the Midrash. The three verbs, “went,” “stood” and “sat” explicitly describe the movement of the righteous man in relation to the wicked. What they do not explicitly say is the consequence of that relative proximity. It is this information that both the Midrash and Ibn Chiquitilla identify as pertinent to explaining the meaning of the text.

Where they differ is how they express this *implicature*. R. Simeon b. Pazi asks: what is the Psalmist's intention behind the three-fold description of movement through a story?

R. Simeon b. Pazi expounded [the foregoing verse as follows]: What does Scripture mean by, “Happy is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the wicked, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the scornful?” (Psalms 1:1) If he did not walk [that way] at all how could he stand there? And if he did not stand there he obviously did not sit [among them], and as he did not sit among them he could not have scorned! The wording is to teach thee that if one

דרש ר' שמעון בן פזי מאי דכתיב אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאים לא עמד ובמושב לצים לא ישב (תהלים א:א) וכי מאחר שלא הלך היכן עמד ומאחר שלא עמד היכן ישב ומאחר שלא ישב היכן לץ אלא לומר לך שאם הלך סופו לעמוד ואם עמד סופו לישב ואם ישב סופו ללוץ ואם לץ עליו הכתוב אומר אם חכמת חכמת לך ואם לצת לבדך תשא (משלי ט:יב)

walks [towards the wicked] he will subsequently stand with them, and if he stands he will at the end sit with them, and if he does sit, he will also come to scorn, and if he does scorn the scriptural verse will be applicable to him, “If thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself, and If thou scornest thou alone shalt bear it (Prov. 9:12).”⁷²⁸

The verbs “*follow (hâlak)*,” “*stand (‘āmāḏ)*,” and “*sit (yāšāḇ)*” and the three descriptions of the wicked *rəša’im*, *ḥaṭṭā’im* and *lešim* are semantically untouched in the above *midrash*. Instead, the steady increase in risk to the righteous from ever closer association with the wicked links the topic (morality) with the image of a man walking towards danger. This topic-image correlation is linked to the three wicked men, *rəša’im*, *ḥaṭṭā’im* and *lešim*.

This attempt to explain the Biblical text is forged through analogy to scenarios from life,⁷²⁹ and differs from the aesthetic preferences of Ibn Chiquitilla and other Iberian exegetes to explain the Biblical text within itself. Thus, when Ibn Chiquitilla reorders the severity of sinful association stemming from proximity to danger, he looks for Biblical proof. For the verse, “*If he did not walk [that way] at all how could he stand there?*” his proof is from Mic. 6:16 and 1 Kings 16:2. “*Follow (hâlak)*” - seeking aid, describes the worst-case scenario of involvement with “*Stand (‘āmāḏ)*” and “*sit (yāšāḇ)*” differentiated by their degrees of distance.

The exploitation of Midrash for its semantic value is adopted by Abraham Ibn Ezra. Ibn Ezra, writing in his standard commentary, offers the following as a summary of Ibn Chiquitilla’s view, followed by his own rebuttal.

⁷²⁸ Soncino.

⁷²⁹ The citation from TB ‘*Avodah Zarah* 18b belongs to a longer pericope in which the type of sinner described is related to various scenarios in life, in which proximity to wickedness sucks in the righteous.

“*Happy is the man*” Our Rabbis of blessed memory said that “*standing* (‘*āmāḏ*)” is more severe than “*following* (*hālak*)” and “*sitting* (*yāšāb*)” is more severe than both of them. If so, then “*scorners* (*lešîm*)” are worse than “*sinner*s (*ḥaṭṭā’îm*).” Rabbi Moses the Priest (Ibn Chiquitilla) explains it in the reverse. He says the intent (*ṭa’am*) is ‘*and did not even stand.*’ In my opinion, the word “*wicked* (*rāša’îm*)” are those who are in constant flux as in “*But the wicked* (*rāša’îm*) *are like the troubled sea; For it cannot rest* (Is. 57:20).” Similarly, and “*Whithersoever he turned himself, he unsettled them* (*yarš’îa*)” (Sam I. 14:47). Likewise, and “*When He gives quietness, who then can disturb* (*yarš’îa*)” (Job 34:29). It is for this reason “*following* (*hālak*)” is mentioned with the “*wicked* (*rāša’îm*).” He is enticed into following by the counsel of the wicked and a path that he is unacquainted with. “*Sinner*s (*ḥaṭṭā’îm*)” are worse than the “*wicked* (*rāša’îm*)” because of this Scripture speaks of “*the way of sinners*” as he is in the habit of walking in an evil way. “*Sitting* (*yāšāb*)” is worse than standing (in the way of sinners). This is the opinion of the Rabbis.

אשרי האיש - קדמונינו ז"ל אמרו כי עמד קשה מן הלך וישב קשה מכולם אם כן יהיו הלצים רעים מחטאים ור' משה הכהן פירש להיפך ואמר כי טעם לא עמד אפילו לא עמד

ולפי דעתי כי מלת רשעים הם שאינם עומדים על מתכונ' אחת כדרך והרשעים כים נגרש כי השקט לא יוכל (ישעיהו נז:כ) וכן ובכל אשר יפנה ירשיע (שמואל יד:מז) והוא ישיקט ומי ירשיע (איוב) ובעבור זה הזכיר עם רשעי' הלך והוא המפותה ללכת בעצת רשע אחר ובדרך לא ידעה ומלת חטאים קשה ובעבור זה הזכיר דרך כי הוא הרגיל ללכת בה ומלת ישב קשה ממנה וככה דעת הקדמונים.⁷³⁰

Ibn Ezra does not offer a fair rendition of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion. Failing to include the caveat with which the latter predicates his answer, *wa-yajûz kawn* [it may mean]. Even so,

⁷³⁰ (Simon 1991, 322–23).

Ibn Ezra's inclusion of the appropriate Biblical quotes supports the same methodological preference to explain the Biblical text within itself.⁷³¹

Oddly, he is much more accurate in his representation of Ibn Chiquitilla in his first recension, though he omits the source of his comments. He writes that:

<p>The wicked [<i>rēša'im</i>] are worse than sinners [<i>ḥaṭṭa'im</i>]; thus the sense is that he did not follow their counsel nor stand in the way where sinners stand, nor even [sit] in the company of the insolent [<i>lešim</i>], i.e., those who scoff, like "At <i>scoffers</i> He scoffs" (Prov. 3:34). But the Sages said that if he walked he would eventually stand, and if he stood he would eventually sit (BT Avodah Zarah 18b), and this is also correct.</p>	<p>ורשעים פחותים מחטאים והנה הטעם שלא הלך בעצתם, ואפי' בדרך שיעמדו החטאים לא עמד, ואפי' במושב ליצים, הם הלעגנים, כמו "אם ללצים הוא יליץ" (משלי ג', 34). וחכמים אמרו, כי אם הלך סופו לעמוד, ואם עמד סופו לשבת (עבודה זרה, ע"ב), גם הוא נכון.⁷³²</p>
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Here too, Ibn Ezra accepts the narrative elements of Rabbinic exegesis, as he can match it with other Biblical passages.

Ibn Chiquitilla's approval or adoption of a Rabbinic opinion is restricted to their semantic conclusion.⁷³³ As such, he does not include the narrative knowledge that informs Rabbinic exegesis. Rabbinic interpretation, as *ta'wil* is approved of provided it matches his literary sensibilities and is reflective of his own rational culture and contextual approach to scripture.⁷³⁴ For example, on Psalm 24:7 he writes that:

Evr.-Arab. II 618, 33v

<p>The explanation [<i>ta'wil</i>] by the ancestors of "O <i>gates, lift up your heads!</i>" (Psalms 24:7) is pleasant. It alludes [<i>yašir</i>] to the entrance of the</p>	<p>וְנִעַם קוֹל אֱלֹאִיִּל פִּי תֹאִוִּלֵהֶם פִּי שְׂאוּ שְׁעֵרִים רְאשֵׁיכֶם (תהלים כד:ז) לֵאנֹה יִשִּׁיר בִּה אֵלֵי דְכוּל</p>
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⁷³¹ Compare Rashi *ad. loc.*

⁷³² Text and translation (Simon 1991, 322–23).

⁷³³ For examples of this in others, see (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 65–76).

⁷³⁴ See (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 42, n. 32).

ark into the, “*House of the Holy of Holies*.” The (words) are figuratively [*majâz*] addressed to the doors welcoming and giving consent.

אלארוֹן פִּי בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ הַקְּדוּשִׁים וְאֵנָּה מִכְּטֹבָה לְלֵאבֹואב
עַלִּי טְרִיק אֶל־מִגְאֹז לְלִתְרַחֵב וְאֶל־לִבִּיהָ.

The hermeneutical differences between Ibn Chiquitilla’s methods and the Rabbis are clear. Ibn Chiquitilla labels the description of the welcoming of the ark into the Holy of Holies a *majâz* and as a literary allusion [Ar. *’išâra*, Heb. *’asmaktā*].⁷³⁵ His classification of the Rabbis’ explanation as *’išâra* keeps the *ta ’wîl* of the *majâz* out of the semantic categories of grammar, placing it in the domain of exegesis by analogy to a story. He clearly departs from the Rabbis aim, to identify a moralistic teaching that links the image of the doors speaking, to its tenor, forgiveness, thereby explaining why Solomon was worthy to enter the Temple. The Temple doors demand Solomon acknowledge his father’s sin before letting in the Ark of the Covenant. Their agreement to open indicates David’s forgiveness.⁷³⁶ Thereafter, David proclaims, “*Clean hands and pure heart*” (Psalms 24:4). Ibn Chiquitilla’s omission of this narrative reflects his narrow hermeneutic aim of identifying the literary form and semantic sense of the metaphor.

Evidence for the Rabbis offering a closer reading of the text than Ibn Chiquitilla is visible in the former’s sensitivity to the tenor of the metaphor, whereas the latter concentrates on matching its sense or intent to his rational world view. For the verse, “*From the mouths of infants and sucklings You have found strength on account of Your foes, to put an end to enemy and avenger*” (Psalms 8: 3), Ibn Chiquitilla reworks the irrational underpinning of the literal language so that the infants and sucklings can speak without violating his rational world view.⁷³⁷ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. II 618, 10r-11v

⁷³⁵ Delgado views this as a disproportionate use of rationalism (J. Martínez Delgado 2003, 214; 2012, 26, n. 38).

⁷³⁶ TB *Shabbath* 30a, TB *Mo’ed Kaṭan* 9a, TB *Sanhedrin* 107b, *Exodus Rabbah* 8:1. So too *Rashi*, (*Psalms*, Heb. 820, Eng. 267), Ibn Ezra, Radaq *ad loc.* On allegorical exegesis in *midrash* (Ginzberg 1906, 403–11; 1955, 125–50; 254–56; Maori 2002, 201–46 n. 45; Heinemann 1970).

⁷³⁷ He praises God’s might before returning to the main theme of the Psalms – a description of the heavens and its splendour. For an understanding of popular religion (Goitein 1974, 3–17; Altmann 1981, 35).

The meaning [ya 'nî] of the phrase, “*from the mouths of infants and sucklings*” (Psalms 8:3) is even though they cannot talk with their own mouths, they themselves praise Your munificence which sustains them and strengthens their growth.

The phrase, “*On account of Your foes to put an end to an enemy*” (Psalms 8:3) signifies negation of the heretic’s words against You despite their having witnessed clear signs and Your decisive power.

ויעני בקולה מפי עוללים ויונקים (תהלים ח:ג) אלדי לא ינטקון באפואההם פהם בד'ואתהם אדלא עלי פצ'לך בתכפלך ארזאקהם ובתקויה אלנמו פיהם.

וקו' למען צוררך להשבית אויב (תהלים ח:ג) יעני אבטאל קול אלמלח. דין כך בעד מא שאה' דוא איאתך [11 א] אלט'אהרה ואעלאמך אלקאהרה.

Ibn Chiquitilla conceives of the *ma 'nâ* [sense] of verses 2-3 as a praise of God, creator of the heavens and earth, who has revealed His might [*qudra*] (verse 2) and munificence [*faql*] in the world (verse 3) by sustaining even the most vulnerable⁷³⁸ “*infants ('ôlâlîm)*” and “*sucklings (yônəqîm)*.” This he references in the previous verse, when he writes that:

Evr.-Arab. II 618, 10r

And “*You cover,*” (imperfect form) means “*You covered,*” (perfect), as in made Your name great in the land, by revealing Your power in the created heavens.

ותנה (תהלים ח:ב) פי מעני נתתה אי אנמא עט'ם אסמך פי אלארץ' במא ט'הר מן קדרתך פי כ'לק אלסמא.

Though currently they are unable to speak, they will acknowledge His greatness, unlike the “*heretics [mulhîdûn]*” who deny God’s power.⁷³⁹ The juxtaposition of infants and sucklings with heretics is hyperbolic, their audacity and absurdity in denying clear signs of God’s power.

⁷³⁸ The language is *kalâmic*.

⁷³⁹ Ibn Chiquitilla does not indicate which term he is discussing, but this does not matter *per se* as his comments are equally applicable to *'ôlâlîm* and *yônəqîm*, as will be seen shortly. Cf. Ibn Ezra, who excludes *yônəqîm* from the incipit, *supra*.

His conceptual analysis raises three related questions. What is the semantic basis for “*infants* (‘*ôlâlîm*)”?⁷⁴⁰ Why include both terms? Is it either a discovery derived from the new Qur’ânic hermeneutics, or was it already found in Rabbinic exegesis? The answer is found in Rabbinic sources, but as with the previous examples reveals the difference in their hermeneutical aims. The Rabbis provide a much closer read of the text than the Iberian exegetes by weaving a narrative around the hyperbole of Psalm 8:3. *Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael* writes that:

R. Jose the Galilean says: Behold, Scripture says, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast Thou founded strength" (Psalms 8:3). Babes (‘*ôlâlîm*) are those who are still in the mothers' wombs, as in the passage, "Or as a hidden untimely birth I had not been; as infants (*ke-‘ôlâlîm*) that never saw light" (Job 3:16). Sucklings are those who suck their mothers' breasts, as in the passage, "Gather the children, and those that suck the breasts" (Joel 2:1).

רבי יוסי הגלילי אומר הרי הוא אומר "מפי עוללים יסדת עז" **עוללים** אלו שבמעיי אמן שנאמר "או כנפל טמון לא אהיה כעוללים לא ראו אור" יונקים אלו שיונקים משדי אמן שנאמר "אספו עוללים ויוקי שדים."⁷⁴¹

In the above passage the literal meaning of the text is retained along with its hyperbolic character. R. Jose the Galilean emphasises the lack of verbal skills of the unborn foetuses as the analogy between the image and topic. By offering a nuanced interpretation of ‘*ôlâlîm* and *yônəqîm*, the rhetorical effect of the hyperbole is maximised to include miraculous speech.⁷⁴² The more limited the mental capacity of the ‘*ôlâlîm* the stronger the literary effect - the wicked are so foolish that even an unborn baby knows God’s greatness. R. Judah tones down the hyperbolic rhetoric, by linking the recognition of

⁷⁴⁰ They just know the cause of their growth and sustenance. Cf. Ibn Ezra below.

⁷⁴¹ (Lauterbach 1933, vol. II, 11).

⁷⁴² The rabbis read the hyperbole in the text literally, as indicating a miracle, which avoids the intentionalist fallacy.

God's greatness with children in the street. The meaning of *ʿôlālîm* is “*children*.” He cites examples from Jer. 9:20 and Lam. 4:4 for this meaning.⁷⁴³

Rabbi says: Babes (*ʿolalim*) here means children old enough to be out on the street, as in the passage, "To cut off the children (*ʿolal*) from the street" (Jer. 9:20), and as in the passage, "The young children (*ʿolalim*) ask for bread etc," (Lam. 4:4). Sucklings are those still at their mothers' breasts, as in the passage, "Gather the children and those that suck the breasts" (Joel 2:16).

רבי אומר עוללים אלו עוללים שבחוץ שנ' להכרית עולל מחוץ (ירמיה ט כ) ואומר עוללים שאלו לחם (איכה ד ד) יונקים אלו שעל שדי אמן שנ' אספו עוללים ויונקי שדים (יואל ב טז) אלו ואלו פתחו פיהם ואמרו שירה לפני המקום שנ' אשירה להי וגו'.⁷⁴⁴

R. Judah offers a contrast between *ʿôlālîm* and *yônəqîm*. Addressing why the verse repeats the same idea twice creates a two-step hyperbole. Not just infants who can speak with limited intelligence, but even babies understand God's greatness. I. Gottlieb construed the above problem as a semantic discussion via the cross-referencing of examples of *ʿôlālîm* in other Biblical texts.⁷⁴⁵ However, he underplays the emphasis the Rabbinic discussion places on linking each image with a topic that maximise the literary effect of the metaphor's tenor. In any case, there is evidence that R. Jose agrees with R. Judah's definition of *ʿôlel* in TB *Soṭah* 30b.

⁷⁴³ *ʿôlālîm* as in those who beg in the streets, fits the context. *Yônəqîm* are small children able to talk (Joel 2:16). Ibn Ezra, *ad. loc.* favours the view that *ʿôlālîm* refers to children old enough to go about in the streets as suggested by R. Judah. Also, Ps. 8:3 (*Soḥer Tov*, 123-124).

⁷⁴⁴ (Lauterbach 1933, vol. II, 11).

⁷⁴⁵ Gottlieb approaches the problem as a philological enquiry into an archaic word, as the purpose of the discussion (Gottlieb 1984a, 135). It seems clear that the multiple explanations proposed for the words are about the limits of their usage as part of an exegetical story, but the Rabbis involved in the discussion share a common lexicon of spoken Hebrew. See Gottlieb for further references on the continuum of spoken Hebrew from the Biblical period to the Tannaitic period, (Gottlieb 1984a, 135) and Greenfield (Greenfield 1958, 203-28).

Our Rabbis taught: R. Jose the Galilean expounded: At the time the Israelites ascended from the Red Sea, they desired to utter a Song; and how did they render the song? The babe [‘*ôlel*]⁷⁴⁶ lay upon his mother's knees and the suckling sucked at his mother's breast; when they beheld the *Shechinah*, the babe raised his neck and the suckling released the nipple from his mouth, and they exclaimed: This is my God and I will Praise Him; as it is said: Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou established strength.⁷⁴⁷

תנו רבנן דרש רבי יוסי הגלילי בשעה שעלו ישראל מן הים נתנו עיניהם לומר שירה וכיצד אמרו שירה עולל מוטל על ברכי אמו ותינוק יונק משדי אמו כיון שראו את השכינה עולל הגביה צוארו ותינוק שמט דד מפיו ואמרו זה אלי ואנוהו (שמות טו:ב) שנאמר מפי עוללים ויונקים יסדת עוז (תהלים ח:ג)

In this passage R. Jose leaves no doubt that he agrees with R. Judah's two-part hyperbole - the semantic meaning of ‘*ôlâlîm* **can** refer to small infants, lying on their “*mother's knees*.”⁷⁴⁸ The thrust of his image is still very young babies, either resting or suckling. Furthermore, Gottlieb ignores the rhetorical maximisation of the hyperbole in the continuation of the above *Mekhilta* (and with small modification, TB *Soṭah* 30b) in the name of R. Meir.

R. Meir says: Even embryos in their mother's wombs opened their mouths and uttered song before God, as it stated: “Bless ye God in full assemblies, even the Lord, ye that are from the fountain of Israel” (Psalms 68:27).

רבי מאיר אומר אף עוברין שבמעו אמן פתחו פיהן ואמרו שירה לפני המקום שנאמר "במקהלות ברכו אלהים וי"י"⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁶ Better infant, see Rashi *ad. loc.* Cf. Psalms where he calls it an infant, (*Rashi, Psalms*, Heb. 813. Eng. 199 n. 7).

⁷⁴⁷ Modified from the Soncino edition.

⁷⁴⁸ A foetus does not lift its head. Both the meaning “*foetus*” and “*newborn child*” are attested to in amulets and Aramaic poetry in late antiquity, ‘-W-L* (Sokoloff 2017, 449). Also see *Pesiqta of Rabbi Kahana* 4:3.

⁷⁴⁹ (Lauterbach 1933, vol. II, 11).

R. Meir's comment pertains to Psalm 68:27. His narrative cements the image of the pericope as *all* the future Children of Israel recognise God's majesty and power.⁷⁵⁰ It too is not an examination of the semantic content of the Biblical text (which is taken for granted), but part one of several scenarios built around the polysemous meanings of *ôlâlîm* and the theme of minors praising God.

In contrast, the Iberian exegetes brush over the nuances between the meanings of *ôlâlîm* and *yônəqîm*, as they relate to the image and tenor of the metaphor.⁷⁵¹ A selective summary of other Iberian exegetes variously translate the terms as meaning either "*lad*" or "*infant*." Se'adyah translates *ôlâlîm* as "*lad (šibyân)*," and *yônəqîm*, "*suckling (ruḏ'â)*."⁷⁵² Menaḥem groups *ôlâlîm* under the root 'W-L meaning *sucklings*.⁷⁵³ Ibn Janāḥ adds an analysis of verse Psalm 8:3's morphology, the plural form of *ôlāl* and its root 'L-L. Nonetheless, he too translates it as "*infant*" following Lam 4:4 and Jer. 6:11.⁷⁵⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss on Psalm 39:6 does not define the term *ôlâlîm* "*infant*" as distinct from *yônəqîm* "*suckling*."⁷⁵⁵ Even, Ibn Ezra who discusses the hyperbole in the language of contemporary philosophy does not tackle the relationship between the image and tenor of the metaphor.⁷⁵⁶ He writes that:

Rabbi Moses (Ibn Chiquitilla) says the intend
(*ta'am*) of, "*Out of the mouth of babes*" even
though they cannot speak, they themselves will

מפי - א"ר משה: כי טעם מפי עוללים אם לא ידברו
בפיהם, הם בעצמם יודו לחסדיך כי תכלכלם ותפרם ותרחם
בגופם באורך וברוחב.

⁷⁵⁰ This usage of *maqôr* (*fountain*) as a "*womb*" reflects splits the meaning of the word contextually. The *Tosephta Soṭah* 3:9 (ed. Lieberman) interprets *maqôr* (*fountain*) Zech. 13:1– to wash away the uncleanness of the sinners and fornicators. In TB *Nedarim* 59b it is metaphorically associated with the blood emanating from the womb. It is clear that the Rabbis are not aiming for philological readings of the words, but a use of the word appropriate to the narrative. The result is a range of meanings.

⁷⁵¹ Lockshin observes this tendency to brush over nuance in meaning in Ibn Ezra (Lockshin 2003, 83).

⁷⁵² (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 64). However, "*babes (šibyân)*" (Job 3:16), (*Se'adyah, Job*, 42). *Trans.* follows (L. Goodman 1988, 181). Though Se'adyah translates the words identically, there is no reason to assume he adopts the sensitivity to the tenor of the metaphor found in the *Makīlā* and Rabbinic sources.

⁷⁵³ (*Maḥberet*, 281). Modern dictionaries list it under 'W-L, HALOT 798.

⁷⁵⁴ (*Uṣūl*, 521, 27 = *HaSôrašim*, 367).

⁷⁵⁵ He cites *ôlâlîm* (*new-born*) Lam 2:20, as a figurative (*majâz*) for their growth rate, see *majâz*.

⁷⁵⁶ (Lockshin 2003).

praise Your munificence (*hasādeḡā*),⁷⁵⁷ for sustaining them; for making them fruitful and multiplying them and increasing their body's height and width. However, in my opinion Scripture reads, "*Out of the mouth of babes*," because man is the most glorious being created in this world. Now, "*Out of the mouth of babes*" refers to the time that a child first begins to speak. Its meaning is that the power of the rational soul first appears in the body when the child begins to speak. The rational soul develops to the point where it can learn the power of its creator by logical thinking. Indeed, the soul grows in strength day by day. This is the intent (*ʾaʿam*) of, "*Hast Thou founded strength*."

א"ר משה: כי טעם – אשר לא בפיהם הם יודו לחסדיך,
כי תכלכלם ותפרם ותרבם בגופם באודרך וברוחב.
והנכון בעיני: בעבור היות אדם נכבד מכל נבראי מטה אמר
כן; כי מעת שיחל הנער לדבר וזה טעם מפיו עוללים אז
תחל מתכונתו לקבל כח הנשמה החכמה עד, שתשקל
בשקול דעתה כח בוראה, כי תחזק הנפש יום אחר יום וזה
טעם יסדת עוז.

Ibn Ezra provides a philosophical interpretation which rationalises away the miracle of a dumb baby speaking. Instead, the growth of a rational soul in a child is linked with the ability to speak. Implied is a comparison with the wicked men, who despite possessing a rational soul deny the truth of God's power.⁷⁵⁸

Criticism of the Semantic Conclusions of the Poets

The adoption of the semantic conclusions of Rabbinic exegesis is an established part of Ibn Chiquitilla's methods. This does not mean he is uncritical. He rejects as an "*error*

⁷⁵⁷ Ibn Ezra translates Ibn Chiquitilla's use of the term *faḡl* as *ḡeṣeḡ*. On this translation in other authors (Lasker 2009, nn. 3–4).

⁷⁵⁸ The miraculous element is not negated. Rather, it is confined within what is natural. Only its timing is miraculous. In this way the counterfactual element of the hyperbole conforms to the Neo-Platonic view of the world. On philosophical explanations in Ibn Ezra, see (Lockshin 2003; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 265–68).

[*ḡalaṭ*],” the meaning “*angels*” for *šinān* in the writings of the poet Solomon Ibn Gabirol, which is ultimately derived from Rabbinic tradition. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

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“*Thousands upon thousands (ŠiNāN)*” (Psalms 68:18) is from, “*Do it a second time*” (1 Kings 18:34). The ‘ (*’ālep*) substitutes the Y (*Yôḏ*). It means a thousand times a thousand (times another thousand). A poet errored (*ḡalaṭ*) and thought *šinān* the proper name for angels, but the angels are “*God’s chariots*.”

ושנאן (תהלים סח:יח) מן ויאמר שנו וישנו (מלכים א יח:לד) ואלפה מבדלה מן יא פהו יעני אלפא מכררה. וקד גלט בעץ' אהל אלפיוט פג'על שנאן מן אסמא אלמלאיכה ואנמא אלמלאיכה רכב אלהים (תהלים סח:יח).

Ibn Chiquitilla argues against a synonymous parallelism between *RēḲēB* (*chariots*) and *ŠiNāN* (*angels*),⁷⁵⁹ on the grounds that the intent of the phrases would be redundant, ‘*God’s myriad chariots, angels (ŠiNāN) thousands and thousands*.’ He brushes aside the Rabbinic traditions used by Ibn Gabirol in favour of a semantic codification of *ŠiNāN* that switches [*badal*] a Y (*Yôḏ*) for an ‘ (*’ālep*) and derives *ŠiNān* from the root Š-N-H, “*two (ŠāNaYim)*” (1 Kings 18:34).⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁹ Interestingly, some modern exegetes agree with Rabbinic tradition and derive *Šin’ān* from its Semitic cognates: *ṭnn* “*archer*” (Ugaritic); *šanānu* “*archer*” (Alalakh) and *šnn’n* “*officer*,” New Egyptian (Dahood 1965, 142).

⁷⁶⁰ Solomon Ibn Gabirol uses the traditional meaning in his poem “*Šinānīm Ša’anānīm*.” The image is a detailed outline of the heavenly court, built around various angels, (Loewe 1988, 114–33). Ibn Gabirol borrows the Rabbinic meaning because its close reading of the text that exploits the nuance between *ŠiNāN* and *RēḲēB*, as more than literary ornamentation. It states:

R. Abdimi of Haifa said: In the study of a Mishnah which is in my possession, I learned that twenty-two thousand ministering angels came down with the Holy One on Mount Sinai, as many, so said R. Berechiah the Priest Berabbi, as there were males in the camp of the Levites. For the Holy One foresaw that [in the matter of the golden calf], only the Tribe of Levi would retain its water-clear integrity. Therefore, [in honor of the Levites], twenty-two thousand angels, as many as there were males in the camp of the Levites, came down “the chariots of God: two myriads, and two thousand angels.”

א"ר אבדימא איש חיפה שניתי במשנתי שירד עם הקדוש ברוך הוא לסיני עשרים ושנים אלף של מלאכי השרת. א"ר ברכיה הכהן ברבי כמחנה הלויים, שצפה הקדוש ברוך הוא שאין עומדין במימיהן אלא שבטו של לוי, לפיכך ירד עשרים ושנים אלף כמחנה לוייה, רכב אלהים ריבתיים אלפי שנאן (שם תהלים ס"ח).

Ibn Chiquitilla's rejection of the traditional Rabbinic definition of *Šinān* is an alleged contextual redundancy, not an inability to integrate the Rabbinic meaning within system of grammar.⁷⁶¹ This contrasts with his predecessor Ibn Janāḥ, who lists *Šinān* under the root Š-ʾ-N-N, and combines the same morphological analysis found in Ibn Chiquitilla with the traditional meaning, *angel*. He writes that:

<p>Š-ʾ-N-N: ... Of “<i>Thousands upon thousands</i> (<i>Šinān</i>).” (Psalms 68:18). Poets frequently use this word to refer to angels and called them <i>Šin ʾānīm</i>. Now, it is possible that its root comes from “<i>Debased</i> (Š-N-ʾ) <i>the finest gold!</i>” (Lam. 1:4), having exchanged the ʾ (<i>ʾālep</i>) with the Y (<i>Yôd</i>), this is an ʾ (<i>ʾālep</i>) divergent with respect to the proper noun. Therefore, its original form would be <i>Šinyān</i> analogous to <i>binyān</i>, <i>qinyān</i> and in this way it would be trilateral.</p>	<p>ש-נ-י: ומנה רבתי אלפי שנאן (תהלים סח:יח) קד כ'תר אסתעמאל אלשערא להד'ה אללפט' פי אלמלאיכה פיסמתלהן שנאנים. ורבמא כאן אלצל פיהא מן ישנה⁷⁶² הכתם הטוב (איכה א:ד) באבתדאל אלאלף מן אליא אי [אלאלף] מכלתלפה אלג'ואהר וכאן אלצל פיהא שנין עלי מת'ל קנין בנין פהי עלי הד'א ת'לאת'יה.⁷⁶³</p>
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Pesiqta of Rabbi Kahana 12:22 (ed. Mandelbaum) For translation, see (Braude and Kapstein 1974, vols 2, 435; 591). A close reading of the above story reveals a narrative of the events of Ps. 68:18 that retains the semantic content of *Šinān*. God's Heavenly court descends on Mt. Sinai during the incident of the Golden Calf. The 22,000 Levites who rally to God's cause are supported by a ministering angel, *Šinān*, either to protect or help them in their fight against the worshippers of the Golden Calf. In this scenario, *Šinān* as “*sharpen*” is quite an appropriate name for the type of angels sent down. Moses Ibn Ezra in a passage found in *Ḥadīqa* defends his decision not to cite the errors of his predecessors. Fenton identifies this with Ibn Gabirol's poetry, although he does not include the above example (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 369, n. 383).

⁷⁶¹ Cohen calls the search for the semantic meaning the “*The Truth Principle*” in the writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 38; 2011a, 72–82; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, n. 33). Ibn Ezra adopts a semantic reading of Ibn Chiquitilla, in his comment on Ps. 68:18. He specifically rejects the *Midrash* cited in *Pesiqta of Rabbi Kahana* 12:22 as untenable, ויש אומרים: כי זה רמז למספר הלויים במדבר ואין זה מטעם המזמור. (One says: this alludes to the number of Levites in the wilderness. This is not the meaning of the Ps.).

⁷⁶² Kittel ישנא, *ad. loc.*

⁷⁶³ (*ʾUṣūl*, 754, 3-8 = *HaŠōrāšīm*, Š-N-H, 397). For another reference to *Šinān*'s ʾ (*ʾālep*) replacing the Y (*Yôd*), (*Luma* ʾ, 88, 24 = *HaRiqmā*, 106, 9 n. 5). Ibn Danān cites both explanations, see (Ibn Danan and Jiménez Sánchez 2004, 444). Two alternative explanations are found in the dictionary *Kitāb al-Jāmi* ʾ; “*thousand men. It might [mean] intimate and permanent friends from Šaʾanān* (Is. 33:20) – *inverted*.” (*Al-Jāmi* ʾ XXI 689, 40-41). The first compares the word to the Arabic word *ʾinsān* whilst the second suggests it is an inverted spelling of *Šaʾanān* (*fixed*). For further references, see (J. Martínez Delgado and Saidi 2007, 91, nn. 47–48).

Perhaps the difference between Ibn Janâḥ and Ibn Chiquitilla is a greater willingness to either combine semantic analysis with Rabbinic tradition, or maintain multiple meanings of words on the part of Ibn Janâḥ.⁷⁶⁴ More likely, Ibn Chiquitilla's criticism is polemic in tone, deliberately including a criticism of Ibn Gabirol, as he belonged to Ibn Janâḥ's rival intellectual circle and was friends with his son 'Aḥiya.⁷⁶⁵

Philosophical Interpretations

One of the more intriguing instances of narrative explanation by Ibn Chiquitilla is his attempt to reconcile the Biblical text's semantics with freewill. He imports a narrative explanation to avoid contradicting freewill and the creation of a philosophical paradox. In the verse, “*He changed (ḥapāḳ) their heart*” (Psalms 105:25), God appears to remove freewill from the Egyptian people. He writes that:

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It states, “*He changed their heart*” (Psalms 105:25) as figurative language [*majâz*]. “*But the Lord stiffened the heart of Pharaoh*” (Ex. 9:12) (and) “*Why, God, do You make us stray*” (Is. 63:17). (Regarding) that (verse Psalm 105:25): He (God) was unable to persuade them of the judicious [humility] of their previous ruler's covenant with Joseph. He (Joseph) was untiring in his resolve to obtain correct (tax) assessments from the inhabitants and the [land], though there is no proof of this in this verse, but (there is proof) earlier in the text (Psalms 105:21).

קו' הפך לבם (תהלים קה:כה) עלי מג'אז ויחזק יי את
לב פרעה (שמות ט:יב) למה תתענו יי (ישעיהו סג:יז)
וד'לך במא לם יחמלהם עלי חסן אלמ[עאבה] אלסאלף מן
רייסהם עלי עהד יוסף ולם יכן ען תקדיר אלמוכד מן
אלמכות' ובאלב[לאד] אד' לים מן קולה יסתדל עלי ד'לך
בל ממא קד' תרתב קבל פי אלנץ

⁷⁶⁴ Cohen has described this as a form of exegetical dualism (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 57–66), but specifically p. 62.

⁷⁶⁵ See (Vardi 2016, 461).

Ibn Chiquitilla's solution to the problem combines semantic meaning, *majâz* and the presumption that punishment cannot exist without freewill.⁷⁶⁶ Moses and Aaron are sent to give Pharaoh a message. Ibn Chiquitilla supposes a political climate in Egypt in which Pharaoh chooses an anti-Israelite policy, despite all the financial benefits accrued by the service of Joseph.⁷⁶⁷ Pharaoh and the Egyptians freely reject the message of Aaron and Moses on multiple occasions (verse 26).⁷⁶⁸ They remain unconvinced; even Moses and Aaron could not '*persuade them*' of Joseph's moral integrity and the immorality of their cruel enslavement of the Israelites. The active verb "*He changed their heart*" is God 'shutting the door' to further opportunity to repent.⁷⁶⁹

The 'shutting the door' thesis fuses the text's semantics with a theological position in favour of freewill and matches what M. Cohen describes as the 'strong *peshat* view.'⁷⁷⁰ This marks a sharpening of the relationship between grammar and meaning in Ibn Chiquitilla, relative to his Ge'onic predecessors, however, it comes at the expense of unrestricted freewill as a precondition of reward and punishment.⁷⁷¹ Se'adyah responds to this issue through narrative *ta'wil*. He avoids the problem of God interfering in Pharaoh's freewill by turning the active voice into a passive voice. In his *tafsîr* on Is. 63:17, he translates the active verb *hapāḳ* (*he changed*) as '*inqabalat* [*were changed*]⁷⁷² and *lāmmâ*

⁷⁶⁶ The expected term, *qadar* is connected with freewill (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 143; Altmann 1981, 45). Ibn Chiquitilla refers to God's *qadar* in his commentary eleven times; Evr.-Arab. I 3583: Ps. 2:4 (2r) Ps. 8:2 (10v), Ps. 17:7 (19v), Ps. 33:15 (39r), Ps. 49:14 (55v), Ps. 66:8 (82v); man's power Ps. 8:3 (11r), Ps. 58:5 (75r) and both in Ps. 44:4 (58r). His power [*qudra*] is manifest through his *faḍl* or *tafḍîl*, *supra*. See Ps. 8:2, *infra*.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibn Chiquitilla defends Joseph's impeccable behaviour as a tax-famer, which is alluded to in verses 21-22, but the text is too damaged to read his comments. The image of Jews as tax farmers was familiar to Iberians. No doubt, Ibn Chiquitilla sought to clear Joseph's character of any social stigma associated with tax-farmers. On the tendency to cleanse prophets of sin in 10th century Ge'onic sources (Zucker 1965, 149-73; Rotenberg 1986, 41-55).

⁷⁶⁸ Abraham Ibn Ezra explains Ex. 9:26-7 as insincere repentance by Pharaoh. (Long commentary on Ex. 9:34).

⁷⁶⁹ For Ibn Ezra and Maimonides' interpretation (H. A. Wolfson 1979, 205). For a slightly different interpretation of Maimonides see Wolfson, and the opinion of Albo (Shatz 1997, 478-509). For further sources on whether Maimonides is an advocate of freewill or a determinist see sources cited in Shatz, n.56. and (Sokol 1998), *contra*. Altmann and Pines (Pines 1960, 195-98; Altmann 1981, 35-61).

⁷⁷⁰ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 65).

⁷⁷¹ *Mu'tazilite* tradition of unrestricted freewill is found in (Qafih 1969, chap. 4:4-6, 166-8). Hereafter '*Amânât* and (Altmann 1981, 35, 41-42). *Mu'tazilite* believed that humankind must choose between good and evil and that this same choice is the purpose of revelation. Fatalism and determinism are associated with the Ash'arite school. (Watt 1948, 67-77; Louis Gardet and Anawati 1948, 347-48, 351ff; H. A. Wolfson 1967, 547, 556-59; Vajda 1947, 28ff; 1970, 257).

⁷⁷² (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 230).

taī'enū (why do you make us stray) as “Do not make us stray [*wala taḏallna*]” (Is. 63:17).⁷⁷³ This satisfies his absolute stance against any interference by God with freewill, but hardly matches the active meaning of the words.⁷⁷⁴ Instead, Se‘adyah leaves the problem of harmonising the theological problem with the active verbal form unresolved.

An intermediate position between that of Se‘adyah’s *ta’wīl*, and Ibn Chiquitilla’s demand for close correlation between semantic form and meaning is that of Samuel ben Ḥophni (d. 1013). He draws the doctrinal position in favour of freewill closer to the semantic meaning of the text. The word *lammâ* “why” (Psalms 63:17) extends beyond its usual range of meanings to avoid contravening freewill.⁷⁷⁵ Writing in his commentary on Genesis Samuel ben Ḥophni states that:

It states, “*Let us not perish before your eyes*” (Gen. 47:19). It is not a literal question, but an affirmation. The Hebrews use this in place of ‘no’ as it states “*LORD, let us not stray from Your ways*” (Is. 63:17).

וקולה למה נמות לעיניך (בראשית מז:יט) לים הו סואל ען
אללמיה לכן אלעבראניין אסתעמלו ד'לך פי מוצ'ע לא
כקולה למה תתענו י'י מדרכיך וג' (ישעיה סג:יז).⁷⁷⁶

Samuel ben Ḥophni combines the narrative problem with the semantic content of the text to explain away God’s interference with freewill. He offers an interpretation of *mâ* as “no” and cites Is. 63:17, as a proof-text without philosophical ramifications. *Lāmmâ* usual

⁷⁷³ Similarly, Se‘adyah writes about Isaiah 61:17 “*And the question of our fathers, why, Lord do You make us stray? intended not that, rather do not judge us as sinners!*” (Fredman 2019, 50, 8–10; Ratzaby 1993a, 149 n. 17).

⁷⁷⁴ *Contra*. the free-thinking Hîwî al-Balkî (Vajda 1947, 42; Zucker 1966, 392–92) and (‘*Amânât* 4:6, 156–59, 163–5), where he cites Ex. 7:3; 10:1 and Ex. 14:4. Cf. “*I will harden*” (Derenbourg 1893, 15, 94, 101). In Ex. 9:12, Se‘adyah translates the verse in as *šaddada* [hardened] (Derenbourg 1893, 12), which is consistent with this explanation and the verses cited in ‘*Amânât* 4:4. For additional remarks (Ratzaby 1993a, 22, 34, 48). Later it was adopted by the *Targûm* to Isaiah and Psalms “*there heart was turned,*” (*Targûm, Psalms*, 191). Also see (Ratzaby 1998, 5, n. 6). On the inconsistent translation of anthropomorphism in the *Targûm* on Psalms (Shunary 1966, 133–44). Radaq cites both active and passive solutions *ad. locum*.

⁷⁷⁵ (Schweka 2010).

⁷⁷⁶ (Greenbaum 1978, 292–93, n. 212).

means “*why*,” interpreting it as “*no*” is semantically ‘weak,’⁷⁷⁷ but produces a viable connection with the semantic meaning of the verse and *mu‘tazilite* belief in absolute freewill.

The effect of Ibn Chiquitilla’s strong semantic correlation between meaning and the development of *peshât* exegesis is most keenly felt in the writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra. He uses the Rabbinic dictum “*He is not permitted to repent*” (*Mishnah ‘Avoth* 5:18) as way to explain his view of freewill throughout his writings. It is aptly summarised by his comments on Deut. 5:26.⁷⁷⁸

“*Oh that.*” (Deut. 5:26) Scripture does not say “*oh that I,*” but “*oh that they (lâhem),*” therefore it writes *lâhem* after “*this their hearts were.*” ... And this is the intent (*ta‘am*) of “*But the Lord stiffened the heart of Pharaoh*” (Ex. 11:10) and in another place “*And his heart became stubborn, he and his courtiers*” (Ex. 9:34). All is true; therefore, it says “*I know, O Lord, that man’s road is not his*” (Jer. 10:23), “*Why, God, do You make us stray*” (Is. 63:17). And Moses said (Deut. 30:19). Now since God does not withhold good, he loves good. Scripture speaks in the language of men when it says “*Oh that.*”

(כו) מי יתן (דברים ה:כו): אין הכתוב אומר מי יתן לי, רק מי יתן... להם, על כן נכתב להם אחר והיה לבבם זה.. וזה טעם ויחזק ה' את לב פרעה (שמות יא, י), ובמקום אחר ויכבד לבו הוא ועבדיו (שם ט, לד), והכל אמת, על כן אומר: ידעתי ה' כי לא לאדם דרכו (ירמ' י, כג), ואומר: למה תתענו ה' מדרכך (ישע' סג, יז). ומשה אמר ובחרת בחיים (דברים ל, יט). ואחר שהשם לא ימנע טוב, הנה הוא אוהב להטיב, ואמר הכתוב כלשון בני אדם מי יתן:

Ibn Ezra explains the syntactic structure of Deut. 5:36 as an inverted optative in which the word *lâhem* (Deut. 5:26) appears at the end of the phrase - “*oh that such a heart as this to them (lâhem).*” Its *tadqîr* is “*Oh that such a heart as this to them (Israel), to revere Me and follow all My commandments, that it may go well with them and with their children*”

⁷⁷⁷ Greenburg thought this was an example of *ta‘wil*, whilst Cohen calls it a ‘weak reading’ of *ẓāhir al-naṣṣ* [the apparent meaning of the text] (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 50–54 n. 73).

⁷⁷⁸ Other examples are found in his commentary on Ex 7:3, Ex. 23:6, Deut. 5:26, Is. 63:17 and *Yesod Morah* 7:4 (Joseph Cohen and Simon 2018a, 143).

forever.” This places the onus of moral decrepitude on Israel’s failure to obey and not on God’s depriving them. God then ‘shuts the door’ to further repentance.⁷⁷⁹

Ibn Ezra’s greater emphasis on semantic precision than that of his Ge’onic predecessors is similarly applied in Is. 63:17. He entertains four solutions to the form-meaning dichotomy. The first two preserve the existence of freewill, whilst the later does not. He writes that:

<p>“Why” (Is. 63:17) because He is the highest cause, first cause of everything, therefore He is mentioned as the cause of this erring. Others respond, the sense is similar to the Rabbinic phrase “<i>He is not permitted to repent (Mishnah ’Avoth 5:18).</i>”</p>	<p>למה (ישעיהו סג:יז): בעבור היות השם הסבה העליונה. היא הראשונה, אמר: למה תתענו, ויש משיבים כי זה כטעם מה שאמרו קדמונינו ז"ל, 'אין מספיקין בידו לעשות תשובה, (אבות ה:יח)....⁷⁸⁰</p>
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In the first explanation, God is the retrograde first cause, and ultimately responsible for everyone, even as freewill is preserved. The second explanation refers to the two scenarios in *Mishnah ’Avoth 5:18*; those who sin, intending to repent and those who mislead others into sinning. In both cases God closes the door on repentance, much as in Ibn Chiquitilla’s explanation and Ibn Ezra’s explanation to Deut. 5:36.⁷⁸¹

M. Cohen’s description of Ibn Ezra as an advocate of a ‘*strong peshat*,’⁷⁸² is a relative description and is applicable to Ibn Chiquitilla’s demand for a coherent semantic analysis. However, what drives the semantic analysis cannot be separated from his requirement to interpret the Biblical text in line with rational philosophy. Looked at from this perspective the union of form and meaning is predicated on etic knowledge. Thus, we can say for the above example and the hyperbole in Psalm 8:3 it is a shared philosophical concern that

⁷⁷⁹ This explanation matches Se’adyah’s adoption of the *mu’tazilite* belief that the Divine Laws are good for people, (*Se’adyah*, *’Amânât*, 118-9).

⁷⁸⁰ (Haas 2020, 304).

⁷⁸¹ (*Ibid.* n. 17).

⁷⁸² (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 65).

drives Ibn Chiquitilla's semantic analysis, which in the words of Ibn Jinnî "*taqabbalat tafsîr al-ma'nâ 'alâ mâ huwa 'alayhi* [accept the explanation of the intent, as it is]."⁷⁸³

Ibn Chiquitilla combines the same syntactic analysis and philosophical interpretation to explain the verse, "*Had I an evil thought in my mind, the Lord would not have listened.*" (Psalms 66:18) and to dismissed an incorrect understanding of the *jamhûr* [masses].⁷⁸⁴ He writes that:

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The meaning of the verse, "*had I an evil thought in my mind the Lord would not have listened*" (Psalms 66:18) is interpreted [*yata'awwîl*] in two ways [*ma'nîyîn*]. The first, what the masses [*jamhûr*] believe – he (David) was about to commit a sin, but did not complete it, therefore he was not punished for it.

The second, what I believe - he prayed for himself saying; '*if I have concealed a sin or persisted in wickedness, then do not accept my prayer, God.*' However, He accepted it, thereby indicating I (David) was innocent of exactly that (concealing sin). This is similar to the prayer uttered by Job, "*If my heart was ravished by the wife of my neighbour*" (Job 31:9) and "*If I raised my hand against the fatherless*" (Job 31:21).

וק' און אם ראיתי בלבי לא ישמע יי (תהלים סו:יח). יתאוול מעניין אלאול מא יעתקדה אלג'מהור אנה מן הם באלמעציה מן דון תמאמהא גיר מעאק'ב עליהא

ואלת'אני והו אלד'י אעתקדה אנה דעא עלי נפסה פיקול אן כנה אצ'מרת גל או אצררת עלי סואה פלא קבל אללה דעאי לכנה קד קבלה למא עלם אני ברי מן מת'ל ד'לך והו מת'ל דעא איוב פי מת'ל אם נפתה לבי על אשה (איוב לא:ט). אם [84 ב] הניפותי על יתום ידי (איוב לא:כא).

Ibn Chiquitilla's criticism of the *jamhûr* is directed at their misunderstanding of the semantics of the sentence, which would contradict the rule that only those free from sin may receive God's *faḍl* [munificence].⁷⁸⁵ He interprets the inverted conditional sentence

⁷⁸³ (Bonebakker 1971, 75–96).

⁷⁸⁴ On the intellectual gap between the *jamhûr* and Rabbinic circles, see (Goitein 1974, 3–17).

⁷⁸⁵ On prophets and sinning in Talmudic literature, see (Zucker 1965, 149). Zucker argues that the early Geonic sources took a view closer to certain Islamic traditions on the importance of prophet's beings free of sin (*Ibid.* 149-50). The image of David

beginning with *'im (if)* (Psalms 66:18), as if David speaks rhetorically. He thought about sinning, but at no point did he contemplate doing so. Ibn Chiquitilla cites Job as a non-polemical proof of a conditional rhetorical sentence and in his gloss on Psalm 66:20 the restoration of God's "*munificence [faḏl]*." He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 84v.

The verse, "*Who has not turned away my prayer or His faithful.*" (Psalms 66:20). It means, He was also about to sharpen my (understanding) of His munificence [*faḏl*], if I did not offer a prayer, but since I offered a prayer and it was accepted, so my selfishness was revealed to Him and my favour was [restored] by Him ...

וק' אשר לא הסיר תפילתי וחסדו (תהלים סו:כ). יעני אנה קד כאן יושך אן ילקחני פצ'לה איצ'א לו לם תכן לי תפלה ואד' כאנת לי תפלה וקבלהא פקד ט'הרת את'רתי לדיה וכאנת פצ'לתי ענדה ...

David was about to be punished by God for his thoughts, but he offered a prayer in repentance, clearing his name and restoring his ability to receive God's *faḏl* [*munificence*].⁷⁸⁶ The *jamhûr* erroneously think that David really was about to sin with Bathsheba, only he restrained himself.

The opinion of the *jamhûr* criticised by Ibn Chiquitilla was already anticipated by the objections of Samuel b. Naḥmani and Rab to the view David really sinned. It states:

⁷⁸⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla's interpretation follows Se'adyah's *Tafsîr* that David was only answered because he was forgiven for his sin. Se'adyah states that:

It states: "*Had I an evil thought*" (Ps. 66:18) meaning at the moment when I was in trouble and praying, I thought that God would not answer me because of my many sins. But now it is clear to me that thought was abrogated by (the phrase), "*But God did listen*" (Ps. 19:19).

יעני אני חאל מא כנת פי שדאידי קולה און אם ראיתי (תהלים סו:יח) אדעו כנת אט'ן אן אללה לא יסתג'יב לי עלי כת'רה' כ'טאי, ואלאן פקד צח ענדי אן ד'אך אלט'ן באטלא כאן אכן שמע אלהים (תהלים סו:יט).

(Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 159). Se'adyah links the acceptance of David's prayer to his repentance and innocence. This view is also found in Abraham Ibn Ezra, suggesting it had become a shared solution to the charges that David was undeserving of God's *faḏl* [*munificence*]. Ibn Ezra writes that:

"*Iniquity*:" (Ps. 66:18) When I call to Him with my mouth, if I had iniquity in my heart, He would not have listened to what I said, as it says '*I did not have iniquity in my heart.*'

און (תהלים סו:יח) כאשר הייתי קורא בפי אילו היה און בלבי לא היה השם שומע מה שאני קורא והא' שלא היה און בלבי:

Samuel b. Nahmani said in R. Jonathan's name:
 Whoever says that David sinned is merely erring,
 for it is said, And David behaved himself wisely
 in all his ways: and the Lord was with him. Is it
 possible that sin came to his hand, yet the Divine
 Presence was with him? Then how do I interpret,
*"Wherefore hast thou despised the word of the
 Lord, to do that which is evil in his sight?"* II
 Sam. XII:9. He wished to do [evil], but did not.
 Rab observed: Rabbi, who is descended from
 David, seeks to defend him, and expounds [the
 verse] in David's favour. [Thus:] The 'evil'
 [mentioned] here is unlike every other 'evil'
 [mentioned] elsewhere in the Torah. For of every
 other evil [mentioned] in the Torah it is written,
 'and he did,' whereas here it is written, 'to do':
 [this means] that he desired to do, but did not.
 Thou hast smitten Uriah the Hittite with the
 sword: thou shouldst have had him tried by the
 Sanhedrin, but didst not. And hast taken his wife
 to be thy wife: thou hast marriage rights in her.⁷⁸⁷

אמר רבי שמואל בר נחמני אמר רבי יוחנן: כל האומר דוד חטא
 אינו אלא טועה שנאמר וַיְהִי דָּוִד לְכָל דְּרָכָיו מִשְׁפָּיל נֶה' עִמּוֹ וְגו'.
 אפשר חטא בא לידו ושכינה עמו? אלא מה אני מקיים מדוע בְּזִיתָ
 אֶת דָּבָר ה' לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרָע – שביקש לעשות ולא עשה

אמר רב: רבי דאמי מן דוד מהפך ודריש בזכותיה דדוד מדוע
 בְּזִיתָ אֶת דָּבָר ה' לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרָע – רבי אומר: משונה רעה זו מכל
 רעות שבתורה שכל רעות שבתורה כתיב בהו ויעש וכאן כתיב
 לשעות – שביקש לעשות ולא עשה.

"את אוריה החתי הפית בקרב" – שהיה לך לדונו בסנהדרין ולא
 דנת - "וְאֵת אִשְׁתּוֹ לָקַחְתָּ לָךְ לְאִשָּׁה" – ליקוחין יש לך בה.

The difference between Ibn Chiquitilla and the Rabbis is methodological. For the Rabbis it is imbuing the verbal noun *la-asôl (to do)* with an unspoken meaning. Samuel b. Nahmani links David's reception of Divine Presence (*šəḵînâ*) to his innocence. Rab then reads Sam. 2 12:9's semantics as reflective of this. The text has a variation in its form - the verbal noun *la-asôl (to do)* instead of the perfect form *asâ*, indicating an incomplete act. Rab, citing Rabbi Judah, expands on this irregularity to forge a narrative around the

⁷⁸⁷ Soncino. TB *Shabbath* 56a

textual lynchpin by which to exonerate David from sin.⁷⁸⁸ David only thought about committing adultery with Bathsheba, against Uriah and then sought forgiveness.

Ibn Chiquitilla's Attitude towards Messianism

Another area of Biblical exegesis that reflects a combination of semantic analysis and emic knowledge is Ibn Chiquitilla's view on messianism. His approach to dating prophecies is tied to his wider attitude to authorship of Biblical books. Where he detects either an anachronism or historical reference, he uses it to date the text. This 'historicism' leads Ibn Chiquitilla to attribute the book of Isaiah to at least two authors.⁷⁸⁹ We do not have primary evidence for his opinion so must entirely rely on Ibn Bal'am,⁷⁹⁰ as well as Ibn Ezra's comments in his commentary on the book of Isaiah. Ibn Ezra writes that:

This has been placed here for the following reason: in the preceding chapter it is predicted that all the treasures of the King, and even his sons, will be carried away to Babylon; this sad prediction is properly followed by the words of comfort. These first comforting promises, with which the second part of the book of Isaiah begins, refer, as R. Moses Hakkohen believes, to the restoration of the Temple by Zerubbabel; according to my opinion to the coming redemption from our present exile; prophecies

נחמו, נחמו – נדבקת זאת הפרשה: בעבור שהזכיר למעלה (ל"ט, 6-7) כי כל אוצרות המלך גם בניו, יגלו לבבל, על כן אחרי זאת – הנחמות. ואלה הנחמות הראשונות, מחצי הספר, על דעת ר' משה הכהן על בית שני. ולפי דעתי, הכל על גלותינו, רק יש בתוך הספר דברי גלות בבבל, לזכר כי כורש ששלח הגולה, ואולם באחרית הספר דברים הם לעתיד, כאשר אפשר⁷⁹² ודע כי מעתיקי המצות ז"ל אמרו, כי ספר שמואל כתבו שמואל והוא אמת עד "וימת שמואל" (ש"א כ"ה 1): והנה דברי הימים יוכיח, ששם דור אחר דור לבני זרובבל (דה"א ג', 19-24). והעד: "מלכים יראו וקמו שרים וישתחוו"

⁷⁸⁸ In the continuation of the passage, another story resolves the narrative tension by saying that David is morally culpable for Uriah death in battle as he failed to try him for his crimes.

⁷⁸⁹ (Simon 2013, 224–48). Simon and Poznański gathered considerable evidence to show Ibn Chiquitilla's position was in favour of historicisation, whilst Ibn Bal'am favoured the more traditional, prophetic position (Poznański 1895, 51–54; Perez 1997a, 43–51; Tsoref 2016, 1–18).

⁷⁹⁰ Is. 53, *supra*. Also, Ibn Bal'am's cites Ibn Chiquitilla's rejection of the prophetic content of Is. 23, (*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*, 117).

⁷⁹² See (Haas 2020, 60).

concerning the Babylonian exile are introduced only as an illustration, showing how Cyrus, who allowed the captive Jews to return to Jerusalem About the last section of the book there is no doubt that it refers to a period yet to come, as I shall explain.

—It must be borne in mind, that the opinion of the orthodox, that the book of Samuel was written by Samuel, is correct as regards the first part, till the words, “And Samuel died” (1 Sam. 25:1); this remark is confirmed by the fact that the book of Chronicles contains the names (of the descendants of David) in genealogical order down to Zerubbabel. —The words, “Kings shall see and arise, princes and shall worship” (49:7) support this view, though they might also be explained as follows: Kings and princes will arise, etc., when they hear the name of the prophet, even after his death. The reader will adopt the opinion which recommends itself most to his judgement.⁷⁹¹

(להלן מ"ט, 7). ויש להשיב כאשר ישמעו שם הנביא, ואם איננו, והמשכיל יבין:

It is clear that Ibn Ezra and Ibn Chiquitilla diverged in their opinion over the division of the book of Isaiah.⁷⁹³ From Ibn Ezra's comments, the basis for Ibn Chiquitilla reading chapter 40 to 51 as referring to the second Temple period comes from the position of chapter 40 after the exile. Likewise, one can see from Ibn Ezra's comments here and on Isaiah 52:1-11 and Is. 54:1 that Ibn Chiquitilla also identified second Temple prophecies in Isaiah chapters 52-66, following the return during Cyrus' reign. He identifies this

⁷⁹¹ (Ibn Ezra Abraham and Friedlaender 1878, ad. loc.).

⁷⁹³ (Poznański 1895, 26–31, 98; Simon 1991, 115; J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 123 n. 12). Citations from Is. 11:1, 24:1, 25:2, 26:20.

section of Isaiah with an unknown prophetic figure from the period, but with the servant of God in chapters 52-53.⁷⁹⁴

Another example of Ibn Chiquitilla's historicisation of Isaiah is the identification of God's anger in Is. 34:2 with the reign of Hezekiah and the conquest of Edom by Assyria.⁷⁹⁵ Most traditional commentators link this chapter to the messianic age, especially the wars of Gog and Magog.⁷⁹⁶ Ibn Ezra writes that:

For the indignation, etc. All commentators refer this prophecy to the Messianic period, except R. Moses Hakkothen, who says, that Edom was destroyed in the time of the invasion by the Assyrians, and that all these chapters (xxiv—xxxiv) are connected with each other.⁷⁹⁷

כי וגו'. כל המפרשים אומרים כי זה לעתיד, רק רבי משה הכהן
אומר כי אדום חרבה בימי אשור וכל הפרשה היא דבקה.⁷⁹⁸

This raises the possibility that the continuation of Ibn Ezra's comments on chapter 40 on the authorship of other books of the Hebrew Bible are those of Ibn Chiquitilla too. He cites Samuel's death in verse 1 Sam. 25:1 as proof he could not have written all of it. Also, Ibn Ezra's inclusion of later additions to the book of Chronicles after Zerubbabel is consistent with Ibn Chiquitilla's approach. For example, according to him, Psalm 51 is by David, therefore the mention of Zion (Psalms 51:20) must be a later addition by a post-exilic author. He writes that:

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⁷⁹⁴ See Haas's comments on Ibn Ezra, Is. 40 and 52:11 (Haas 2020, 61, 209).

⁷⁹⁵ (Poznański 1895, 30).

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.* The expression, "all the commentators" (Is. 30:26, 34:2, 35:3), "most of the commentators" (Is. 11:1) or, "many commentators" (Mic. 4:11) are used by Ibn Ezra to disagree with Ibn Chiquitilla's historicisation. (Simon 1989, 160–61 n. 1).

⁷⁹⁷ (Ibn Ezra Abraham and Friedlaender 1878, ad. loc.).

⁷⁹⁸ (Haas 2020, 60).

Regarding the phrase which follows this: (verse 19) “*May it please You to make Zion prosper*” (Psalms 51:20). Now, if (David) had known that (Mt. Zion was) the only place approved to bring sacrifices, despite it not (yet) having been built, he would have contravened what was obligatory upon him (to bring sacrifices at the Tabernacle) at the time of the Tabernacle, which was allowed during David’s lifetime. Thus, he (David) did (*i.e.*, brought sacrifices in the Tabernacle). The following Psalm describes this in the phrase *maškil*, since he (David) explains the reward of those who patiently suffer and also the punishment of the wicked.

ואמא קו' את'ר הד'א היטיבה ברצוך את ציון (תהלים נא:כ)
 פלעלמה אנה אלמכאן אלמרתצ'י לתקריב אלקראבין מן דון
 גירה אד'א בני והיא כ'לאף מא כאן עלי אלאמר עליה פי זמאן
 אלמשכן אלד'י כאן עלי זמאן דוד מן ג'ואז אלתקריב פיג'רה.
 ווצף אלמזמור אלת[א] לי להד'א בקו' משכיל לאנה אבאן ען
 פצ'ל צבר אלצאברין וסו עואקב אלט'אלחין.

Similarly, the identification of the events of Is. 49:7 with Babylon concurs with what Ibn Ezra reports as Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion.⁷⁹⁹

It is a possible that *many* references to either interpolations or later authorship in the writings of Ibn Ezra originate with Ibn Chiquitilla. For example, Ibn Ezra reports that Ibn Chiquitilla links Obad. 1:17 to the time of Hezekiah, and considers the verse to be connected to the exiles from the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah.⁸⁰⁰ He also suggests that the

⁷⁹⁹ (Haas 2020, 180).

Most of the commentators explain this sentence thus: Kings, like Cyrus, will rise and worship, when they hear the words of the prophet.

Trans. Friedlaender edition (*ad. loc.*) Heb. Haas edition, 180. The reference to “*most of the commentators*” implies a minority position (*i.e.*, Ibn Chiquitilla).

⁸⁰⁰

“*But on Zion’s mount*” Rabbi Moses (Ibn Chiquitilla) said: the days of Hezekiah.

Also see (Poznański 1895, 31; J. Martínez Delgado 2012, 260).

ועל דעת רבים כי המלכים -כמ' כורש, כאשר ישמע דברי הנביא, יקום וישתחוה.

ובהר ציון: ... ורבי משה אמר: על ימי חזקיהו.

valley of Jehoshaphat in Joel 4:12 is a reference to the fact that the time, place and fulfilment of Joel's prophecy was in the days of King Jehoshaphat.⁸⁰¹

"*After that*," ... Rabbi Moses Ha-Kohen (Ibn Chiquitilla) said: if so, why does it say, "*after that*" and not '*and at the end of days*'? Perhaps the prophet lived in the days of Jehoshaphat, therefore it mentions the valley of Jehoshaphat (*Infra* 4:2, 12).

והיה אחרי כן. ... ור' משה הכהן אמ': אם כן למה אמ' אחרי כן ולא 'והיה באחרית הימים'? אולי זה הנביא היה בימי יהושפט, על כן יזכר "עמק יהושפט," (להלן ד, 2, 12).⁸⁰²

Similarly, we learn from Ibn Ezra that Ibn Chiquitilla did not think Micah speaks of the messianic age, but the Second Temple, and that the "*ruler*" promised by him is Zerubbabel.

"*Indeed*:" The opinion of many commentators is that this refers to the days of the Messiah. The proof is Bethlehem Ephrathah. Rabbi Moses Ha-Kohen (Ibn Chiquitilla) said it speaks of the Second Temple and the ruler is Zerubbabel. And the intent of "*up and thresh*" (Micah 4:13) is like "*whoever you are, O great mountain*" (Zech. 4:7) as Zerubbabel was from the House of Jechoniah and it is written of him, "*on his throne and rule*." (Zech. 6:13).

ועתה - דעת מפרשים רבים: כי זה לעתיד בימי המשיח, והעד ואתה בית לחם אפרתה. ור' משה הכהן אמר: כי ידבר על בית שני והמושל הוא זרובבל, וטעם **קומי ודושי** (מיכה ד:יג) כמו: מי אתה הר הגדול, כי זרובבל היה מבני יכניה וכתוב עליו: ומושל על כסאו.

⁸⁰¹ (Poznański 1895, 31). Interestingly, Maimonides dates this prophecy to the days of Senacharib, *The Guide* 2:29. Commenting on Joel 3:3-5, Maimonides writes that: "According to me the most probable interpretation is that he describes the destruction of Sennacherib before *Jerusalem*. If, however, you do not wish to accept this, it may be held to be a description of the destruction of *Gog* before *Jerusalem*." (*Italics* original) (Pines 1963, pt. II:29, 344).

⁸⁰² (Simon 1989, 161 n. 2).

Ibn Chiquitilla links the words of Zeph. 3:9 to the era of the Second Temple and we can infer from Ibn Bal'am's commentary that Zech. 9:9 is about Nehemiah.⁸⁰³

“Rejoice greatly, Fair Zion; Raise a shout, Fair Jerusalem! Lo, your king is coming to you. He is victorious, triumphant, Yet humble, riding on an ass,” (Zech. 9:9). Ibn Chiquitilla believed it was about Nehemiah son of Hilkiah.

גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלים הנא מלכך יבוא לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני ורוכב על חמור (זכריה ט:ט). אעתקד אבן ג'קטילה אנה נחמיה בן חכליה.⁸⁰⁴

He also applies the words of Malachi 3:23 to the past.⁸⁰⁵

“Lo, I will send the prophet Elijah” (Mal. 3:23). When Ibn Chiquitilla came across this verse in his commentary [*šarḥihi*] on the remarks of the Twelve Minor Prophets, he asserted something from it which might be possible in his view; everything that preceded this verse in this book (Malachi) related to the past. But the meaning of this verse (Mal. 3:23) is about the future! This man (Ibn Chiquitilla), peace be upon him, found nothing to speak about in the past.

הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא (מלאכי ג:כג). למא אנתהי אבן ג'קטילה אלי הד'ה אלקול פי שרחה לנכת⁸⁰⁶ תרי עשר קאל קולה ידל מנה עלי אן כל מא מצי' פי הדא אלספר ענדה מחתמלא אן יכון למא מצי' ומעני קולה הנא אנה מסתאנף לכאן למ יג'ד להד'א אלרג'ל עליה אלסלאם בעת'ה פי מא מצי' מן אלזמאן⁸⁰⁷

Other evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's dating of Biblical books comes from Tanḥûm Yerushalmi. He repeats Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion that Zech. 9:9 refers to Nehemiah⁸⁰⁸ and

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.* 157-59.

⁸⁰⁴ (Poznański 1924b, 51; 1895, 157ff).

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁶ (Poznański 1924b, 53 n. 6).

⁸⁰⁷ (Poznański 1924b, 53). Ibn Chiquitilla was already dead when Ibn Bal'am wrote his commentary (*Ibid.* 9).

⁸⁰⁸ This opinion is repeat by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi in his commentary on Zech. 9:9 “one of them thought that based on the text, it was about Second Temple events” (Shai 1991, 300–331).

adds anonymously that Ibn Chiquitilla thought that Habakkuk chapter 3 referred to past events.⁸⁰⁹ In his opening remarks to the book of Habakkuk, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi stresses the difficulty inherent in interpreting the genre of prayer in the Bible as prophetic. He anonymously records two opinions in his gloss on Hab. 3:1. He writes that:

Ils tombent tous d'accord, que le prophète a décrit d'abord les miracles passés que Très-Haut a faits pour Israël. - Quant à la (second) partie ou, au moyen d'une sainte inspiration, on annonce (l'avenir), au sujet duquel le prophète prend l'attitude d'un homme priant pour eux (les Israélites), il y en a qui supposent qu'il s'agit là de la domination que les ennemis exerceront sur les Israélites, de la victoire que ceux-ci reporteront ensuite, de la vengeance qu'ils tireront de leur ennemi, de l'anéantissement des peuples qui les auront tyrannisés, et ainsi de suite.⁸¹⁰

וקד וקע אלאג'מאע מנהם פי אנה וצף אולא מעג'זאתה
תע' מע ישראל אלסאבה ואמא אלקסם אלמכ'בר בה
ברוח הקדש אלד'י פיהם אלנבי ע"ה בלסאן אלהאל מן
אג'לה פמהם מן ג'עלה תסלט אלאעדא עליהם ת'ם
נצרתהם בעד ד'לך ואלנתקאם מן אעדאיהם ואפנא
אלאמם אלג'אירה עליהם.⁸¹¹

The opinion that Habakkuk's prayer is not prophecy is that of Ibn Chiquitilla, which interprets the fig-tree in Hab. 3:17-18, as a metaphor for the vengeance upon the wicked and not Israel.⁸¹² Tanḥûm Yerushalmi continues later on that "*it is for this reason (the genre of prayer) that it is difficult to fully comprehend the meanings and the many various opinions by which these texts are interpreted and what is implied there.*"⁸¹³ The

⁸⁰⁹ On his familiarity with Ibn Chiquitilla's commentaries (Poznański 1912; 1895, 155, n.126; Perez 2002a, Introduction).

⁸¹⁰ (Munk 1845, XII:47).

⁸¹¹ The Mediaeval approach to labelling poetry in the Bible excluded song from divine inspiration (Kugel 1981b, 189 n. 39). Abarbanel, therefore, excludes Is. 5:1 from divine inspiration. (*Ibid.*).

⁸¹² See Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss on *Šiḡyônôt*, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 49r, *supra* and Hab. 3:1, (Shai 1991, 222).

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*

logical ramifications of late date for Habakkuk is an exegetical debate,⁸¹⁴ repeated in Abraham Ibn Ezra's introduction to Psalms.⁸¹⁵

Ibn Chiquitilla's historicisation of traditional prophetic allusions relies on harmonising the *lafz* [form] with the *ma'na* [meaning] with an unspoken assumption, the historicisation of Psalms as non-prophetic prayers.⁸¹⁶ Uriel Simon followed up this analysis of the authorship of Psalms with an extensive analysis of Ibn Ezra's Standard Introduction and commentary on Psalms as well as an additional fragment from an earlier recension of Ibn Ezra's Psalms commentary. Those Psalms mentioned by Ibn Ezra as having a late date include Pss. 14; 20, 32; 42; 44; 45; 47; 51; 69; 72; 90; 101; 102; 106; 110; 119; 127; 137

Ibn Chiquitilla does not always address the problem of authorship directly in the body of his commentary, but an examination of Ibn Chiquitilla's select remarks confirms the veracity of the list of non-Davidic Psalms compiled by Ibn Ezra. It shows that Ibn Chiquitilla combined form and meaning with historicisation of the Psalms as the basis for his conclusion. For example, Psalm 20 is analysed for its content before Ibn Chiquitilla concludes that it and Psalm 21 are dedicated to David, but not by him.

Evr-Arab. I 3583, 58r

This third psalm; I mean, “ <i>may the Lord answer you in times of trouble</i> ” (Psalms 20:2) is what David stated, as in, “ <i>the Lord said to my Lord, sit at My right hand</i> ” (Psalms 100:10). “ <i>To David,</i> ” here means: “ <i>What was said to David,</i> ”	[א 25] ואלמזמור אלת'אלת' הד'א אעני יענך יי ביום צרה (תהלים כ:ב) הו ממא כ'וטב בה דוד מת'ל ק' נאם יי לאדני שב למיני (תהלים קי:א) ומעני לדוד הנא מא קיל לדוד תדל עליה מעאניה. וק' אכ'רא יי הושיעה המלך יעננו ביום קראנו (תהלים כ:י) וליס תפרקה אלמלחן להושיעה ען המלך אלמפעול
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⁸¹⁴ The opinion which connects the verse with vengeance upon of the wicked and not a statement about future may be Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion (Shai 1991, 222). See discussion of Ps. 7:1, *infra*.

⁸¹⁵ “This prayer (Habakkuk's) was uttered with prophetic inspiration; he is prophesying about a famine that will occur, as becomes clear at the end of the prayer [verses 15-17] ... We see, then, that in order to explain Habakkuk's psalm as prophetic prayer Ibn Ezra had to have recourse to four far-fetching assumptions: (1) the psalm refers to a future situation (not linked to current events); (2) the supplication is placed in the mouth of the future generation (who are not sure of God's salvation); (3) the promised response is expressed by the prophet's personal confidence in God's salvation; and (4) the attribution of the two passages of direct speech to different speakers is reasonable in light of the frequency with which biblical poetry omits any indication of the speaker's identity.” (Simon 1991, 195–96).

⁸¹⁶ (Poznański 1895, 26–36).

as is demonstrable by its content. It states afterwards, “*O Lord, grant victory to the King, answer us when we call.*” The composer [mulahhin] does not separate “grant victory” from “king,” the object, as it would prevent it from being connected to it just as it is impossible for, “*who has plumbed the mind of the Lord*” (Is. 40:13) to prevent “mind” from being annexed to the “*the Lord*,” for it is the way of God and His will [irāda]. The words would contradict the phrase, “*Whom did He consult, and who taught Him*” (Is. 40:14). Therefore, ‘le-dāwīd’ mostly means, ‘by David.’ But in a minority of cases the L (*Lāmed*) means, ‘about David.’ The L (*Lāmed*) dates to the kings following this form; after his kingship, during and following his death. One who investigates this would find our argument sound. This verse is a prayer for success, for him (which the composer writes, as if David) prayed to God at the time of battle when he was confronted by his enemies. Also, the Psalm which begins, “*O Lord, the king rejoices in Your strength*” (Psalms 21:2). What is different than that is the verse, “*They (call) on chariots, they (call) on horses.*” (Psalms 20:8) (i.e., is contemporary to the events described).

Ibn Chiquitilla historicises the Psalm by linking the meaning of L (*Lāmed*) to the wider theme of the Psalm. This method harmonises the *lafz-ma'nā* [form-meaning] with the historical context of the Psalm. For David to pray before battle, yet known the outcome is irrational to Ibn Chiquitilla.

בה במאנע לה ען אלא תצאל בה כמא לם תכן פי קו' מי תכן את רוח ייי (ישעיהו מ:יג) במאנע רוח ען אצ'אפתה אלי ייי לאן הי משיה אללה ואראדתה ואלכלאם נפי כמא קאל את מי נועץ ויבינהו (ישעיהו מ:יד) פיכון אד'א' לדוד מא קיל לדוד והו אלאכת'ר ויכון מא קיל לדוד והו אלאקל ותכון אללאם פי תאריד' אלמלוך עלי הד'א צ'רב למא מצ'א מן מלכה ולמא בקי ולמא מצ'א מן עמרה ולמא מצ'א בעד מותה ומן בחת' עלי ד'לך וג'ד קולנא צחיחא והד'א אלקול דעא יצלח אן ידעא לה בה פי גזואתה ואואן חרובה ומלאקאתה אעדאווה. וכד'לך אלמזמור אלד'י תלוה אעני ייי בעזך ישמח מלך (תהלים כ:ב) וממא יגיר ד'לך קו' אלה ברכב ואלה בסוסים (תהלים כ:ח)

This same attitude towards prayer colours his interpretation of Psalm 127. He states that:

Evr-Arab. I 3583, 115r

It states, “*A song of ascents. For Solomon,*” meaning what David stated corresponds to Solomon’s act of constructing the Temple. He alludes to himself (David), insofar as he had wished to build (the Temple), but was prevented (from doing so), his son having been chosen in his stead.

קו' שיר המעלות לשלמה (תהלים קכז:א) יעני מא קאלה דוד
ממא ואפק פעל שלמה פי בניאן אלבית וכאנה מערץ' בנפסה
למא הם בבניאנה ומנע מנה ואכ'תיר אבנה מן דונה.⁸¹⁷

David prepares a prayer in honour of Solomon’s future building of the Temple, denied to him by Nathan the Prophet in 1 Chronicles 17:11-12.

Ibn Chiquitilla’s historicisation of Psalms leads him to assign a late date to all the Korahide Psalms as seen from his gloss to Psalm 44 in which he states Pss. 42; 43; 44; 45 are historic moments in time. He writes that:

Evr-Arab. I 3583, 115r 58r

The Psalm which follows this one, (Psalms 44), is close in meaning to what was mentioned previously (Pss. 42; 43). What God had done earlier and the protection He provided when he cried out to Him. (Consequently,) He renewed it, just as He had done in the past.⁸¹⁸

[58 א] ואלמזמור אלד'י ילי הד'א קר'ב מן מענאה פי ד'כר מא
תקדם מן צנע אללה ואעאדתה באלדעא אליה אן יפעל פי
אלמסתאנף מת'ל מא פעל פי אלסאלף.⁸¹⁹

Simon summaries the identity of the Psalms by Asaph, Korahides, Ethan and some anonymous Psalms as having a late Babylonian date. The breakdown of the Psalms are as

⁸¹⁷ Criticised by Ibn Bal'am, see (J. Martínez Delgado 2002, 124; Tsoref 2016, 9 n. 27).

⁸¹⁸ A reference to verse 2. “*We have heard, O God, our fathers have told us the deeds You performed in their time, in days of old.*” – a reference to preexilic times.

⁸¹⁹ Similarly, Simon correctly understood Psalm 45 as referring to David and his Tyrian wife. This too is the poet’s past rather than his future (Simon 1991, 125). For Ibn Chiquitilla’s comments *Infra*.

follows: Korahide Pss. 42; 46; 47; 84; 87; Asaph Pss. 76; 78; 79; 81; Ethan Pss. 89; and anonymously Pss. 102; 106; 119; 131.⁸²⁰ In addition to this list of Psalms, Simon identifies five methods by which Ibn Chiquitilla explains anachronistic data in Psalms; metaphor,⁸²¹ a future event anticipated but not by prophetic means;⁸²² reading the Psalm as dedicated to David rather than written by him;⁸²³ references to Zion⁸²⁴ and reference to the Temple in the historic not messianic sense;⁸²⁵ and terms such as, “*Your Holy temple*,” referring to God’s heavenly residence.⁸²⁶

Despite Ibn Chiquitilla’s historicisation of Psalms, in his gloss on Num. 24:17, Ibn Ezra faithfully records Ibn Chiquitilla’s view that Deut. 30:3-5 refers to the distant future. Simon writes that:

Those who lack knowledge [of Ibn Chiquitilla’s methods] may think that the interpretation that refers ‘a star rises’ to David denies the coming of the Messiah. Heaven forbid! For the

⁸²⁰ (Simon 1991, 112, 129–32).

⁸²¹ Ps. 30.

⁸²² Ps. 51 and Ps. 122.

⁸²³ Ps. 110. “*this Ps., one of the poets composed about David*,” Ibn Ezra, *ad. loc.* See Simon, (Simon 1991, 273, 86).

⁸²⁴ See comments to Ps. 51:20, *supra*.

⁸²⁵ Ps. 69:10. Simon correctly identifies this as a reference to David’s enemies mocking him for the temporary accommodations of the Ark (Simon 1991, 135). Ibn Chiquitilla writes that;

It is possible that the meaning of the verse, “*my zeal for Your house has been my undoing*,” refers to his failure in his aim of building (The Temple), and therefore he attributes dishonour to himself, for displeasing Him as it states, “*The reproaches of those who revile You have fallen upon me*.”

Evr-Arab. I 3583, 90v.

⁸²⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla turns Ps. 14:7 into a prayer.

Then he repeats a wish for victory by God when he says, “*O that the deliverance of Israel might come from Zion*.”

Evr-Arab. I 3583, 16r.

Also Ps. 2:19.

It states: “*May He send you help from the sanctuary*.” This is also proof (of the contemporary nature of the prayer) for he called for help in an enemy land which was not holy. He prayed for (God)’s succour for victory (to be sent) from the dwelling place of the Divine Presence.

Evr-Arab. I 3583, 25r.

ויחתמל קו' כי קנאת ביתך אכלתני (תהלים סט:י) למא לם יבלג אלמראד פי בניאנה פיעזי אליה פי עיר מן אג'ל במא לם ירצ'א ענה כמא קאל וחרפות חורפך נפלו עלי (תהלים סט:י)

ת'ם עאד תמני אלנצרה מן אללה בקו' מי יתן מציון ישועת ישראל (תהלים יד:ז).

[25 ב] קו' ישלח עזרך מקדש (תהלים כ:ג) דליל איצ'א אנה כאן יומיד פי בלד אלעדו אלד'י הו גיר קדש פדעא באמדאדה באלנצר מן מוצ'ע אלסכינה.

Messiah is clearly indicated in the prophecy of Daniel, as I have interpreted [it] ... There is no need for any prophet whatsoever, given that Moses said, which is the cornerstone of the matter – ‘if your outcasts are at the ends of the sky’ (Deut. 30:4), then ‘the Lord your God will restore your captives (ibid., 3).’ Note that this master of the plain meaning is not content with stating that Moses’ prophecy of redemption applies to the exiles living in the Far West; he *proves* that this is the case by emphasizing the circumstances in which the prophecy applies, as made explicit in the text: “If your outcasts are at the ends of the sky.”⁸²⁷

According to Ibn Chiquitilla the book of Daniel is the Biblical source for messianism and is in keeping the theme of the book. We may add further proof of Ibn Chiquitilla ‘orthodox’ credentials. He did not reject the Messianic redemption in Deut. 30:3-5, as he makes it the bases of his poem *’Aqdīšâ* on Moses’ prophecy. In the next chapter we shall explore in detail the manner in which the aesthetic ideas of Arab grammar and rhetoric shape Ibn Chiquitilla’s attitude towards the tension between the *lafẓ* and *ma’nâ*.⁸²⁸

Chapter 4

The paradigmatic Biblical Form

In chapters two and three we explored the role of extralinguistic knowledge in the relationship between *lafẓ* and *ma’nâ*. We traced its ‘discovery’ in the Arabic grammar and saw how grammarians sometimes use *taqdîr* to recover both the formal structure and meaning of words, while at other times just the structure.⁸²⁹ In this chapter, we focus on examples of *taqdîr* where the surface form of a word appears to be an *’idâfa* [*annexation*]

⁸²⁷ (Simon 1991, 115).

⁸²⁸ The *lafẓ* and *ma’nâ* remains the substance of countless debate over which should prevail as more important. (Heinrichs 1969, 70–72; Bonebakker 1971, 89; Abu Deeb 1979, 18–21).

⁸²⁹ See the above discussion of the role of *taqdîr* and (Levin 1997, 157; Owens 1988, 45:186; van Gelder 1982, 107; Versteegh 1994, 285).

. We ask whether *taqdîr* recovers only the structure, or structure *and* meaning.⁸³⁰ We also ask, where possible, if recovery of meaning involves revealing concealed extralinguistic knowledge. Before doing so, we shall explain the relevant grammatical theory that underpins the *ʾidâfa* in Arabic and Hebrew grammar.

Arab grammarians describe *al-ʾidâfa al-ḥaqîqiyya* [*proper annexation*] as composed of a minimum of two parts. In the example *bayt^u l-maqdasⁱ*; the first term, *bayt*, is the *muḍâf* and the second, *maqdas*, is the *muḍâf ʾilayh* [*annexed to it*]. One variation of this preferred arrangement is the introduction of a *ḥurûf al-jarr* [*particle of speech*] between the *muḍâf* and the *muḍâf ʾilayh*, which connect a noun to another, or verb to a noun.⁸³¹ This analogous construction, though accepted by the older Arab grammarians, Sîbawayhi (c. 760–796 Shiraz-Basra), al-Mubarrad (9th century), and Ibn al-Sarrâj (9th century), is considered *qabuḥa* [*ugly*].⁸³²

Sîbawayhi's attitude to *al-ʾidâfa al-ḥaqîqiyya* takes meaning for granted and concentrates on its grammatical behaviour. The pseudo-*ʾidâfa* form differs from the true *ʾidâfa* by virtue of the fact that the pseudo-*ʾidâfa* is linked intrinsically with some other part of the sentence, whilst the true *ʾidâfa* is a self-contained unit, *mazila wâḥida*.⁸³³ According to Carter, what connects the *muḍâf* to the *muḍâf ʾilayhi* in a pseudo-*idâfa* in the mind of Sîbawayhi is the *sabab* [*relationship*].⁸³⁴ They differ in that the *idâfa* forms an indissoluble bond, whilst the pseudo-*idâfa* demands a connection for some other reason. Carter continues that for the adjectival (attributive) pseudo-*idâfa* there must be a double reference: “*backwards to the noun it qualifies, and forwards to whatever is connected to it by a sabab. It matters not that*

⁸³⁰ (Levin 1997, 144; Versteegh 1994, 280).

⁸³¹ See (Levin 1998, chap. IX, 257; Becker 1998b, 261–62).

⁸³² Sîbawayhi writes فمن المضاف اليه ما تضيف اليه بحر , ومنها ما تضيف اليه اسماً مثله [That to which the annexation is made, which has annexed to it a particle, or has annexed to it a noun or the like]. Later he states more precisely ما يقع مضافاً بعد اللام [Which is like that which is annexed to it, following al-Lâm]. Cit. (Basal 2001, 57 n. 189).

Sîbawayhi execrates *ḥurûf al-jarr* as connectors between two nouns: “How ugly is it to divide the annexed (*muḍâf*) noun with that which is annexed to it (*muḍâf ʾilayh*).” *Kitâb* 1, 303, 304 (Becker 1998b, 261–62). He relegates it to a subpar variation of the aesthetic form of the language. Later grammarians, al-Mubarrad and Ibn al-Sarrâj adopt Sîbawayhi's ‘permission’ to use *ḥurûf al-jarr*, but also consider it ugly. Similarly, Ibn al-Sarrâj: “The *ḥurûf al-jarr* link what precedes it to what follows it; combining the *ism* to the *ism* and the *fiʿl* (verb) to the *ism*” (Basal 2001, 58 n. 191). Carter links this gradation of grammatical forms with law, see (Carter 2016a, 71–72) and “the natural tendency to judge what people say as tough that were part of their morals,” (Carter 2016a, 82).

⁸³³ (Carter 2016a, 194).

⁸³⁴ (Carter 2016a, 194).

*this sabab is impossible to specify in semantic terms, though it will be found in practice that it invariably consists of enlarging upon the meaning contained in the first word.*⁸³⁵ He concludes that “*what matters to Sîbawayhi is identifying the purely grammatical features of a syntactical bond which accounts for all the non-verbal subordination not already covered by idâfa.*”⁸³⁶

Grammarians from the 10th century onwards believed that *hurûf al-jarr* were limited to connecting verbs with nouns and where they occur without a verb imply an unexpressed verbal ‘*âmil* [governor].’⁸³⁷ This position, adopted by Ibn Jinnî is illustrated in the example *al-mâl^u lî-zaydⁱⁿ* [the money (belongs) to Zayd]. The *taqdîr al-’ir’âb* of the active participle *hâşil*, or *kâ’in* [being, existing], is imagined as an interposition between *mâl^u* and *lî*.⁸³⁸ This type of *taqdîr al-’ir’âb* divides verbs into two categories: those which are *qawîyya* [strong] and can reach the object directly, and those which are *da’ufat* [weak] and cannot reach the object without the mediating *hurûf al-jarr*.⁸³⁹ In such examples ‘recovery of meaning’ transforms the text into the preferred Arabic word-order. This arrangement reflects a preference for an idealised Bedouin speech-pattern and the language of the Qur’ân.⁸⁴⁰ Stylistic preferences leads to the application of *taqdîr*, to recover ‘lost’ meaning. While this prescriptive view may grate on the ear of the historical linguistic, it does not alter the fact from their perspective eloquent Arabic requires this.⁸⁴¹

Iberian Jewish authors display the same reverence for Biblical Hebrew as their Arab counterparts display for Qur’ânic style. They too develop a preferred structure that favours

⁸³⁵ (Carter 2016a, 194).

⁸³⁶ (Carter 2016a, 194).

⁸³⁷ (Levin 1997, 143).

⁸³⁸ (Levin 1998, chap. IX, 360 n. 121).

⁸³⁹ (Levin 1998, chap. IX, 360 n. 121). Compare this to the opinion of earlier grammarians (Becker 1996, 265–66). Wright, citing Ibn Jinnî (*Ḳaṣā’iṣ* I, 345), concludes that this form must be a construct of noun chains in *ma’nâ* as they are not written with a *tanwîn* in the *jarr* case (Wright 1896, sec. 90b). Ibn Chiquitilla and the Hebraists, as will be seen below, adopt a position close to the Arab grammarians. They accept the earlier view that *hurûf al-jarr* may join two nouns, but consider this analogous in meaning to an ‘*idâfa*. They identify a sign in the text which indicates deviation from the ideal form, but remains unarticulated.

⁸⁴⁰ See our earlier discussion of ‘*ijâz al-Qur’ân* [inimitability of the Qur’ân] under Arab pragmatics

⁸⁴¹ On natural logic of communication see discussion of Grice in the introduction.

Biblical Hebrew over later forms of Hebrew.⁸⁴² One example of this is Ibn Chiquitilla's comments on Psalm 104:34. He attacks non-Biblical syntactic usage in a *piyyût* recited by Modern Ashkenazi congregations during the Priestly Blessings of the Additional service on the Day of Atonement and Festivals.⁸⁴³ He states that:

“*To be sweet*” (Psalms 104:34) is akin to **ויערב** (תהלים קד:לד) פי מעני אלערובה יתעדי באללאם
 ‘sweetness’ (and is) transitive with a L (*Lāmeḏ*): **וערבה ליי** (מלאכי ג:ד) ובעלי **יערב עליו שיחי** (תהלים
 “*shall be pleasing to the Lord*” (Mal. 3:4), and **קד:לד** ולא יצח מענאה אלא עלי אחד הד'ין אלוג'הין ולד'לך
 with 'al: “*My prayer be pleasing to Him*” (Psalms 104:34). Its meaning is only sound when
 employed in one of these two ways. Therefore,
 we are mistaken to say in prayer *ta'arab la-*
pānēkā and we should employ it with (the
 particles) *leka* or *'alēkā*.⁸⁴⁴

Ibn Chiquitilla's criticism of the liturgical poets reflects his veneration of Biblical Hebrew. This comes from the paradigm shift that relegates the language of the *payṭanim* to lower pedigree. His evidence for erroneous usage by the liturgical poet is provided by Biblical Hebrew, which exclusively uses either *leka* or 'al following the *Qal* active verb meaning “*to be sweet* (*yē'arab*)” Without either of these two particles of speech following the verb, its meaning would match “*guarantee*” as in Job 17:3. *Lā-pānēkā*, following *ta'arab*,

⁸⁴² See Ibn Janāḥ's introduction to *Luma'*, = *HaRiqmā* and for example from Sə'adyah, Menahem Ibn Ezra, Ibn Bal'am on Isaiah 3:16, see (Ibn Bal'am, Goshen-Gottstein, and Perez 1992, 38 n. 6). Hereafter, *Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*. They exclude those of the early *payṭanim* (poets). Ibn Ezra's famous criticism of Elazar Ha-Qallir's reflects this elevation of the Biblical text to the role of instructor on productive forms to the detriment of post-Biblical Hebrew found in *piyyût* (poetry), see (Yahalom 1985, 13, 24, 183–97; Hazan 1990, 62–64; Zulay 1943, 217–23; 1995, 415–39; Gómez-Aranda 1996, 61–82). Also see (Kugel 1982, 212–13; Talmage and Walfish 1999, 387; Lancaster and Ibn Ezra 2003, chap. 4) and *Ṣapha Berurah*, see (A. ben M. Ibn Ezra, Ruiz González, and Sáenz-Badillos 2004, *30). So too Ḥayyūj, see (Wated 1994, 34). Similarly, the commanding authority awarded to the Qur'ān is essentially *a priori*, not requiring authentication. This includes authentication of Qur'ānic readings as an established sources to which devotional importance is attached, see (Carter 1973, 146–57; Shah 2006, 144).

⁸⁴³ The prayer belongs to the Priestly entreaty before blessing the congregation, **וְתַעֲרַב לְפָנֶיךָ עֲתִירָתִנוּ**, “*May our prayer be sweet to you.*” (Goldschmidt 1970, 2:596). It is not part of the custom of the Land of Israel, (C. E. Cohen 2007, 361 n. 1).

⁸⁴⁴ Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 21v-22r.

belongs to the *Nip̄'al* form of the verb and is attested to in Rabbinic literature, but not the Bible.⁸⁴⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla's negative attitude towards non-Biblical forms, equates the optimal mode of communication and the paradigmatic *'idāfa* with Biblical Hebrew usage.⁸⁴⁶

Therefore, when Rabbinic prayer matches Biblical usage, he approves of their formulations of prayer. He writes that:

The phrase “*may the words of my mouth*” (Psalms 19:15) references his preceding prayer. Similarly, our ancestors arranged the conclusion of the Eighteen Benedictions (with verse 19:15). We take it as a model following completion of the Priestly Blessing “*May it be Your will, O Lord, our God that this blessing be fulfilled before You;*”⁸⁴⁷ which is in contrast to what he (David) said. We modify this prior to the blessing in this manner.

וקו' יהיו לרצון אמרי פי (תהלים יט:טו) עאידא אלי מא תקדם מן דעאווה ענה. ולד'לך מא רתבוה אואילנא פי אכ'ר שמונה עשרה ברכות. וקד אמתת'לנא נחן ד'לך בעד תמאם ברכת כהנים יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהינו שתהא ברכה זו שלימה לפניך אל[ד]י בכלאף מא קאלה גירנא אן ד'לך קבל אלברכה חמלא עלי הד'א אלמד'הב.⁸⁴⁸

The Biblical verse Psalm 19:15 is used at the conclusion of the Eighteen Benedictions recited by all Rabbinic Jews. It is also used, in a modified form, as part of the prayer uttered by the priest *before* reciting the Priestly Blessings during morning and additional services.⁸⁴⁹ This modification is not considered an unattested violation of the language by Ibn Chiquitilla, as the context is different.⁸⁵⁰ David thanks God *after* the fact whilst the priests *invoke* God's name before their blessing.

⁸⁴⁵ Abraham Ibn Ezra adopts this position in *Ṣaḥōt* (C. E. Cohen 2007, 361 n. 2). For a history of the emendation of the prayer's text, see (C. E. Cohen 2007, 361–75). Ibn Bal'am also criticises the 'poets' failure to follow Biblical syntax in his remarks on Is. 14:15 (*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*, 85–86).

⁸⁴⁶ On Abraham Ibn Ezra's attitude to Biblical and non-Biblical Hebrew (*Ṣaḥōt*, 144–5). Also, see (Yahalom 1985, 185–96).

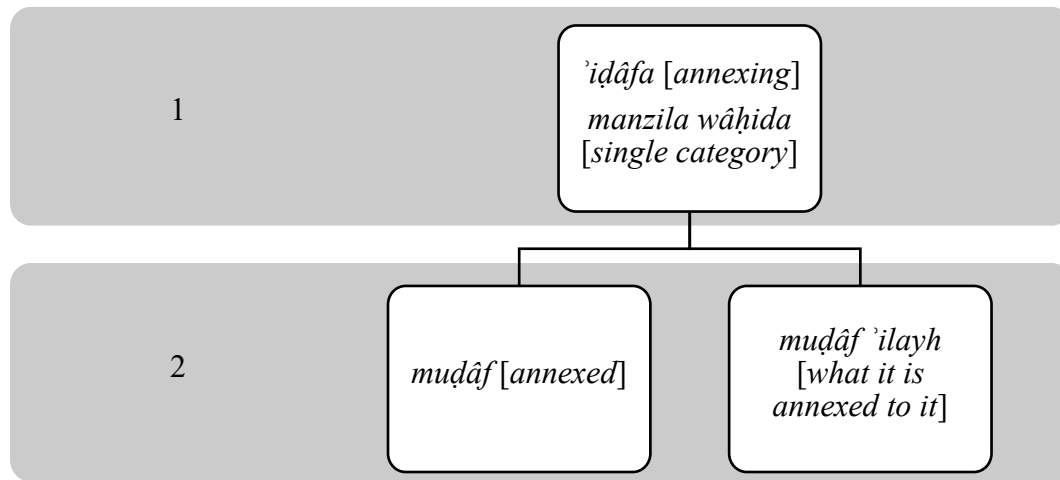
⁸⁴⁷ A different version appears in *'Eliyahu Rabbah* 14:1, *Numbers Rabbah* 11:4, TB *Soṭah* 39a and is codified in *Seder Rav 'Amram Ga'on*, 62, see (Frumkin 2014, 132; J. Martínez Delgado 2003, 214, nn. 45–46).

⁸⁴⁸ Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 24v.

⁸⁴⁹ There are nineteen blessing (*'Amīdā*) following a later addition, though the old name was retained by Jewish communities. The priestly blessings was eventually incorporated into the 19 blessings (Elbogen and Scheindlin 1993, 24–37, 62–66).

⁸⁵⁰ Grice's communicative principle, see (H. P. Grice 1975, 41–58).

A description of the optimal structure of an *'idâfa* among 10th century Hebraists in Iberia is given its fullest account by Ibn Janâh in *al-Luma*.⁸⁵¹ He defines an *'idâfa* as composed of a *muḍâf* and *muḍâf 'ilayh*. Additionally, when the *'idâfa* is defined, the *ta'rîf* [definition] only appears before the *muḍâf 'ilayh*. He writes that *al-muḍâf 'ilayh min tamâm al-muḍâf, wa-huma jamî'an manzila 'ism wahîd* [‘what is annexed to it,’ is complete with the annexed, and together they form a single status noun], a syntagm.⁸⁵² This can be represented in a diagram.



[Fig. 1]

The above structure is called *al-'idâfa fî al-lafẓ* by Ibn Janâh and undergoes morphological changes to indicate its syntagmic status.⁸⁵³ All other arrangements that are analogous

⁸⁵¹ Other examples of ethical language found in Ibn Chiquitilla include the use of *'alâ wajh*, *yajûz*, *fî mawḍa'*, *fî ġayr mawḍa'*, *'istiqâma*, *'alâ sabîl*, *'iwaḍ* and *badal*. As Carter observes, “So far I have tried to show that the three disciplines ethics, law and grammar share a certain body of technical terms without which any one of them could not function. These terms, *mawḍi'*, *manzila*, *qiyâs*, *ḥasan/qabîḥ*, *mustaqîm* and *wajh* are only the most important of a much larger group. It could be shown, at the risk of tedium, that such terms as *fâsid*, *bâṭil*, *aṣl*, *umma*, *jîns*, *ḍarb*, *ṣînf*, *naw'*, *ḥadd*, *ḥujja*, *dalîl*, *tafsîr* and *niyya*, to mention only purely theoretical terminology, are commonly used by all three in more or less the same sense. Even on the descriptive side of vocabulary there are numerous common terms, of which *ism* and *ḥarf* deserve special mention.” (Carter 2016a, 89).

⁸⁵² (*Luma* ' , 205, 4 = *HaRiqmâ*, 224, 12).

⁸⁵³ He calls this *zâhira* [visible] and *dalîl* [proof] (Téné and Maman 2016, 71, 112–13). Becker identifies Ibn Janâh's language as taken from al-Mubarrad in *al-Muqtaḍab*. Also (Bohas, Guillaume, and Kouloughli 1990, 55; Carter 1973, 152).

[*qiyâs*] to *al-ʿiḏâfa fî al-lafẓ* - including a secondary form *al-ʿiḏâfa al-nisbîya* [*annexation by the relative*]⁸⁵⁴ - are called *al-ʿiḏâfa fî al-maʿnâ* [*annexation by meaning*]. These analogous forms only mimic the meaning of *al-ʿiḏâfa fî al-lafẓ*, even when the morphology of the annexed and non-annexed forms is indistinguishable, “*ten of silver* (ʿ*asārâ ha-kāseṭ*)” (Jer. 32:9).⁸⁵⁵ Additionally, Ibn Janâḥ includes a third set of examples in *al-Lumaʿ* habitual usage [*mustaʿmil*], which by custom are analogous in meaning to the *ʿiḏâfa*, but syntactically distinct from the syntagmic *ʿiḏâfa*. He describes them thus:

<p>Sache que d’après la logique et l’usage habituel, aucun mot ne doit s’intercaler entre le terme annexé et celui qu’il régit, car ce dernier est le complément du premier, et ils forment ensemble comme un seul nom.⁸⁵⁶</p>	<p>ואעלם אן אלקיאס ואלוג'ה אלמסתעמל אלא יתוסט בין אלמצ'אף ואלמצ'אף אליה שי לאן אלמצ'אף אליה מן תמאם אלמצ'אף והמא ג'מיעא במנזלה אסם ואחד.⁸⁵⁷</p>
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Ibn Janâḥ shows that *al-mustaʿmil* are structurally distinct from the syntagmic *iḏâfa* through *taqdîr*,⁸⁵⁸ “*I will not give sleep to my eyes* (*šənaṭ la-ʿenāy*)” (Psalms 132:4). The *Ṭ* (*Ṭaw*) of *šənaṭ* appears to mark the feminine annexation to *ʿenāy*. However, Ibn Janâḥ claims the *Ṭ* (*Ṭaw*) is in place the *H* (*Hē*) of the separated form, equivalent to the Arabic *ta-marbûṭa*. It is therefore the *L* (*Lāmḩ*) which joins the words together. He is not the first to realise the exceptional nature of construction through particles (Ar. *ḥurûf al-jarr*). His predecessor, Ḥayyûj in *al-Nuṭaf* writes that:⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁴ (Téné and Maman 2016, 60). There are no examples of this form commented on by Ibn Chiquitilla in his Psalm commentary so we do not discuss it.

⁸⁵⁵ (Téné and Maman 2016, 60–61). This is not a positive prescription about Hebrew, but negative observations vis-à-vis an idealised way of communicating. Cf. (de Saussure et al. 1959, 117).

⁸⁵⁶ (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Metzger 1889, 193).

⁸⁵⁷ (*Lumaʿ*, 205, 7 and 15–17 = *HaRiqmâ*, 224, 21–22).

⁸⁵⁸ (Téné and Maman 2016, 68).

⁸⁵⁹ Ibn Janâḥ discuss examples of *ʿistiʿmāl* for Is. 28:9, Ez. 13:2 and Jer. 23:23 though he does not share Ḥayyûj’s terms. Early we cited this view as Ḥayyûj’s on Is. 63:4 in a Responsa of the Disciples of Menahem.

And this is an annexation [*'idâfa*] of “newly weaned from milk, just taken away from the breast?” (Is. 28:9) as I informed you. The Hebrews join the M (*Məṣ*), B (*Bəṭ*) or L (*Lāmeḏ*) in “poison of wine (*ḥamaṭ mi-yāyin*)” (Hos. 7:5) and others.

ואצ'אפה גמולי מלחב עתיקי משדים (ישעיהו כח:ט) עלי מא
אעלמתך אן אלעבראנינון יצ'פון אלי אלמים ואלבא ואללאם
מת'ל חמת מיין (הושע ז:ה) וגירה⁸⁶⁰

In the verses, “Newly weaned from milk (*gəṃûle me-ḥālāḇ*), just taken away (*‘atîqe mi-šāḏāyîm*) from the breast?” (Is. 28:9) and, “Poison of wine (*ḥamaṭ mi-yāyin*)” (Hos. 7:5), the particle M (*Məṣ*) interposes between the two forms. Ḥayyûj does not offer an explanation for why he calls them *'idâfa*, but shares Ibn Janah’s view that nothing may interpose between the first and second term of annexation. Initially, N. Kinberg interpreted Ḥayyûj’s comments classifying *ḥarf al- 'idâfa* as a noun⁸⁶¹ to preserve the *manzila wāḥida* [single status] or syntagmic status of the *'idâfa*.⁸⁶² However, this places Ḥayyûj at odds with the contemporary view of both Arab and Jewish grammarians in the 10th century that speech is divided into *fī l* [verb], *ism* [noun], and *ḥarf* [particle].⁸⁶³ Nasr Basel argues that Ḥayyûj uses the term *'idâfa* to mean “join” in a non-technical sense.⁸⁶⁴ According to this reasoning, Ḥayyûj’s use of *'idâfa* is equivalent to Ibn Janāḥ’s *musta ‘mil*.⁸⁶⁵ Alternatively, Ḥayyûj may have been suggesting that Is. 28:9 is elliptical – missing the definite article before *ḥālāḇ* - as if to say *gəṃûle min ha-ḥālāḇ* (weaned off of the milk), which would also be a *musta ‘mil*. What remains true is that Ḥayyûj and Ibn Janāḥ both recognise a third type of construction that is structurally distinct, but analogous in meaning to the true *'idâfa*.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶⁰ (Basal 2001, 174–75 n. 177).

⁸⁶¹ (Kinberg 1988, 148–49 n. 11; Basal 2001, 57 n. 187).

⁸⁶² “A single category in which the two definitions are gathered (*bi-manzila ma 'ijtima 'a fih ta rîfâ*),” (*Luma* ‘, 360, 20 = *HaRiqmâ*, 375, 23).

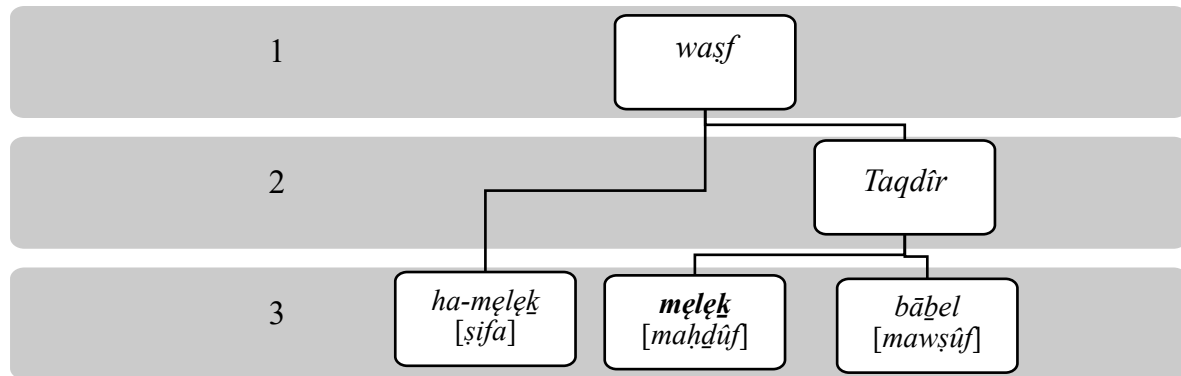
⁸⁶³ (Basal 2001, 57 nn. 188–89) and *Ibid.* 174, (Téné and Maman 2016, 156) who cites both Dunash and Ḥayyûj. Also (Carter 2016b, 520–22).

⁸⁶⁴ (Basal 2001, 57–58 nn. 189–94; Bohas, Guillaume, and Kouloughli 1990, 37).

⁸⁶⁵ Wated agrees with Basal’s view Ḥayyûj divides language into verb, noun and particle (Wated 1994, 38).

⁸⁶⁶ Similarly, a third type of *'idâfa* is proposed in Qara’ite grammatical theory; the ‘continuing’ *'idâfa* (Khan 1999).

Another more frequent syntactic structure analogous in meaning to the *'idâfa* is the *wasf* [attribution] composed of a *şifa* [attribute] and *mawşûf* [attributed].⁸⁶⁷ For example, Ibn Janâh explains “*the king of Babylon (ha-mēlek bābel)*” (2 Kings 25:11) as elliptical [*maḥdûf*]; ‘*The king, the king of Babylon (ha-mēlek mēlek bābel)*.’⁸⁶⁸



[Fig. 2]

Here too the interposing of the definite article between the two parts of the *'idâfa*, *muḍâf*, and *muḍâf 'ilayh* destroys the syntagm of the *'idâfa*. According to Ibn Janâh this is because the *'idâfa* is *ma'rafa bil-'idâfa* [defined by the annexation].⁸⁶⁹ The *'âmil* [governing] effect

⁸⁶⁷ (Téné and Maman 2016, 70–72). Dahood notes that advances in Northwest Semitic philology shows that Hebrew text with the article in a construct chain is a legitimate formation that does not need improvement. Arabic linguistics is synchronic. It does not recognise the change that takes place in language. As such it cannot account for what de Saussure calls a “*shift in the relationship between signified and the signifier*,” where time (or place) is what bounds change (de Saussure et al. 1959, 75). Similarly, for Arab grammarians there is no attempt at diachronic analysis (Bohas, Guillaume, and Kouloughli 1990, 29–30). Compare this to modern grammarians who offer diachronic explanations (Kaddari 1965, 50; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, sec. 13.6q). For a comparative analysis of medieval and modern approaches to gapping construct nouns, see (Kaddari 1965; Hagay 1983).

⁸⁶⁸ For a discussion of this example in Ibn Janâh (Téné and Maman 2016, 72). For more examples like this in Ḥayyûj (Basal 2001, 56 nn. 183; 134, 54–55). Also, for a discussion of 2 Kings 25:11 by Radaq (M. S. Goodman 2016a, 101–2) as well as Jer. 26:25 *ad. loc.*

⁸⁶⁹ (Luma', 382, 11 = *HaRiqmâ*, 392, 14). For his reliance on al-Mubarrad for his definitions and terminology (Becker 1996, 261–62).

of the *ma'rafa* binds the *muḍâf 'ilayh* to the *muḍâf*, creating the syntagm [Ar. *manzila wâhid*].⁸⁷⁰

Form, *'iḍâfa*

Before analysing examples of *'iḍâfa* in Ibn Chiquitilla, his view on *'iḍâfa* in relation to those of his immediate predecessors must be established. Also, we should note a difference

⁸⁷⁰ Following Ibn al-Sirrâj; ما كان حَقَّةً أَنْ يَكُونَ صِفَةً لِلأَوَّلِ “That whose rule is an attribute of the first [term of annexation],” (Becker 1998b, 266). Mehren thought this term interchangeable with *ṣifa/waṣf* (Mehren 1853, Ar. 243, Ger. 254). Tené calls the *man'ût-na't* the adjective-form, whilst he calls the *ṣifa-mawṣûf* the qualified-qualifier (Téné and Maman 2016, 81). He continues, “... the term *na't* is distinct from the term *ṣifa*, they are not always distinct from each other; there are words whose interpretation are close to each other, though not identical. *Na't* is distinct from *ṣifa* in its secondary interpretation; as in the *ṣifa* which designates part of a part of the speech and some *ṣifa*, which are a syntactic interpretation, but *na't* is indistinct from the *ṣifa* when it designates a phrase that opens with *'aṣṣer*.” (Téné and Maman 2016, 84–85). This pair, *ṣifa/na't* was presented by later grammarians as synonymous with attributes. Writers following al-Sarrâj tended to equate the terms or replace them with *waṣf*, as seen in Ibn Janâḥ and Ibn Chiquitilla (Owens 1990, 53:65, 96). However, earlier usage (10th century) was distinct. *Ṣifa* included *description*, *qualifier*, *adjective*, *locative*, and *na't*, *qualifier* and *adjective*. Owens summarises the different usages of the terms among the earlier grammarians (10th century) (Owens 1990, 53:74–83, 288). He also describes the terms as “free variations” which “designate indifferently one and the same category” (Owens 1990, 53:79).

in his technical vocabulary from that of his most important predecessor Ibn Janāḥ.⁸⁷¹ Ibn Chiquitilla usually replaces *al-wujh al-qiyās* [the way of analogy] with *maṭal*.⁸⁷²

Identifying Ibn Chiquitilla's view on *ʿidāfa* is challenging as the enthymemic language of his exegesis usually assumes theoretical knowledge of Hebrew grammar.⁸⁷³ Propitiously,

⁸⁷¹ This difference in terms may reflect a wider division among Iberian grammarians. Ibn Chiquitilla tends to prefer Hayyūj's opinions to those of Ibn Janāḥ. For example, he criticises Ibn Janāḥ anonymously.

"O Lord, the king rejoices in Your strength" (Ps. 21:2) we have seen an opinion of one who includes the ' (*ālēp*) of "The request of his lips (*aReṣeT*)" (Ps. 21:3) as its root. However, I am of the opinion it is annexed as in, "in accord with the authorisation (*RiṢYōn*) granted them by King Cyrus of Persia" (Ezra 3:7) and its meaning is 'a pact'; as in what he authorised the people, You granted it. Before annexation it is *iRāṢāH*, with its underlying form [*ʾaṣl*] *iRāṢiYāH*. Now, the third radical elides with feminine H (*Hē*), transferring its vowel to the second radical which precedes it. The second radical's vowel transfers to the first radical. After annexation, the H (*Hē*) is replaced by a *T̄* (*Tāw*) and the word's paradigm and extended like the patterns, *milḥāmā*, *milḥemēṭ* (and) *ʾaṭārā*, *ʾaṭereṭ*.

יִי בַעֲזֹךְ יִשְׁמַח מֶלֶךְ (תהלים כא:ב) ראינא מן יג'על אלף וארשת שפתי (תהלים כא:ג) אצליה ואנא ארי אצ'אפתהא אלי כרשיון כורש מלך פרס (עזרא ג:ז) ויכון מענאהא עהדא אי מא עהד בה אלי אלנאס כנת אנת אלמת'בת לה והו קבל אלצ'אפה ארשה ואצלה ארשה פלמא הדפת אללאם לאלתקאיהא בהא אלת'אניה צארת חרכתהא [ב 31] פי אלעין קבלהא וצארת חרכה אלעין פי אלפא פלמא אנצ'אפת בדל האוהא באלתא ואעלית בניה אלכלמה צאאר עלי מת'אל מלחמה מלחמת עטרה עטרה.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 31r. The opinion cited that the root of *aReṣeT* begins with an ' (*ālēp*) was already found in Ibn Qurayṣ (*al-Risāla*, 132-3) and Menaḥem (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, 63*:15). Ibn Chiquitilla could have learned of it from Ibn Janāḥ, who places *aReṣeT* under the root under 'R-Ṣ (*Uṣūl*, 66, 27 = *Šōrāšim* 47. See (Biesenthal and Lebrecht 1847, 47). Hereafter, *Šōrāšim*. However, why would he hide the name of his main rival, especially when he thinks he is wrong? These kinds of debates belong to the intellectual circles of 11th century Saragossa, (Vardi 2016, 466). Aside of Ibn Janāḥ, Ibn Chiquitilla maintained a respect for Ibn Naḡrīla, although his actual use of Ibn Naḡrīla is harder to determine as the surviving material from both men is limited. Ibn Chiquitilla agrees with him in Ps. 26:1, (*infra*) against Ibn Janāḥ. Similarly, he adopts Ibn Naḡrīla's view that the root of *šinān* is Š-Y-N, (*supra*) in *Kitāb Al-Istiḡnā*. In Ps. 73:9, Ibn Chiquitilla adopts Ibn Naḡrīla's view vis-à-vis the root of *ŠaTTū*, (*infra*, (Perez 2002b, 251). He also cites Ibn Naḡrīla's opinion on Ps. 78:8, (Perez 2002b, 259-60). For the quote, *infra*. A more thorough account of this question and the development of different circles of Hebrew grammarians is a desideratum. Se'adyah's *tafsīr* to Psalms (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 86), Hayyūj (*Al-Lin*, 291-92) and Ibn Ezra (*ad. loc*) all follow the same opinion as Ibn Chiquitilla.

⁸⁷² According to D. Black, *maṭal* belongs to the rhetorical tradition, whilst *qiyās* is from the logical tradition (D. L. Black 1990, 243, 245). If this is true Ibn Chiquitilla defies this division. For Ibn Janāḥ's adoption of Arabic concepts in his explanations (Téné and Maman 2016, chap. Introduction, 68 and 70; Becker 1998b, 26-61). The term *qiyās* appears twice in Ibn Chiquitilla פמן אג'אזה קיאסא עלי אלכ'פף "consequently permit an analogy with the *Qal* (form)" Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 39v, when criticising Ibn Janāḥ (*Uṣūl*, 242, 5 = *Šōrāšim*, 165). The second appearance is ולבאים (תהלים נז:ה) ג'מע לביא עלי ג'יר קיאס וכאן חקה לביאים מת'ל נביא נביאים נשיא נשיאים plural form of *LāBī'im* (Lions)" by way of analogy, whilst the true form is *LeBī'im* like *Nāḡī- Nāḡī'im* and *Nāsi-Nāsi'im*." Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 74r. The difference in frequency of terminology by Ibn Chiquitilla might indicate that he belongs to the rhetorical tradition and not the logical tradition of Arab hermeneutics. Despite, the difference in terminology it seems unlikely to imply fundamental difference between Ibn Chiquitilla and his peers. Either way, it is clear that *maṭal* and *qiyās* are the same thing (Maróth 1995, 103-8; Miklós 2011). Our analysis proceeds with the term *maṭal* in place of the more commonly used *qiyās*. For an argument in favour of *qiyās*' origins in the Greek work *kánon* (Versteegh 1978, 333-44).

⁸⁷³ (Maman and Lyons 2004, chap. 31). Only by comparison with the premises of either Hayyūj or Ibn Janāḥ do Ibn Chiquitilla's enthymemic statements become more accessible.

Ibn Chiquitilla explicitly states the view that nothing may intervene between the first and second term of an *'idâfa* in a number of places.⁸⁷⁴ For example in Psalm 123:4, he presents an analysis of a *wasf* construction, “*the scorn of the complacent (ha-la‘aḡ ha-ša‘anannîm)*.”⁸⁷⁵ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 113r

The phrase, “*The scorn of the complacent (ha-la‘aḡ ha-ša‘anannîm)*” (Psalms 123:4) is analogous [*maṭal*] to “*the royal lands (ha-mamlakôt hā-‘ārēṣ)*,” (Jer. 25:26) as if it said, ‘*The scorn, scorn of the complacent (ha-la‘aḡ la‘aḡ ha-ša‘anannîm)*,’ (or) ‘*The kingdom, from the kingdom of the royal lands (ha-mamlakôt mi-mamlakôt hā-‘ārēṣ)*,’ because (the definite article) is not permitted between the bound form and annexation [*'idâfa*], therefore the meaning [*ma‘nâ*] is incompatible with the bound form [*‘ahd*], as it (the *muḏâf*) is separated from it (the *muḏâf ‘ilayh*) and (the *muḏâf*) defines itself, whilst the annexed (word) is only defined by what is annexed to it.

וק' ה'לעג השאננים (תהלים קכג:ד) מת'ל הממלכות הארץ (ירמיהו כה:כו) כאנה קאל' ה'לעג לעג השאננים הממלכות ממלכות הארץ לאנה לא יג'וז בין אלעהד ואלאצ'אפה פיתנאקין⁸⁷⁶ אלמעני לאן מא ערף באלעהד קד אסתבד בנפסה וערף בד'אתה ואלמצ'אף לא יערף אלא באלמצ'אף אליה.

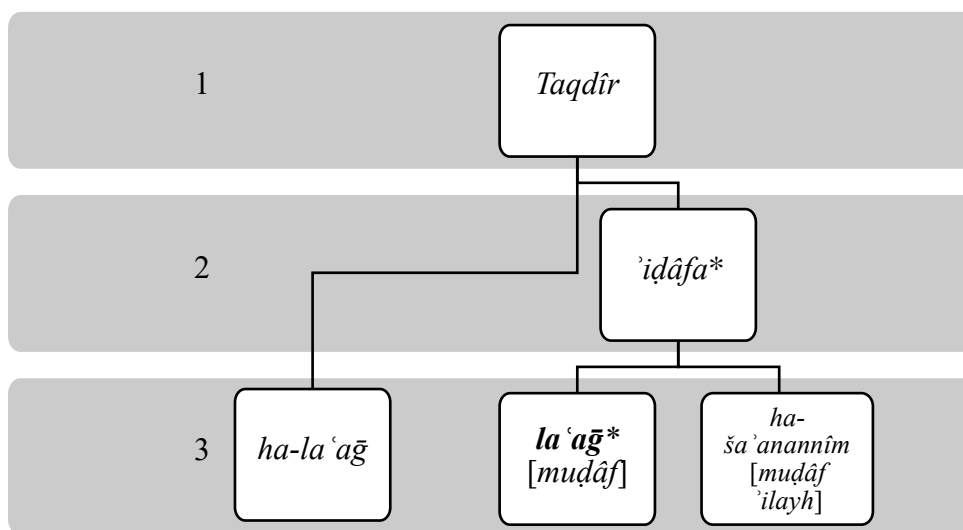
Though he uses slightly different terms to Ibn Janâḥ, Ibn Chiquitilla clearly accepts the view that nothing may interpose between the terms of an *'idâfa*. In Psalm 123:4, *taqdîr* recovers the ideal word order as:⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁴ Ps. 40:2 (Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 52r-52v, 71r, -71v) as well as other examples discussed below.

⁸⁷⁵ He is cognisant that the Biblical text is composed of a parallelism between *ha-la‘aḡ ha-ša‘anannîm* and *ha-bûz li-ḡ‘eyônîm* (*the contempt of the haughty*). Watson identifies Ps. 123:2-7, as a repetition of a parallelism or stair-like pattern (Watson 1984, 366–68). Moses Ibn Ezra describes this type of parallelism as *takrîr al-ma‘nâ* [*repetition of the meaning*]. (*Muḥâḍara* 166-7 n. 54 = 187). Also see (Schippers 1988, 32).

⁸⁷⁶ MSS. פי תנאקין.

⁸⁷⁷ He uses Jer. 25:26, as an equivalent illustrative example which he discusses in an earlier section of his commentary alongside Is. 36:8, *supra*.



[Fig. 3]

The impression given by Ibn Chiquitilla is that divergence from the familiar form of the *ʾiḡḡafa* is indicative of recovered meaning. What exactly has been recovered? Is it no more than the formation of a homologous structure *inferred* from the initial categories of the concept of *ʾiḡḡafa* (i.e., the additional definite article)? Or, is there a contextual component crucial to understanding Psalm 123:4 that is illocutionary?

If we recall, Ibn Chiquitilla and his predecessors model their grammatical theories on the Arabs. Therefore, they apply the same standard of eloquence to Biblical Hebrew that the Arabs apply to the Qurʾān; the most eloquent form of the written language.⁸⁷⁸ Logically, the Biblical author deliberately compose in an aesthetically offensive form contrary to *balāḡa* [eloquence]. Grammar and rhetoric formalise the unveiling of this claim through etic knowledge. Consequently, etic knowledge about the additional definite article of the

⁸⁷⁸ “When I was a young man in my native land, I was once asked by a great Islamic scholar, who was well versed in the religious disciplines of Islam and most kind towards me, to recite the Ten Commandments for him in Arabic. I realized his intention: he, in fact, wanted to belittle the quality of their language. So I asked him to recite to me the first sūra – the Fātiḥa – of his Qurʾān in romance, a language he could speak and understood very well. When he tried to render the Fātiḥa in the above-mentioned language it sound ugly and was completely distorted. He noticed what was in my mind and did not press me further to fulfil his request.” (Brann 2002, 126).

ʾiḏâfa must be synonymous with *balâḡa*, which identifies the emic knowledge left behind by the Biblical author in the form of an ellipsis. Without the assumption (= *implicature*) that the Biblical authors wanted to produce eloquent prose, Ibn Chiquitilla could not claim illocutionary knowledge as a part of the recovery of information. Instead, the ellipsis would be *inferred* from the superfluous information left behind.⁸⁷⁹ This distinction is essential to Owens' claim that Arabic grammarians are pragmatic, as pragmatics is about what is *not* said.

If we apply both the requirement for illocutionary knowledge *and* Arab grammarians' attitude to the true *ʾiḏâfa* to Ibn Chiquitilla's remarks in Psalm 123:4, we must answer a question. If Ibn Chiquitilla is a true pragmatist then something must be lost through the natural logic of communication that demands recover, *taqdîr*. Deciding whether information is either inferred (locutionary) or pragmatic (illocutionary), requires determining whether the solutions posed by the *taqdîr* really recovers meaning. Is it just identifying a grammatical structure in conformity with the aesthetic preferences of *balâḡa*? To answer this question, we shall compare the telos of Ibn Chiquitilla's exegetical comments with those of the Talmud, but first we shall analysis his various solutions as they appear in a long passage found in Psalm 40:3.

Superficial evidence of illocutionary knowledge is sometimes detectable in the explanations of Ibn Chiquitilla. For example, in Psalm 40:3, Ibn Chiquitilla explains the syntactic form of "*slimy clay (ha-ṭîṭ ha-yāwen)*" as a *ṣifa-mawṣûf* relationship analogous in meaning to an *ʾiḏâfa*. He writes that:⁸⁸⁰

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 52r-52v

<p>Furthermore, we add regarding the initial definite article H (<i>Hē</i>); what follows it as if it is annexed as the definite article defines itself and separates from what follows; analogous [<i>maṭal</i>] to "<i>the king of Assyria (ha-meḷeḵ 'ašûr)</i>" (Is. 36:8) (and</p>	<p>וכד'לך נקול איצ'א [52 ב] פי מא וקע פי אולה הא אלתעריף וג'א מא בעדה כאנה מצ'אף לאן אלתעריף קד ערפה בד'אתה ופצלה עמא בעדה מת'ל המלך אשור (ישעיהו לו:ח) בכל הממלכות הארץ (ירמיהו כה:כו). ויג'וז אן נצ'ע בינהמא כלמה אכ'רי ועלי סביל אלבדל יעני המלך מלך אשור. בכל</p>
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⁸⁷⁹ See discussion in chapter 2, section *Modern Pragmatics Versus Arabic Pragmatics*.

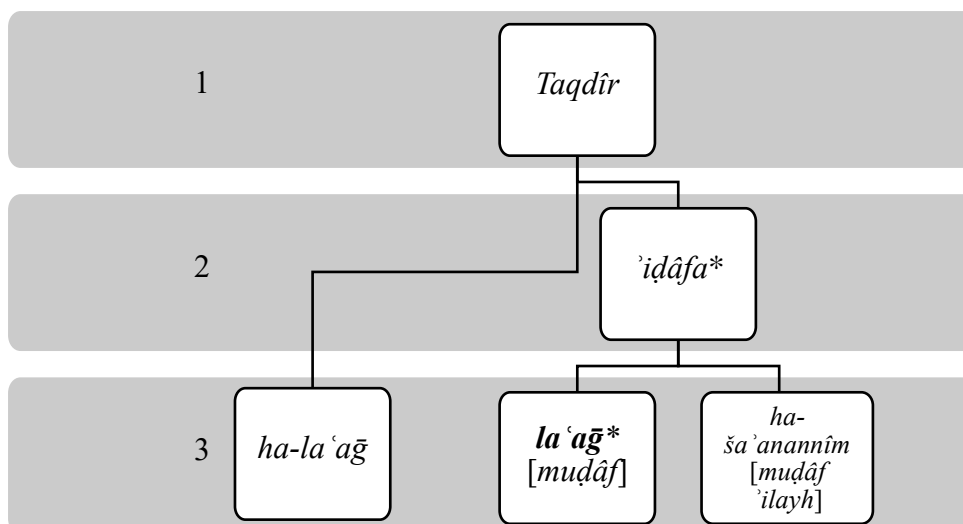
⁸⁸⁰ They are comparable to the example from 2 Kings 25:11, cited above in Ibn Janâh.

הממלכות קמץ אללאם ויכון [הממלכות] ממלכות הארץ” *“all the royal lands (ha-mamləkôt hā-’āreš)”* (Jer. 25:26). It is possible to place another word [kalima] between them and by way of substitution [badal], meaning: [ya’nī] ‘the king, king of Assyria’ (and), ‘Each of the royal kingdoms.’ Ā (*Qāmāṣ*) beneath the L (*Lāmēḏ*) of [‘all the kingdom] it (indicates) ‘(each of) the kingdom from the kingdoms of the lands,’ in which the ə (*Šəḥā*) (beneath) the L (*Lāmēḏ*) replaces it [*badal^m minhⁱ*] and is like ‘the king, king of Assyria.’

The motivation for the ellipsis in Jer. 25:26 and Is. 36:8 is the same type of analysis of the *lafẓ* found in the previous example, Psalm 123:4. There an ellipsis is recovered through *taqdîr*,⁸⁸¹ indicating that the king spoken about is not just any king, but a specific one. The use of the double-definite article by the author draws the reader’s attention to this fact, also though it is analogous in meaning to the *’idâfa*.⁸⁸² The *taqdîr* for option one is presented as:

⁸⁸¹ Here *Ka-annah qâla*.

⁸⁸² See Ibn Ezra (Bacher 1882a, 118 n. 9; Friedlaender 1878, ad. loc.; Hagay 1983, 154). Also, Ibn Ezra to Num. 34:2, ad. loc.



[Fig. 4]

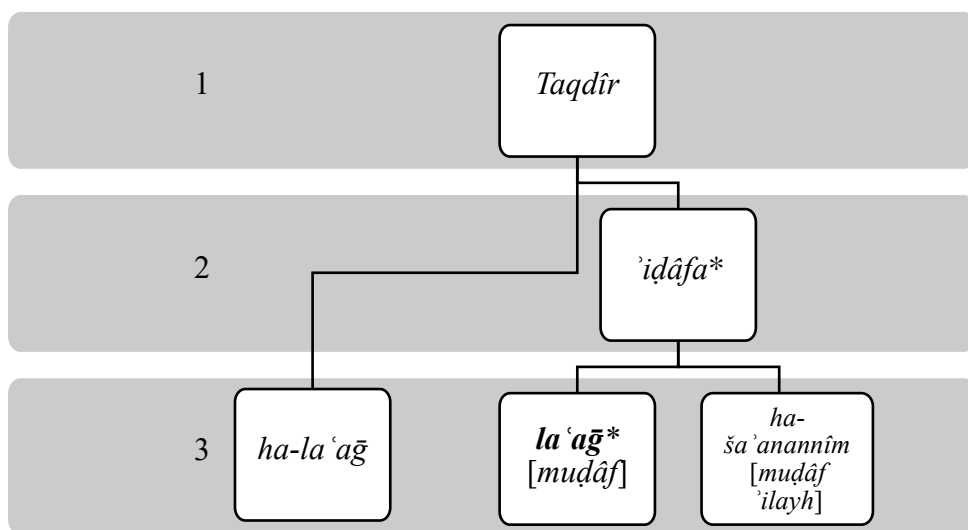
In this arrangement, the recovered meaning is the missing word **mēlēḵ** which is the *muḏâf* of the omitted **ha-mēlēḵ**. The meaning of the *taqdîr* of the whole verse is: ‘Come now, make this wager with my master the king, **King of Assyria**: I’ll give you two thousand horses, if you can produce riders to mount them.’⁸⁸³ The same structure also applies to Jer. 25:26.

Ibn Chiquitilla proposes an alternative ellipsis for *mimamlākôt* (Jer. 25:26), in which it serves as the *mubadal minh*ⁱ [its substitution] of the word missing word *Ha-mamlākôt*.⁸⁸⁴ The morphological proof for this insertion is the vocalisation of *mamlākôt* (kingdom of), with a ə (Šəḇā) beneath the L (*Lāmēḏ*) instead of *mamlākôt* (kingdoms).⁸⁸⁵ The *taqdîr* of the whole verse is: ‘All the kings of the north, whether far from or close to each other - each of the kingdoms, **the royal kingdoms**, which are on the earth. And last of all, the king of Sheshach shall drink.’ The same structure is then applied to Is. 36:8. Its *taqdîr* is:

⁸⁸³ Since Assyria is automatically definite, the first definite article must substitute for *king* (*mēlēḵ*).

⁸⁸⁴ Cf. (*al-Nutaf*, 54 n. 176; *Luma* ‘, chap. 8 = *HaRiqmâ*, chap. 9). For an analysis of Ibn Janâḥ (Téné and Maman 2016, chap. 6). Cf. Rabbi Adonim (Dunash) against Se’adyah, see (Schroter 1866, sec. 184).

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. Radaq who notes these variant forms and calls them annexation (*səḡîḡûṭ*). Jer. 25:26, *ad. loc.* He may mean it in the intuitive, but not formal sense.



[Fig. 5]

The ellipsis suggested by the irregularity of form is to emphasise which king or kingdom is under discussion. This knowledge flows from Ibn Chiquitilla’s belief that variation in language is suboptimal communication where matters of *balâḡa* [eloquence] over ride it.⁸⁸⁶ *Taqdîr* recovers the structure in simpler ineloquent Hebrew leaving the meaning intact. According to this argument, *taqdîr* is not split into examples of recovery of structure *only*, and structure *and* meaning, since all examples of *taqdîr* provide at a minimum an adequate translation of the words.⁸⁸⁷ What we must ask in each case is whether the *taqdîr* recovers

⁸⁸⁶ Arab rhetoricians largely dismiss word choice, form, or structure as aesthetic or ornamental conceits. For example, al-Bâqillâni (d. 1012) thought ‘ilm al-badi’ [science of rhetoric] mere adornment (von Gruenebaum 1941, n. 48). The more familiar writings of later Iberians like Abraham Ibn Ezra and Moses Ibn Ezra followed in Ibn Chiquitilla’s footsteps - figurative language being no more than poetic conceit that hides the kernel of truth (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 13, 36). Also for general attitudes among Jews and Arabs to aesthetic form (van Gelder 1981, 78–89; Boullata 1988, 139–58; Carter 1973, 146–57; McKay 1991; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 293–98; Schaade and Gruenebaum 2010).

⁸⁸⁷ “Even ‘native’ speakers use a distinction between actual, realized speech with its ‘literal’ meaning, and an underlying level of ‘what is actually meant.’ Such a distinction is made because speakers instinctively feel that very often actual speech does not represent exactly what the speaker intends to say. In this paper it is claimed that this non-technical distinction lies at the basis of a technical distinction between a surface structure of speech and

something not inferred from the words used, but rather, signalled to the reader by the irregularity of the text's syntax or morphology. In the above case Ibn Chiquitilla thinks the apocopated form of the text signals something is missing in the text, the *muḍâf* of the *muḍâf 'ilayh*. In his mind, this is illocutionary knowledge as it is predicated on *balâḡa*.

To understand this, we examine examples taken from Is. 26:8 and Jer. 25:26 belonging to a longer gloss of Psalm 40:3. Here too the aesthetic need for *balâḡa* [eloquence] is read by Ibn Chiquitilla as indicative of something unsaid. He presents various syntactic arrangements that fill in the lost information whilst also conforming to the ideal *'idâfa*. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. 3583 I, 52r

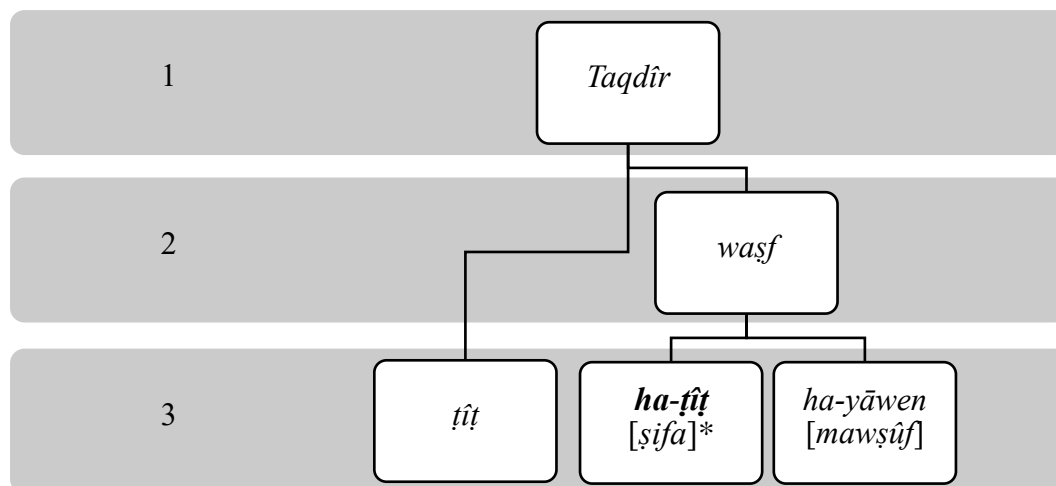
“And slimy (*yāwen*)” is an attribute of clay (*ṭīt*) ויִנֶּן (תהלים מ:ג) צפה לטיט וג'א מת'ל זרת האחד (יחזקאל מג:יג) אל גוים המורדים (יחזקאל ב:ג). וקולי צפה עלי סביל אלמג'אז לאן טיט וזרת וגיוס נכראת. ומא בעדהא מן היון והאחד והמורדים מעארף ואלנכרה לא ת'נעת באלמערפה לכן יכון עלי וג'הין אן יכון צפה למוצוף מחד'וף יכון מערפה מת'לה אעני הזרת הטיט הגוים תכון אלמכתובה דלילה עליהא ויכון תקדירה טיט הטיט היון. וכד'לך נקול פי מא וקע מן מת'ל הד'א פי מא בין אלכלמתין מוצופא' מערפה מת'ל ופר השני (שופטים ו:כה)

and is analogous to “one span high (*zəṣṣēt hā-’ēhād*)” (Ez. 43:13), (and) “rebellious nations (*gōyyīm ha-môrāḏīm*)” (Ez. 2:3). My opinion is (they are) attributive phrases by way of divergence [‘*alâ sabîl al-majâz*], since *ṭīt*, *zəṣṣēt*, and *gōyyīm* are indefinites. What follows them *ha-yāwen*, *hā-’ēhād*, and *ha-môrāḏīm* are definite, but the indefinite cannot be modified by the definite article except in two ways: if an attribution is omitted for an attribute which is definite; I mean *ha-zəṣṣēt*, *ha-ṭīt*, and *ha-gōyyīm*, which the written text indicates [*dalîl*]. And it is

an underlying level. In the technical stage of Arabic grammar, the emphasis shifts from an analysis of the underlying intention of the speaker towards an explanation of the syntactic form of actual speech, which is mapped onto an underlying representation. Both in the Classical Greek and the Arabic/Islamic tradition we find a development from an early stage of exegetical activity, in which the intention of the speaker or the text is elaborated by positing an underlying level of semantic representation, towards a technical distinction between a surface level and an underlying level. The difference between the two traditions lies in the fact that Greek linguistics was more semantically oriented, whereas in Arabic grammar the main tool of the grammarians, the taqdîr, was basically an instrument to explain the syntactic structure of speech, in line with the predominantly formal approach of the Arabic grammarians. Compared with modern linguistic theory, both traditions have in common that they do not look for an underlying level of meaning that is universal to all languages. The main reason for this difference is that neither Greek nor Arabic linguists were interested in the study of other languages.” (Levin 1997, 144; Versteegh 1994, 280).

approximately, [*taqdîr*] ‘*The clay, the slimy clay* (*tîṭ ha-tîṭ ha-yāwen*).’ Furthermore, we can add here what occurs in a similar example; a definite attribute between two words, as in, “*And a bull, the second (seven-years old) (ûpār šēḇa ‘ šānîm, ha-par ha-šenî)*” (Judg. 6:25).

Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the superfluous definite article as *dalîl* [proof] of an ellipsis. The text is a *waṣf* comprised of a *ṣifa-mawṣûf* by way of morphological deviation [*majâz*].⁸⁸⁸ The *tadqîr* of Psalm 40:3 is, ‘*Clay, the slimy the clay (tîṭ ha-tîṭ ha-yāwen)*’ (fig. 1).⁸⁸⁹ The same specification is applied to Judges 6:25, “*And a seven-years old bull, the second bull (ûpār šēḇa ‘ šānîm, ha-par ha-šenî)*” (fig. 2), in which the bull specified is identical to the second.⁸⁹⁰ Their *taqdîr* are:

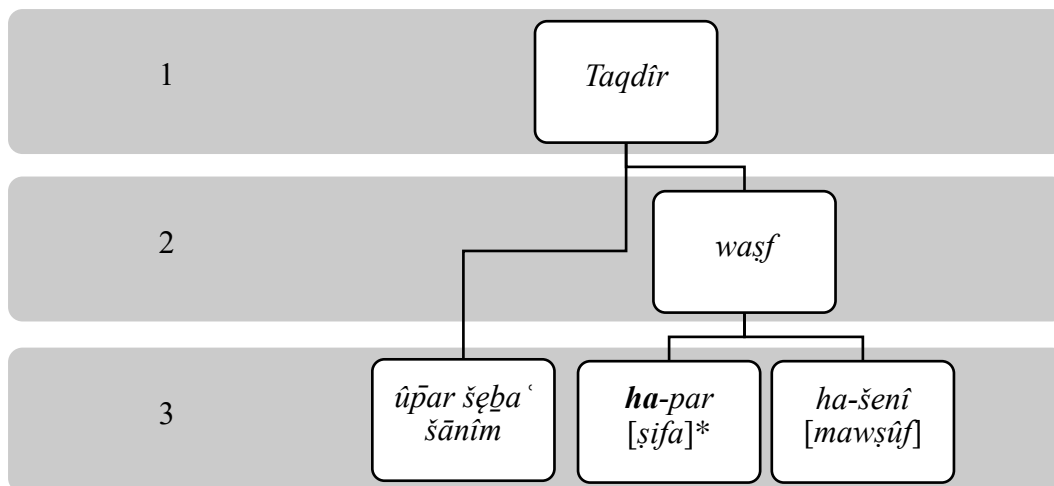


[Fig. 6]

⁸⁸⁸ Also, Ibn Janâḥ (*Luma* ‘, 359, 17 = *HaRiqmâ*, 375, 17). For a list of comparable examples found in Ibn Janâḥ (Téné and Maman 2016, 63–65). On this use of *majâz* to either mean grammatical or morphological divergence see the discussion below and (Ben-Shammai 1991, 380–82; Joshua Blau 2006, pt. *majâz*).

⁸⁸⁹ Se‘adyah introduces a relative clause to explain the phraseology (Qafilḥ 1966, 120). Hereafter, *Se‘adyah, Psalms*. Se‘adyah follows Arabic norms in which the *waṣf* can be a sentence following the *mawṣûf* (Wright 1896, pts 78, 200–1). Also, Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*

⁸⁹⁰ For an example of writing the ellipsis into the text in Targûm Pseudo-Jonathan דאיתפטים שבע שנים, “*That was fattened for seven years.*” and the TB, *Terumah* 28b. Also, see discussion on *badal* (Becker 1998b, 339–41).



[Fig. 7]

In his second explanation, Ibn Chiquitilla offers an alternative *taqdîr* in keeping with the above rule of definitiveness. The *badal*, “one (‘*ḡhād*)” is a substitution for an indefinite *mubdal minh*ⁱ, “sheep (*kēḇeš*).”⁸⁹¹ In the continuation of the above section he writes that:

Evr.-Arab. 3583 I, 52v.

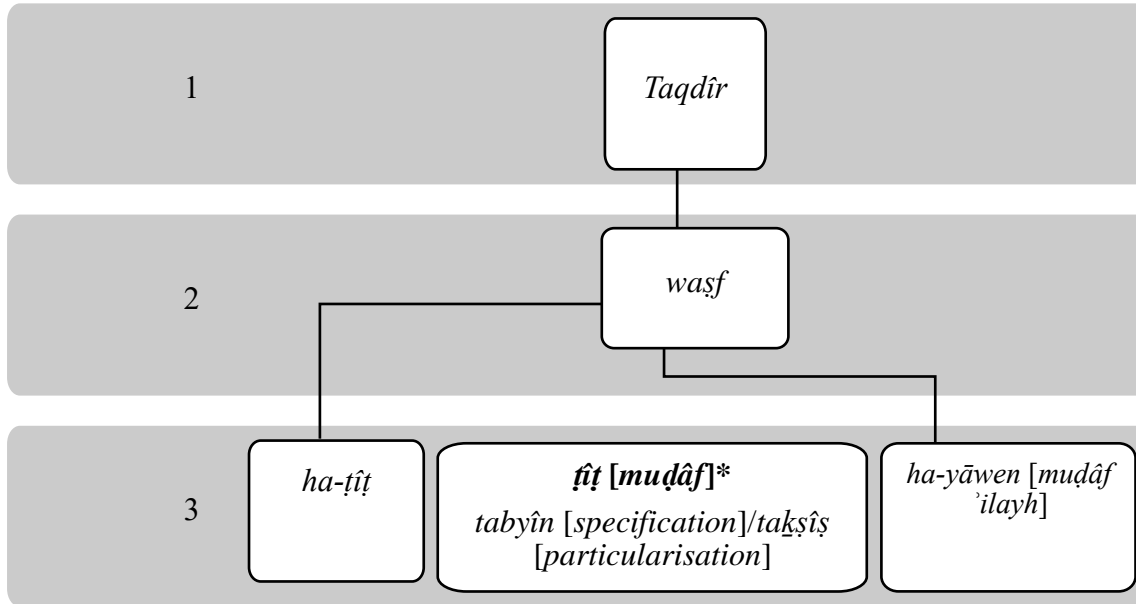
The second explanation is that *ha-yāwen*, *hā-‘ḡhād*, and *ha-môrādîm etc.* are definite which are followed by an indefinite specifier and designator, as the general word may follow *tîṭ*, *zereṭ*, and *gōyyîm*. Now the reverse of that (above) happens; the indefinite noun followed by the definite noun as in, “one lamb (*ha-kēḇeš* ‘*ḡhād*)” (Num. 28:4). Therefore, we link (to it) an omitted indefinite attribution which is, ‘*ḡhād*, an attribute also by means of substitution, as the indefinite (noun) is substituted [*badal*] with the

ואלוג'ה אלת'אני אן יכון היון והאחד והמורדים ואצחאבהא מן אלמעארף אלתי יתלוא אלנכראה תביינא ותכ'ציצא למא בעד אחתמאלהא אלעמום מן לפט' טיט וזרת וגוים ואמא מא וקע כ'לאף ד'לך איצ'א מן נכרה תתלו מערפה מת'ל את הכבש אחד (במדבר כח:ד) פנעתקד [פיה?]⁸⁹¹ מוצופא נכרה מחד'ופה יכון אחד צפה לה עלי סביל אלבדל איצ'א לאן אלנכרה קד תבדל מן אלמערפה כאנה קאל את הכבש כבש אחד ואן כאן קד יג'זו פי אחד מן הכבש אחד אן יכון חאלא מן תעשה אי תצנעה מפרדה.

⁸⁹¹ For examples of the omission of the *mubdal minh*ⁱ in al-Mubarrad and Ibn al-Sarrâj (Levin 1997, 147–48; Becker 1998b, secs 240, 339–41).

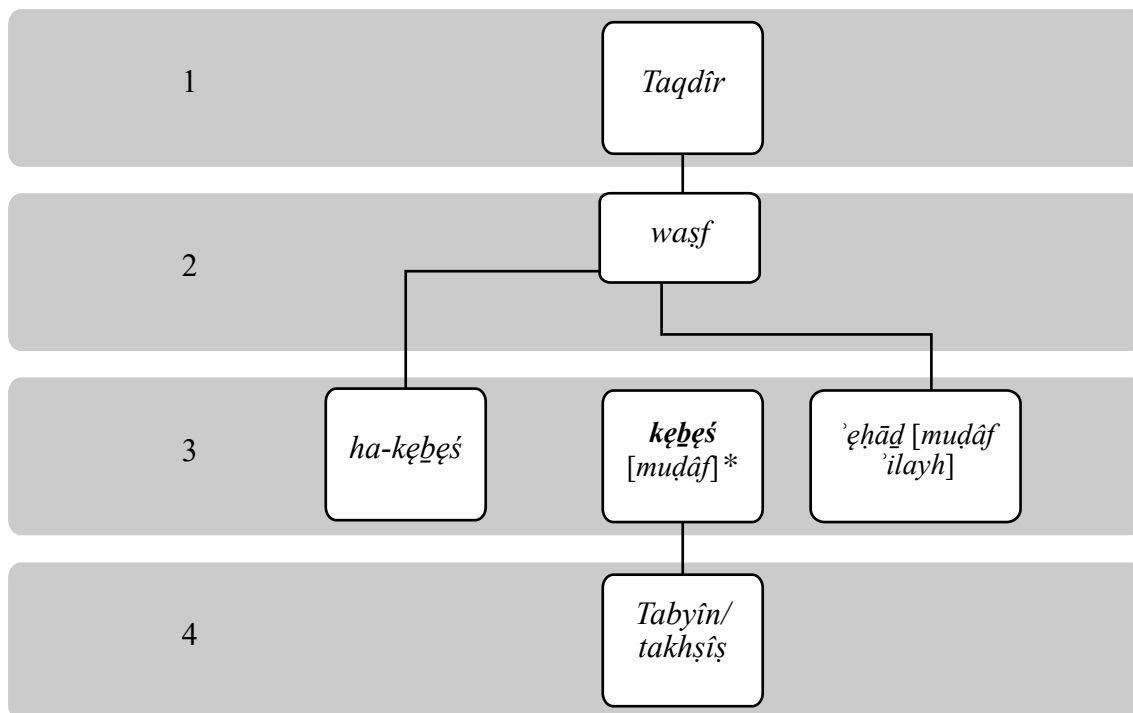
definite (noun) as if it said, ‘*The sheep; one sheep* (*ha-kəḇeś kəḇeś ʿeḥāḏ*).’ If (so) then it would be permitted (to bring) ‘*one of the lambs* (*ʿeḥāḏ min ha-kəḇeś*).’ (For) ‘*one* (*ʿeḥāḏ*)’ would be a circumstantial attribute of ‘*you shall offer it* (*taʿasē*),’ meaning offer one (of the lambs).

In this syntactic arrangement, the analogous meaning between the *waṣf* and *ʿidāfa* is recovered by inserting an indefinite noun, *ḥîṭ*, before *ha-yāwen* to specify the object. In this arrangement of the syntax, the text is comprised of two *ṣifāt* [attributes]. Its *taqdîr* is:



[Fig. 8]

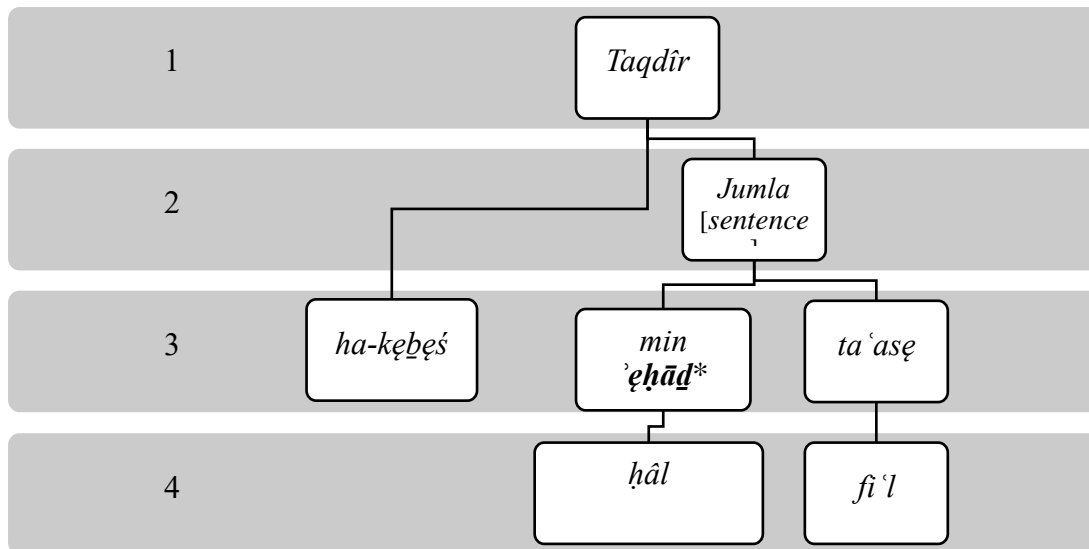
Similarly, a specific sheep is intended in Num. 28:4. Its *taqdîr* is:



[Fig. 9]

To bolster his argument, Ibn Chiquitilla provides another example of the same structure, but one in which he thinks the additional definite article is necessary to avoid misreading the text. The verse in Numbers is as follows אֶת־הַכֶּבֶּשׂ אֶחָד תַּעֲשֶׂה בֶּקְרִי וְאֶת הַכֶּבֶּשׂ הַשֵּׁנִי תַעֲשֶׂה בֵּין הָעֶרְבָּיִם “*The lamb, one (lamb) you shall offer in the morning, and the other lamb you shall offer at twilight.*” Though omitting the definite article of *ha-kēḇeś* would create a more eloquent structure, Ibn Chiquitilla argues that the elliptical phrase ‘*you shall offer, one (lamb)*’ would otherwise be misconstrued as meaning that one may bring anyone of the two daily lamb sacrifices, rather than the one designated in the morning.⁸⁹² Its *taqdîr* is:

⁸⁹² The question arose among Arab grammarians: may a *ḥâl* [circumstantial] precede the word it modifies? (Wright 1998, secs 78, 200). So too among Jewish grammarians (Basal 1999b, 394 n. 16). Ibn Ezra too identifies the splitting the direct object off from the verb as a problem, but prefers the elliptical specification, ‘*the sheep, the one.*’ So too Ibn Janâḥ (*Luma*’, 359, 10 = *HaRiqmâ*, 374). Seʿadyah circumvents this problem by summarising the meaning of the verse (Derenbourg 1893, ad. loc.). For modern grammarians, Joüon (Muraoka and Joüon 1991, secs 88Db, 247–8 and 96Bd, 304).



[Fig. 10]

Only in this final example does the abstract language of formal grammatical analogy yield something illocutionary. What that something is (which lamb is brought), remains hidden behind Ibn Chiquitilla's technical language. However, the phrase “*you shall offer, one*” is not misconstrue because the speaker does not know formal grammatical categories. For someone who speaks the language what is communicated is understood through extralinguistic knowledge. This approach is visible in Rabbinic hermeneutics which offers an interpretation that matches the knowledge about the Tamid offering with the irregular syntax. Compare this to the following discussion between Rabbi ‘Aqiva and Rabbi Neḥunya in TB Megilah 28a about Num. 28:4. Rabbi ‘Aqiva asks, “*My master, if it states “lamb” why say “one”?*” Rabbi Neḥunya responds, “*One, the unique one of its flock,*” means only the best quality lamb should be brought in the morning by the priest. The underlying question is the practical meaning of “*one of the lambs.*” The difference between Ibn Chiquitilla and the Rabbis is the type of knowledge applied. Ibn Chiquitilla explains what the language is about in terms of *balāḡa*, whilst the Rabbis speak in the language of how to bring a Tamid.

From a slightly different perspective, at the beginning of our discussion of analogous meanings to the true *'idâfa* we included several examples of what Ibn Janâḥ calls *musta'mil* [*habitual usage*]. We showed that both Ibn Janâḥ and Ḥayyûj included among these examples of annexation those with particles [*hurûf al-jarr*].

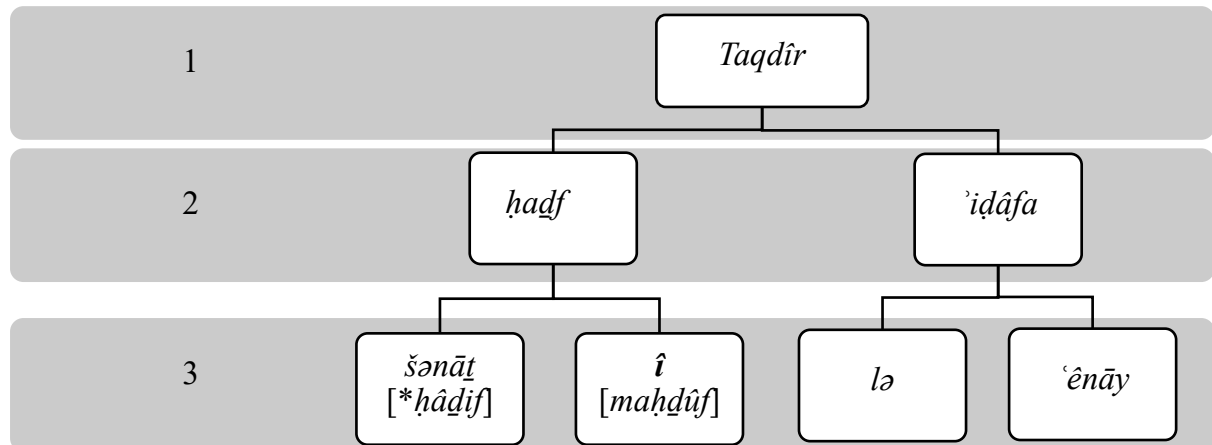
The above discussion of Psalm 132:4 makes a direct reference to a similar example (Psalms 58:5) where the text could be open to harmonisation on account of a need to write eloquently, *balâḡa*. On the surface, the phrase, “*Their venom (ḥamaṭ lāmô)*” (Psalms 58:5), appears to be an *'idâfa*, but Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 118r-v

<p>And the phrase, “<i>Sleep to my eyes (šānāṭ)</i>” (Psalms 132:4) includes the sign of annexation - <i>ṭ</i> (<i>Tāw</i>) in “<i>sleep (šānāṭ)</i>,” but is separated by the <i>L</i> (<i>Lāmēḍ</i>) of “<i>my eyes (lā- 'ēnāy)</i>.” I have already spoken on this matter, notwithstanding what I said involving the “<i>side of the House</i>,” (Ez. 10:3) (and) “<i>north of the torrent</i>” (Jos. 17:9) to comply with the conditions of annexation in these two examples. Regarding “<i>sleep (šānāṭ)</i>,” the vowel <i>Ā</i> (<i>Qāmāṣ</i>) under the <i>N</i> (<i>Nûn</i>) (separates it). It is possible it means, ‘<i>my sleep (šānāṭī)</i>,’ but omits a pronominal suffix, though it retains proof of this by what is underneath the <i>N</i> (<i>Nûn</i>) and [connected to it].”</p>	<p>וק' שנת לעיני (תהלים קלב:ד) ממא אג'תמע פיה דליל אלאצ'אפה באלתא פי שנת ואלאנפצאל פי לאם לעיני ואמא קלנא הד'א אלקול פיה מן מא קלנא מן דון אקחאמהא פי מימין לבית (יחזקאל י:ג) מצפון לנחל (יהושע יז:ט) לכמאל שרט אלאצ'אפה פי הד'ין [נ]קצאנהא פי שנת בכון אלנון קמוצה וקד יג'וז יריד שנתי פחד'ף אלצ'מיר ובקית דלאלה אלנון עלי מא כאנת [118 ב] עליה [ומ]עה</p>
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In typically laconic language, Ibn Chiquitilla refers his readership to an earlier discussion found in Ez. 10:3 and Jos. 17:9 on annexation with the particle *L* (*Lāmēḍ*). There, he concludes that the structure cannot be an *'idâfa* since a *L* (*Lāmēḍ*) separates the first terms, “*side (mîmîn)*,” and “*north (miṣṣapôn)*,” in Ez. 10:3, but the verse shares the same meaning

as an *ʾidâfa*. The same reasoning applies to *šənāṭ la-ʿênāy* (Psalms 132:4), with the additional replacement of the H (*Hē*) with a *Ṭ* (*Ṭāw*).



[Fig. 11]

The above discussion of Psalm 132:4 makes a direct reference to a similar example (Psalms 58:5) where the text could be open to harmonisation on account of a need to write eloquently. On the surface, the phrase “*their venom (ḥamaṭ lāmô)*” (Psalms 58:5) appears to be *ʾidâfa*, but Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

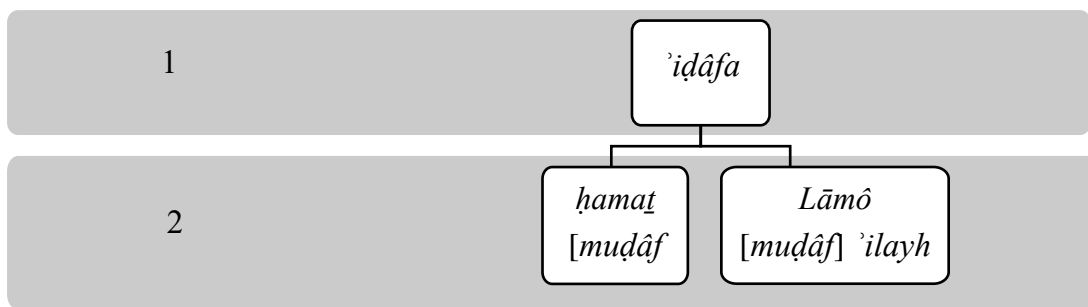
Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 75r

The phrase, “*Their venom (ḥamaṭ lāmô)*,” is joined [*muḏâf*] with the following L (*Lāmēḏ*) of “*their (lāmô)*” without inserting ‘*their*’ (after venom (*ḥamaṭām*) or {a substitution of a *Ṭ* (*Ṭāw*) for a H (*Hē*)}, as in *ḥemâ lāmô*, as in, “*I will not give my sleep to my eyes (šənāṭ)*” (Psalms 132:4),

וקו' חמת למו (תהלים נח:ה) מצ'אף מע בקא אללאם פי למו
מן דון קו' חמתם או חמה למו מת'ל אם אתן שנת לעיני
(תהלים קלב:ד) מימין לבית (יחזקאל י:ג)

and, “*On the south side of the House*” (Ez. 10:3).”

Unlike in Psalm 132:4, Ibn Chiquitilla does not interpret the syntax of this phrase as an annexation with the particle L (*Lāmēḏ*), but a genuine example of an *’iḏâfa* comprised of the noun *ḥamaṭ* and particle *lāmô*. Its syntax is:



[Fig. 12]

Ibn Chiquitilla’s comment is a direct criticism of Ibn Janâḥ’s decision to insert an ellipsis. Ibn Janâḥ states that:

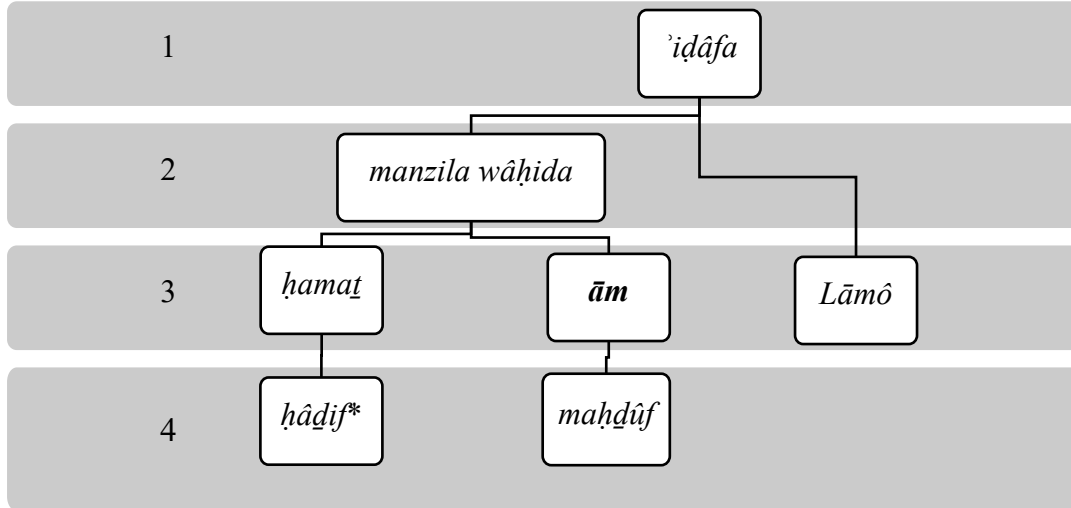
Its paradigm [*bunyâ*] follows annexation [*’iḏâfa*]
as if it said, ‘*Their venom* (*ḥamaṭām*)

⁸⁹³ והי עלי בניה אלאצ'אפה כאנה קאל חמתם

According to Ibn Janâḥ, the L (*Lāmēḏ*) interposes between the *muḏâf* and the *muḏâf ilayh*, ending the *manzila wâḥida* [*single status*]. The omission is a pronominal suffix ‘*them*,’ as

⁸⁹³ (‘*Uṣûl*, 233, 22-25 = *Šōrašîm*, 159; *Luma* ‘, 1-19 = *HaRiqmâ*, 281, 6-21).

if it said, *ḥamaṭām lāmô*, meaning, 'Their venom, which is like snakes' venom.'⁸⁹⁴ It may be represented diagrammatically as:



[Fig. 13]

The origins of the second opinion criticised by Ibn Chiquitilla is unknown. The opinion holds that *ḥamâ lāmô* substitutes the H (*Hē*) with a *Ṭ* (*Ṭāw*)⁸⁹⁵ and that *hamat* is an alternative separated form of *hemâ*.⁸⁹⁶ Its syntax remains unchanged.

Missing from all of the above opinions to Psalm 132:4 is why an ellipsis is necessary, if at all to explain the structure of the verse. This could lead to the conclusion that Ibn Chiquitilla and his contemporary misuse *taqdîr* to proscribe meaning to words semantically, without asking what the text is trying to communicate. However, we have already shown in Psalm 40:3 that buried beneath the dense technical language is an awareness that eloquent communication places a premium on eloquent form even at the expense of meaning (though usually not incomprehensibility). Ibn Chiquitilla's representation of syntactic irregularity

⁸⁹⁴ On the use of *'ašer* as a form of *'idāfa* (Téné and Maman 2016, 66–68).

⁸⁹⁵ The origin of this solution is unknown. It does not originate with Se'adyah, who treats it as an inverted construct noun (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 147).

⁸⁹⁶ Ibn Ezra cites Is. 51:21. Cf. Radaq *ad. loc.* and (Qimhi, Hoechheimer, and Rittenberg 1966, sec. 1:16, 13–4). Hereafter, *Miklôl*. Cf. Radaq on Is. 29:1 *ad. loc.*

through *taqdîr* goes a little further than reordering the text in a simpler fashion, as it adds omitted information. Furthermore, only a careful use of *taqdîr*, which avoids distorting the text's narrative, can assign either meaning or intent to the text's without distorting the meaning. This is what divides Ibn Chiquitilla from Ibn Janâḥ and the unknown opinion on Psalm 132:4. Ibn Chiquitilla cannot see anything omitted from the surface of the text that avoids distorting the text's immediate sense thereby warranting a *taqdîr*. He rejects his peers' opinions. However, should he distort meaning for the sake of *taqdîr* then we would have evidence that he is either *not* aware or interested in the mutual relationship between speaker and listener involved in all human communication. We would be forced to concede that Ibn Chiquitilla's zeal for harmony falls foul of Ibn Jinnî's proscription against interfering with the meaning of the text, as that derives from 'somewhere else'.⁸⁹⁷

We shall investigate one such alleged violation in which Ibn Chiquitilla's analysis is criticised by his peers. He writes in his gloss to Psalm 16:5 that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 118r

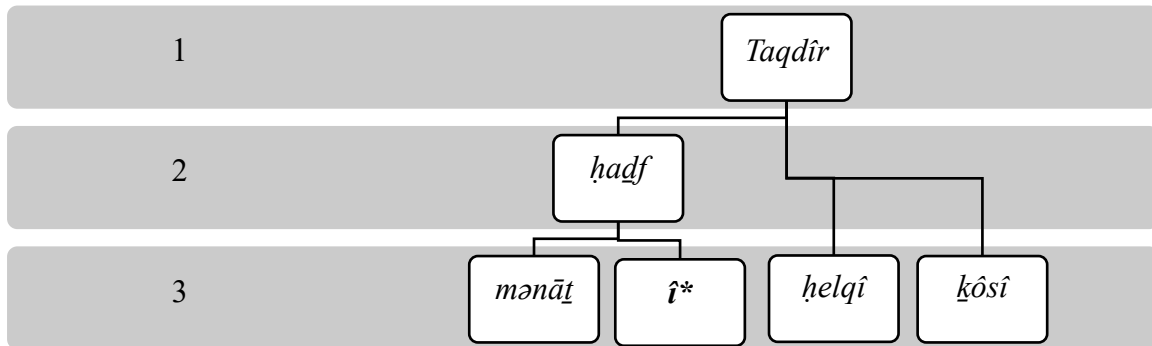
And also, I say, “*The Lord is (my) share, my allotment and my portion* (*Aḏōnay mənāī ḥelqī wə-ḵôṣī*)” (Psalms 16:5), its [meaning] is ‘*my share, [my allotment], my [portion]* (*mənāī, ḥelqī wə-ḵôṣī*)’ since the share [is] the allotment (*ḥelēq*) and [my portion (*wə-ḵôṣī*)! “*Also, my portion, the king’s* (*mənāī ha-mēlēk*)” (2 Chron. 31:3) is vocalised with a *Ā* (*Qāmā[š]*) in the accepted manner [and it states] “*My strength, and praise of God*” (Ex. 15:2) meaning, ‘*My praise.*’ Now there is one who says it is annexed [to ...] it, God’s thought ...

וכד'לך אקול פי יי מנת חלקי וכסי (תהלים טז:ה) לאנה [ירי]ד מנתי חל[ק]י וכי[ס]י לאן אלמנת [הו] אלחלק ו[כוס]י צ'בת⁸⁹⁸ ו[מ]נת המלך (דברי הימים ב לא:ג) באלקמ[ץ] אל[מ]סתי אלבאב [וקול] עזי וזמרת (שמות טו:ב) יעני וזמרת ואמא מן ג'על[ה] אלא צ'אפא אל[י]... פיה פכר אללה

⁸⁹⁷ In Levin. (Levin 1997, 157). Owens writes of Ibn Jinnî that, “*The basic principle of ellipsis is that ‘nothing can be deleted unless there is something which refers to it in the context, and unless there is an awareness of it in its absence’*” (Owens 1988, 45:186).

⁸⁹⁸ Perhaps צ'בט

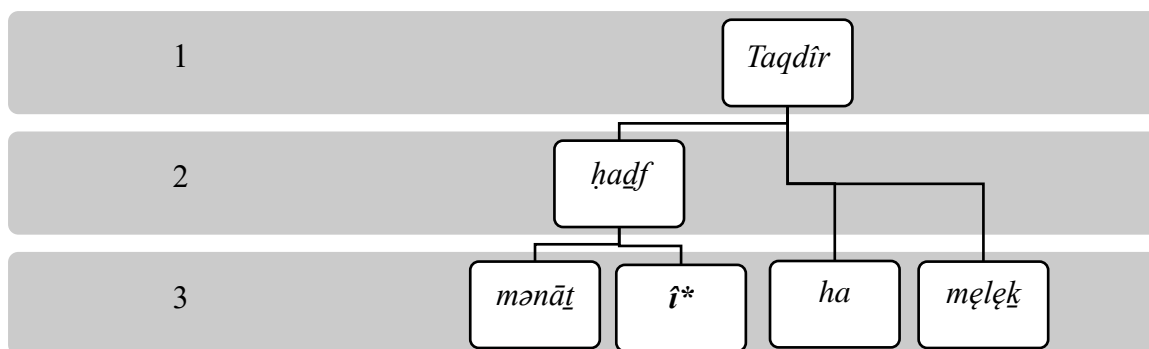
Ibn Chiquitilla proposes that the vocalisation of the feminine noun *məṇāṭ* with $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ + Tāw*) indicates an elided pronominal suffix, as if it said ‘*My portion (məṇāṭi)*.’ The *taqdîr* is presented below.



[Fig. 14]

At first glance, his *taqdîr* flows from the parallelism; *ḥelqî* and *kôṣî* both mean “share” and are annexed forms with suffixes. By extension, *məṇāṭ*, which also means a “share” is short for *məṇāṭi* (*my share*). The verse is composed of three parallel words all meaning the same thing, ‘*The Lord is my share, my allotment, and my portion.*’⁸⁹⁹ This arrangement is plausible in Psalm 16:5, but when applied to *məṇāṭ* in the verse, “*The king’s portion (məṇāṭ ha-mēlek)*” (2 Chron. 31:3) it is problematic, as it affects the sense of the verse. Its *taqdîr* is:

⁸⁹⁹ Also (*Muḥâḍara*, 166 = 183).



[Fig. 15]

An ellipsis is read into the form *mənāṭ*, as it is vocalisation with $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ* + *Tāw*), as if it said ‘*My portion, the king’s (mənāṭ ha-mēḡēḡ).*’ The whole verse would then read; ‘*Also my portion - the kings, from his property, for the burnt offering - the morning and evening burnt offering, and the burnt offerings for sabbaths, and new moons, and festivals, as prescribed in the Teaching of the LORD.*’ In this arrangement King Hezekiah introduces himself in the first person and then shifts to the third person. The sense of the text is distorted by Ibn Chiquitilla’s reading of the semantic signs. His peers criticise him for this excessive harmonisation of the Biblical text to fit an ideal word order.

What motivates their criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla? Do they object to his analysis of the *lafẓ* because they either do not read syntax as the formal relation of signs to one another, or because Ibn Chiquitilla’s analysis violates a plausible translation? The significance of feminine nouns ending in $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ* + *Tāw*) had already been discussed by the Masoretes. They list 2 Chron. 31:3 among examples of an “*annexed form [ending] with the long Pattāh (Qāmāṣ).*”⁹⁰⁰ So too, early Qara’ite grammarians develop a third ‘continuing’ form of the *’idāfa* to explain $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ* + *Tāw*) endings.⁹⁰¹ Iberian grammarians in the

⁹⁰⁰ In the Baer-Strack edition of *Diḡduḡē Ha-Ṭa’amīm*, the *Ba’alē Ha-māssôra* list thirteen construct forms with a *Qāmāṣ* including 2 Chron. 31:3 (Ben-Asher, Strack, and Baer 1970, secs 38, 2-3 n. C.a). This section is omitted in Dotan’s edition. Solomon Norzi notes both readings in *Minḡaṭ Ṣai ad. loc.* Cf. (Ginsburg 1926). For examples of this type of *musta’mil* among Iberian exegetes see Ibn Janāḡ’s comments on Ps. 132:4 and Ibn Chiquitilla on Ps. 58:5, *supras*.

⁹⁰¹ \bar{A} (*Qāmāṣ*) as marking the *’idāfa* matches the ‘continuing’ form of the *’idāfa* identified by Khan in his analysis of the Qara’ite grammatical tradition. The final ‘continuing’ form being neither synonymous in intent with the ‘disjoined’ form, (= Iberian *’infisāl*) nor morphologically with ‘the ‘conjoined’ (= Iberian *’idāfa*) form as it is punctuated with the vowel A (*Pattāh*) (Khan 1999, 120 n. 9).

10th-11th centuries, starting with Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ, treat them as irregular.⁹⁰² Ibn Bal‘am too, adopts the irregular argument in his gloss to 2 Chron. 31:3. He writes that:

“*The King’s portion from his property*” (2 Chron. 31:3) retains the \bar{A} (*Qāmāṣ*) of the irregular [*gayr al-‘āda*] annexed (form). So too, “*To deliver the priest’s portion (mānāt ha-kōhānīm)*” (2 Chron. 31:4).⁹⁰³ (דברי הימים ב לא:ג) בקי הד'א ומנת המלך מן רכושו (דברי הימים ב לא:ג) בקי הד'א קמוץ עלי גיר אלעאדה פי מוצ'ף וכ'דלך לתת מנת הכהנים (דברי הימים ב לא:ד)⁹⁰³

By accepting 2 Chron. 31:3 as *gayr al-‘āda* [unusual], Ibn Bal‘am retains the third person throughout King Hezekiah’s speech, rather than trying to forcibly harmonise the form and meaning through *taqdīr*. This may give one the impression that for Ibn Bal‘am there is something fundamental about forms ending in $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ* + *Tāw*), but a careful analysis of other examples show that his criticism is aimed at the plausibility of Ibn Chiquitilla’s translation.⁹⁰⁴ For example, he adopts the same view as Ibn Chiquitilla on Psalm 16:5 despite his analysis of the \bar{A} (*Qāmāṣ*) in 2 Chron. 31:3. He states that:

Evr.-Arab II, 618 2r-9v⁹⁰⁵

⁹⁰² Ḥayyūj uses the term *‘idāfa* in the non-technical sense in *al-Nutaf* discussed above (Basal 2001, 57–58 nn. 189–94). Ibn Janāḥ calls them *musta ‘mil* [habitual usage] (*Luma*’, 96, 8-9 and 325,6 = *HaRiqmā*, 114, 12-13 n. 7 and 340, 2 n. 1).

⁹⁰³ (Perez 1992c, Ar. 9, Eng. 16).

⁹⁰⁴ It is also true of Abraham Ibn Ezra, who adopts Ibn Chiquitilla’s first opinion on Ps. 132:4, *ad. loc.*, but see his criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla’s analysis of Is. 1:6 for excessive formal reasoning (*Ibn Bal‘am, Isaiah*, 23 n. 1-2). Ibn Chiquitilla notes having explained Is. 1:6 in his gloss on Ps. 38:8, Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 45v.

⁹⁰⁵ Also, in his gloss to Ps. 11:6.

“*A portion (mānāt), their lot*” (Ps. 11:6) it (means) raging: ‘*The raging wind is their lot*,’ the two of them mean [*ma ‘nā*] a portion, for *mānāt*, *kōs* and *ḥeḥeq* have one meaning [*ma ‘nā*]. All of them occur in the phrase “(My) allotted, my share and my portion,” meaning ‘*My allotted, my share and my portion (mānātī, ḥelqī wā-kōsī)*.’

מָנָת כּוֹסִם וְהוּא אֲלֻעֲצוּף וְרוּחַ זִלְעָפוֹת מִנֵּת כּוֹסִם הִמָּא פִּי מַעֲנִי אֲלֻנְצִיב. לֹאֵן מִנֵּת וְכוֹס וְחֻלֵּק פִּי מַעֲנִי וְאַחַד. יוֹקֵד גִּיאָבֵהָא כֻּלְּהָא פִּי קוֹ' פִּי מִנֵּת חֻלְקִי וְכוֹסִי (תְּהִלִּים טו:ה). יִרִיד מִנֵּתִי חֻלְקִי וְכוֹסִי.

Evr.-Arab II, 4352 I, 2r. Ibn Bal‘am rejects an elliptical reading of “*their lot (mānāt kōsām)*” Ps. 11:6, despite the long vowel $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ* + *Tāw*) – *mānāt*. Instead, he proposes they are synonyms for “*portion*” by citing Ps. 16:5. Unfortunately, the parallel passage in Ibn Chiquitilla’s Ps. commentary is missing. However, he too

“(My) share, my allotment and my portion (*mānāt* *ḥelqī wə-kôšî*)” (Psalms 16:5) means ‘my share, my allotment and my portion (*mānāt*, *ḥelqī wə-kôšî*).’

מנת חלקי וכוסי יריד מנתי כוסי וחלקי וכוסי

Unfortunately, our sample of overlapping examples from Ibn Bal‘am and Ibn Chiquitilla is constrained by the loss of most of Ibn Chiquitilla’s commentary. However, even from the limited examples available it is clear that Ibn Bal‘am only rejects Ibn Chiquitilla’s over emphasis on *balāḡa* because it distorts the meaning of 2 Chron. 31:3.

By comparison, the wealth of information provided by Abraham Ibn Ezra is much more illuminating on the problem of 2 Chron. 31:3. In his gloss on Psalm 118:14, Ibn Ezra includes examples of feminine nouns ending in $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ* + *Tāw* as an *‘idāfa* (Heb. *samīkūt*). He writes that:

“The LORD is my strength and might; He has become my deliverance” (Ex. 15:2). Rabbi Moses (Ibn Chiquitilla) says that since the R (*Rēš*) of “song (*Zimrāt*)” (Ex. 15:2) is vocalised with a \bar{A} (*Qāmāṣ*), it is cut off in meaning (from *Yāh*), as if it said, ‘My strength, my song, God’s song (*ōzzî wə-Zimrāt Zimrat Yāh*),’ and similarly, “I will not give sleep to my eyes (*šānāt lə-‘enāy*)” (Psalms 132:4) which is like *šānāt* (my sleep), “Lovely indeed is my estate (*Naḥalāt*),” (Psalms 16:6), and ‘My estate (*Naḥalāt*).’ The answer: for the \bar{A} (*Qāmāṣ*) we have found (it) in annexation: “The LORD is my allotted (*mānāt*) share and portion” (Psalms 16:5). He (Rabbi Moses) may reply, yes,

עזי וזמרת יה (שמות טו:ב) - אמר רבי משה: כי רי"ש (שמות טו:ב) קמוץ והוא מוכרת בטעם כאילו הוא עזי וזמרת וכמוהו אם אתן שנת לעיני (תהלים קלב:ד) שהוא כמו שנתי אף נחלת שפרה עלי (תהלים טז:ה) נחלתי והתשובה כי הקמץ מצאנו בסמיכות, כמו: ה' מנת חלקי וכוסי (תהלים טו:ה) ויכול להושיב כן ה' הוא מנתי וחלקי וכוסי, אם כן מה יעשה במלת ומנת המלך (דברי הימים ב לא:ג) ... ?!

ואני אומר: אם אתן שנת לעיני סמוך אל עיני ובא הלמ"ד נוסף כמו לימין לבית (יחזקאל י:ג) ואין ספק כי לימין סמוך וככה מנת, גם אף נחלת (תהלים טז:ו), סמוך והנסמך חסר כמו: ושכורה ולא מיין (ישעיהו נא:כא) ואין אנחנו חוששין שהוא נחלת בקמץ, וככה פירוש דקדוק עזי וזמרת יה סמוך.

might have explained the text like Ibn Bal‘am. Alternatively, he might have read Ps. 11:6 as elliptical; inserting between *mānāt* and *kôšām* a first-person pronominal suffix; placing the words in the Psalmist’s mouth, as a reference back to Ps. 11:1 ‘my portion, is their portion,’ a shared fate. He might have also translated *kôšām* as cup, “the portion of their cup.” (JPS 1985 n. c-c.).

but God is “*my allotted, my share and my portion*,” ומלת עזי תשרת אחרת כמו: יכפה אף וכן הוא עזי וזמרת
but what will he do with portion (*mānāṭ*) in, “*The עזי יה עזי כחי ותחלת כחי, כמו הוא השם, או עזי וזמרת*
king’s portion (mānāṭ ha-mēlek)” (2 Chron. 31:3)? יה עזי
I say: “*I will not give sleep to my eyes (šānāṭ lā-‘enāy)*” (Psalms 132:4) is annexed to eyes and the
L (*Lāmeḏ*) is superfluous like, “*Side of the house*”
(Ez. 10:3).⁹⁰⁶ There is no doubt that the L (*Lāmeḏ*)
of “*side of (yāmīn lā)*” is joined, so too, “*portion of*
(*mānāṭ*)” (Psalms 16:5). Also, “*my estate*
(*Naḥalāṭ*),” (Psalms 16:6) is annexed, but what it
is annexed to is missing (*i.e.*, God). Compare this
to, “*drunken (səḵurāṭ)*” (*i.e.*, drunken with trouble)
in “*Drunken, but not with wine*” (Is. 51:21). We are
not concerned that “*estate (Naḥalāṭ)*” (Psalms
16:6) is vocalised with a *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*).

The above comments classify examples of an *’idāfa* whose feminine nouns is vocalised with an *Ā* + *Ṭ* (*Qāmāṣ* + *Ṭāw*).⁹⁰⁷ Ibn Ezra exclude on the grounds of incoherence. Ibn Chiquitilla’s *taqdīr* on 2 Chron. 31:3, whereas, for the other examples formal harmonisation of the surface form with the idealised grammatical form causes no such problems. The ellipsis in Ex. 15:2 is prompted by the theological problem of Israel redeeming itself from Egypt of its own power.⁹⁰⁸ He states in his long-commentary on Ex. 15:2 that:⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰⁶ He uses this example again as an example of the L (*Lāmeḏ*) of the *’idāfa* in his remarks on Psalm 116:14.

⁹⁰⁷ (*Miklōl* sec. 1:16, 13–14). *Minḥaṭ Šai* Ps. 63:11 *ad. loc* (*Rashi, Psalms*, Heb. 816 Eng. 277).

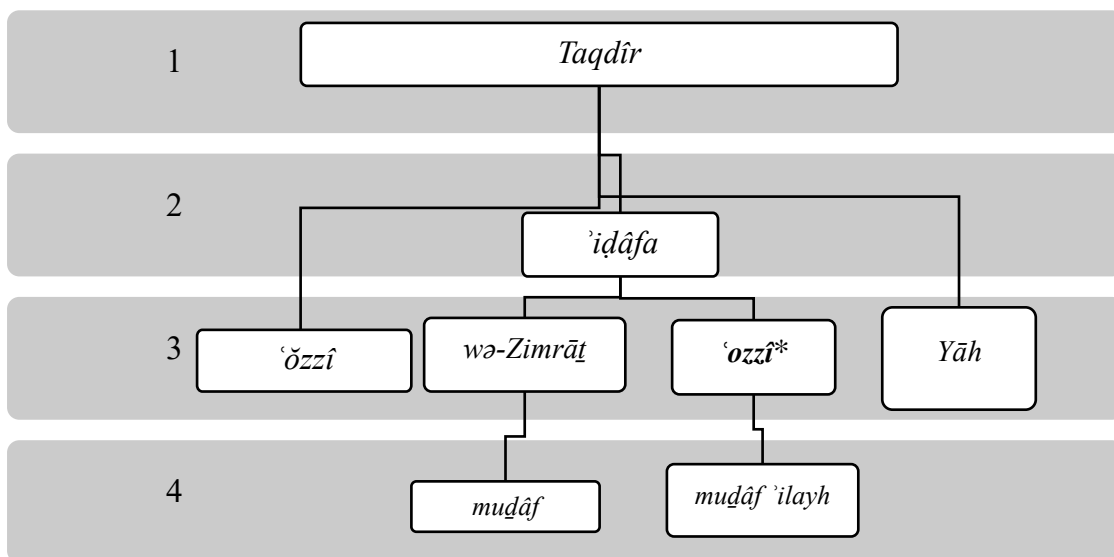
⁹⁰⁸ For examples of gapping in Ibn Ezra, see (Hagay 1983, 173–74).

⁹⁰⁹ According to Simon, the short commentary on Exodus was written in Lucca, Italy 1145 and the long commentary in Rouen, France 1153. His first Psalm commentary was written in either Rome or Lucca, between 1040–43, whilst his second Psalm commentary was completed in 1156 either in Rhodes, Greece; Roudez, Provence; Dreux, a town west of Paris in Normandy, or Rouen, its capital, see (Simon 1991, 147–49).

In my opinion, the words, “my strength (*ōzzî*),” is read twice (*lit.* drags itself and the other with it) as is the practice with the holy tongue, as if it were written as: *My strength and the song of my strength, God* (*‘ōzzî wə-Zimrāṭ ‘ōzzî Yāh*)

ולפי דעתי, שמלת עזי מושכת עצמה ואחרת עמה, כמשפט לשון הקדש, כאלו כתוב, עזי וזמרת עזי יה.

Despite the different conclusions the recovery of lost meaning goes no further than aligning the surface form, which is eloquent [*balāḡa*] to the idealised structure. Its *taqdîr* is:



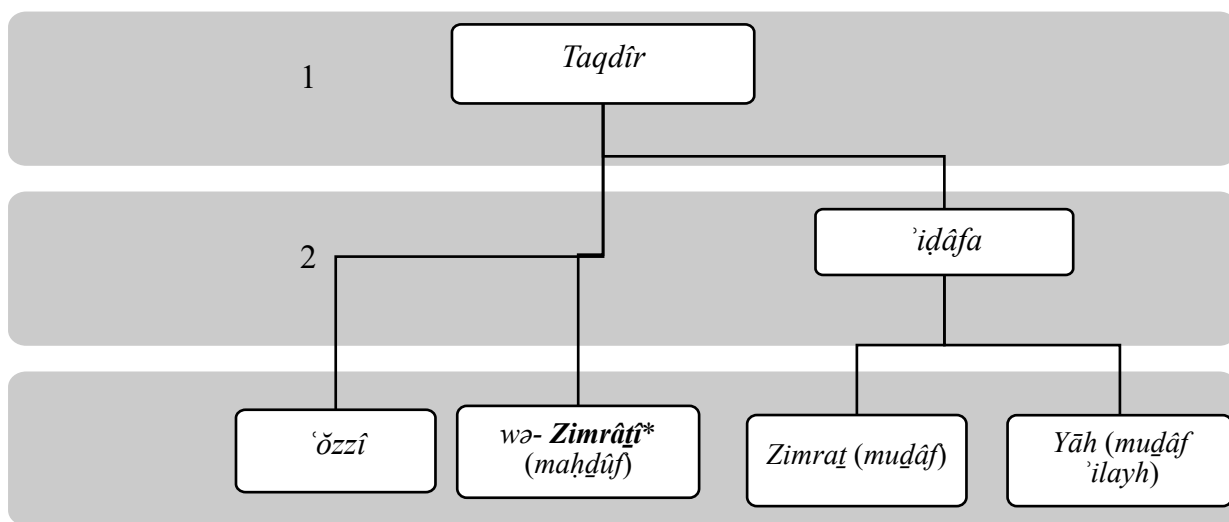
[Fig. 16]

The same point is made by Ibn Ezra in his comment in his shorter commentary; he inserts a pronominal suffix after the $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ + Tāw*):⁹¹⁰

⁹¹⁰ See discussion below.

In my opinion, it is annexed. Thus, it is, ‘*My strength and my song, God’s song*’ (‘*ōzzî wə-Zimrātî Zimrat Yāh*).’ ועל דעתי, שהוא סמוך, וכן הוא: ‘עזי וזמרתי זמרת השם’,

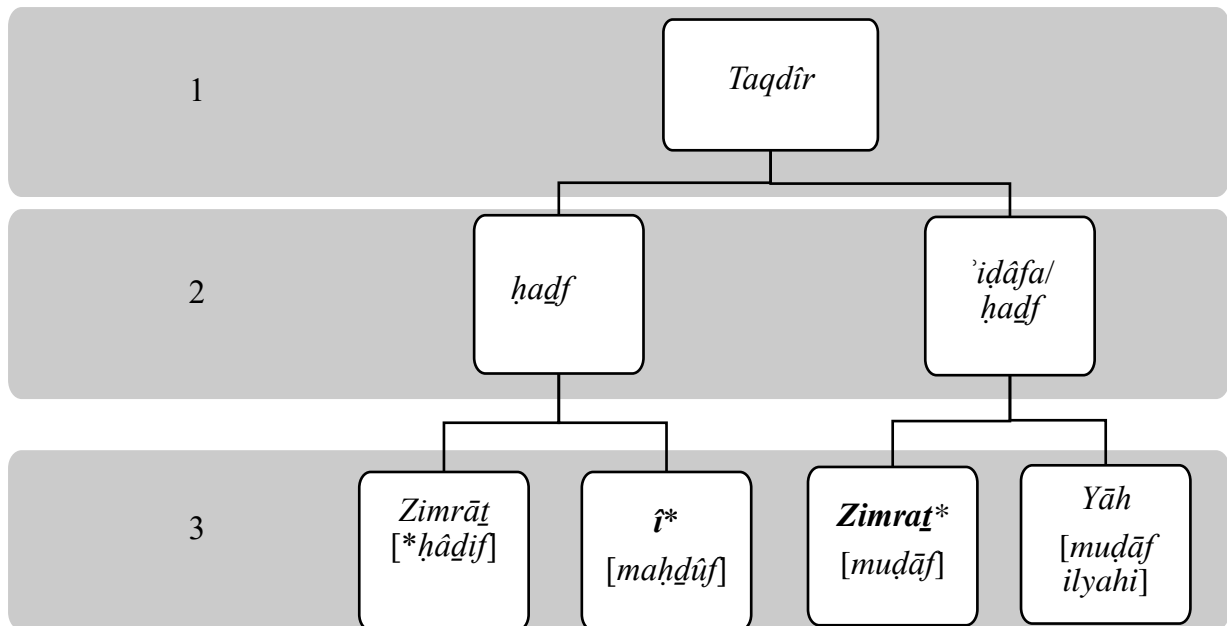
Its *taqdîr* is:



[Fig. 17]

How does Ibn Chiquitilla solve the theological problem found in Ex. 15:2? The text quoted earlier from Psalm 16:5 includes part of his answer to Ex. 15:2.⁹¹¹ Its *taqdîr* is, ‘*My might, my song, God’s song*’ and is presented below:

⁹¹¹ The gloss is on Ps. 132:4, Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 119r, but the text is badly damaged. Ibn Chiquitilla supplies his answer to the theological problem raised in Ibn Ezra. Ibn Chiquitilla's answer is also found in his gloss on Ps. 74:19. Ibn Bal'am also reads *Zimrāt* (Ex. 15:2) elliptically, as if it said '*My strength and my song, God's song* ('*ōzzī wə-Zimrātī Zimrat Yāh*).' Evr.-Arab I 4352 3v. See citation and discussion below.



[Fig. 18]

Ibn Chiquitilla repeats this elliptical solution to the theological problem in his gloss to Psalm 30:13. He states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 29r

Similarly, “(My) *whole being might sing hymns*,” קו' יזמרך כבוד (תהלים ל:יג) יעני כבודי מת'ל עזי וזמרת (Psalms 30:13) means, ‘*my whole being*’ (שמות טו:ב) יעני וזמרת כי כל ישעי וכל חפץ (שמואל ב כג:ה) יעני וכל חפצי. analogous to “*My strength and might of God*,” (Ex. 15:2) meaning, ‘*my strength and my might, (of God)*’; (and), “*And (my) every desire to blossom*,” (2 Sam. 23:5) intending ‘*my every desire*.’

Zimrāt (Ex. 15:2) is corroborative proof for an additional pronominal suffix in feminine nouns ending in $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ + Tāw*).⁹¹² In this example, Psalm 30:6, he proposes the pronominal suffix, “*my*” following “*body (kəbôḍ)*,” which aligns the verse’s object with

⁹¹² This is also Ibn Bal‘am’s view of Ex. 15:2, *supra*.

that of verse twelve. The meaning of the verses is, “*You turned my lament into dancing, you undid my sackcloth and girded me with joy, that (my) whole being might sing hymns to You endlessly; O LORD my God, I will praise You forever.*”⁹¹³

The perspicacious criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla by Ibn Ezra includes one solipsism in his memory.⁹¹⁴ He includes Psalm 16:6 as an example of an interpolated ellipsis by Ibn Chiquitilla, even though it is the opinion of Se‘adyah and Ibn Bal‘am.⁹¹⁵ Even so, the example illuminates the role of *taqdîr* as establishing a relationship between the sense of the text and its form that is predicated on *balâḡa*. From the above criticism one would get the impression Ibn Chiquitilla adheres to syntactic harmonisation of the form and meaning is excessive. However, he is flexible, when he writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 18r

“*Estate (Naḥalāt)*” (Psalms 16:6) appears as if וג'א נחלת (תהלים טז:ו) כאנה מצ'אף וליס במצ'אף. לאנה פי
it is annexed, but it is not annexed as it means, מעני נחלה.
‘*an estate (naḥalâ).*’

Ibn Chiquitilla’s analysis of the verse’s syntax takes into account the Biblical parallelism; *naḥalāt*’s parallels the absolute form *ḥaḥālîm* in the opening hemi-stich, *nâḥālû-lî, šāḥḥârâ* ‘*alay*, thereby abnegating the need for an additional personal pronoun after *naḥalâ* (*an estate*) despite its orthography.⁹¹⁶ The meaning of the verse is, ‘*A delightful lot has fallen to me, yea for me an estate is pleasant.*’

⁹¹³ The same reasoning applies to 2 Sam. 23:5, “*Is not my House established before God? For He has granted me an eternal pact, Drawn up in full and secured. Will He not cause all my success And [my] every desire to blossom?*”

⁹¹⁴ That Ibn Ezra confuses one author for another hardly indicates unreliability. Nor is anonymously adopting the opinion of a predecessor surprising in a mediaeval setting. In the case of Ibn Ezra, even if it was deliberate, who in France or Italy was capable of checking the writings of a Judaeo-Arabic commentator? He may not always be honest about the origins of his views, but he largely conveys Ibn Chiquitilla’s predecessor’s view faithfully. For another example, see Joel 4:11 (Simon 1989, 170 n. 24).

⁹¹⁵ The mistake is repeated in *Ṣaḥôṭ* (M. S. Goodman 2016a, 101–2). Cf. Wilensky’s comments (*HaRiqmâ*, Appendix 112 n. 8, Vol II, 526).

⁹¹⁶ *Ba-nâ imîm* has no parallel in the structure, but its meaning is implied by *šāḥḥârâ* (*lovely*).

First Stich	Second Stich	Translation First Stich	Translation Second Stich
A) <i>ḥaḇālīm</i>	<i>ʿaḇ-naḥalāt</i>	Lot (pl.)	Estate
B) <i>nāḇālū-lî</i>	<i>šāḇārâ</i> <i>ʿalay</i>	Fallen to me	Lovely indeed
C) <i>ba-nâ ʿimîm</i>	X ⁹¹⁷	A delightful	

Ibn Chiquitilla choose not to read the text elliptically. In doing so, he undermines the formation of a rule; all feminine nouns ending in a *Ā* (*Qāmāš*) are elliptical. This is because no such rule exists, and whilst eloquence is a value, it cannot operate at the expensive of comprehension. This highlights the distortive nature of his error on 2 Chron. 31:3, for which his contemporary's criticise him.

Evidence for an urge to harmonise the most eloquent form of the Biblical text with the meaning is not restricted to Ibn Chiquitilla. For example, even though he mixed up Se'adyah's opinion with Ibn Chiquitilla, Ibn Ezra records the same point in his commentary on *naḥalāt* (Psalms 16:5).⁹¹⁸ Se'adyah states that:

⁹¹⁷ This position has no parallel, *Rashi, Psalm*, Heb. 833 Eng. 277; *Ibid.* 230 n. 25. This same solution is accepted by *Miklōl* (sec. 1:16, 13–14) and Radaq *ad. loc.* On the history of Biblical parallelism in Rabbinic exegesis (Kugel 1981a, chap. 3; Perez 2001).

⁹¹⁸ Ibn Ezra also confuses Se'adyah and Ibn Bal'am's opinion with Ibn Chiquitilla's in his gloss on Ps. 16:6. Ibn Ezra writes that:

Rabbi Moses (Ibn Chiquitilla) says that *'yea [(my) estate ('aḇ-naḥalāt)]* is like *'my estate (naḥalāt)* (Ex. 15:2) ... And the correct opinion in my view is that it is a construct with the noun as in, *"That drink wine in bowls of (mizraḡe yāyin)"* (Amos 6:6).

In Ibn Ezra's first recension of Amos 6:6, *mizraḡe yāyin* is short for *'bowls of gold'* (Simon 1989, 233 n. 15). Also, Ibn Ezra includes Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion on Ex. 15:2, Ps. 132:4 and 2 Chron. 31: 3.

Rabbi Moses (Ibn Chiquitilla) the Priest says because the R (*Reš*) of *"song (zimrāt)"* (Ex. 15:2) is (vocalised with a) *Ā* (*Qāmāš*) it is *'my song, God'* (*Zimrāt yāh*). *"I will not give sleep to my eyes"* (*šānāt lā-ʿenāy*) (Ps. 132:4) is (vocalised with a) *Ā* (*Qāmāš*) like *'my sleep (šānāt)*.' *"My estate (Naḥalāt)*, (Ps. 16:6) is (vocalised with an) *Ā* (*Qāmāš*), as in *'my estate (naḥalāt)*. *"portion" Mānāt* (2 Chron. 31:3) is (vocalised) with a

אמר רבי משה כי אף נחלת כמו נחלתי ועוד אפרש דעתי במלת עזי וזמרת יה (שמות טו:ב) והנכון בעיני שהוא סמוך אל השם כדרך במזרקי יין (עמוס ו:ו):

א"ר משה הכהן בעבור רי"ש וזמרת (שמות טו:ב) קמוץ. כי הוא וזמרת יה. ואם אתן אם אתן שנת לעיני (תהלים קלב:ד) קמוץ. כמו שנתי והנה נחלת שפרה עלי (תהלים טז:ו) קמוץ. כמו נחלתי. ה' מנת חלקי וכוסי (דברי הימים ב ג:יג) קמוץ. כמו מנתי והנה מה יעשה במלת ומנת המלך

Behold, a delightful lot has fallen to me, ‘(yea) ⁹¹⁹פקד וקע סהמי פי אלנעים ונחלתי תלך קד חסנת ענדי
my estate’ was pleasant for me

He adds in a first person possessive subject to *naḥalāt*, *naḥalaṭî*, which parallels the first person of *nâṣṣalû-lî* and *šāṣṣarâ* ‘alay, ‘Yea, my estate was pleasant for me.’ So too Ibn Bal‘am writes in his Psalm commentary on Psalm 16:6 that:

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“Also, (my) estate (*naḥalāt*) has fallen to me.” אף נחלת שפרה עלי (תהלים טז:ו) יריד נחלתי מחל עזי
(Psalms 16:6). Meaning, ‘my estate (*naḥalaṭî*),’ וזמרת יה. וגא'א קמוץ עלי מא הו עליה בזידה אליא
as in, “My strength, (my) praise (*zimrāt*) of God”
(Ex. 15:2).⁹²⁰ It is vocalised with a *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) to
compensate for the (missing) *Y* (*Yôḏ*).

Ibn Bal‘am adopts the same reasoning found earlier in Ibn Chiquitilla, when he argues that the *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) compensates [*zayda*]⁹²¹ for the omitted *Y* (*Yôḏ*). He even quotes the same verse as Ibn Chiquitilla does in his glosses on Psalm 16:5 and Ex. 15:2 as analogous proofs. This is remarkable, considering that he treats *Ā* + *Ṭ* (*Qāmāṣ* + *Ṭāw*) as irregular in 2 Chron. 31:3. Ibn Bal‘am is no less wedded to assignation of meaning to semantic signs for the sake of eloquence. He too selects from competing grammatical structures the one which best resolve the tension between form and meaning.

Ā (*Qāmāṣ*) as in *Mānāṭî*. Behold, what will he do with the words “also king’s portion (*wə-Mānāṭî ha-Mēlēḵ*)”

He gives the impression that Ibn Chiquitilla reads Ps. 16:6 and Ps. 132:4 elliptically, but this is only *one* of the two answers given by Ibn Chiquitilla in his commentary on Ps. 134:4, *supra*

⁹¹⁹ (*Se‘adyah, Psalms*, 75).

⁹²⁰ See Ibn Ezra above and on Ex. 15:2

⁹²¹ (*al-Mustalḥaq*, 398).

One final example where the role of *taqdîr* restores more than either a single elliptical word or letter is Ibn Chiquitilla's comments on Psalm 38:13. He states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 47r

It states, “*They (the pursuers) lay snares for me* (waynaqšû mabqāšê napšî),” (Psalms 38:13) ותקדירה וינקשו נפשי מבקשיה. פלמא צאר נפשי פי צלה וקו' וינקשו מבקשי נפשי (תהלים לח:יג) מחד'וף אלמפעול. אלפאעלין נעני אלמבקשים לם יסתקים אן יכון מפעולא' אלפאעל. לאן מבקשי נפשי נעני אלכלמתין במנזלה ואחדה והי missing the object [mahdûf al-maf'ûl]. It is approximately ‘*Those who wish to wound me, lay traps for me* (waynaqšû napšî mabqāšêhā).’ Now were “*me (napšî)*” joined to the subjects; we mean the pursuers (mabqāšîm), it (napšî) could not be the object of mabqāšê napšî, because (they) are two words with a single category [manzila wâhida], whereas it (mabqāšê) is the subject (of the sentence).

The problem is that the sense of, “*They (the pursuers) lay snares for me,*” does not agree with the form of mabqāšê (lit. *pursuers of*).⁹²² Ibn Chiquitilla offers a *taqdîr* that harmonises the relationship between the form of the linguistic expression and its logical sense, ‘*Those who wound me, lay traps for me* (waynaqšû napšî mabqāšêhā).’ Starting with the syntactic concern: nothing may interpose between an *’idâfa*’s two components, in addition there is a logical need for an object following a transitive verb “*lay snares for (waynaqšû)*,”⁹²³ and

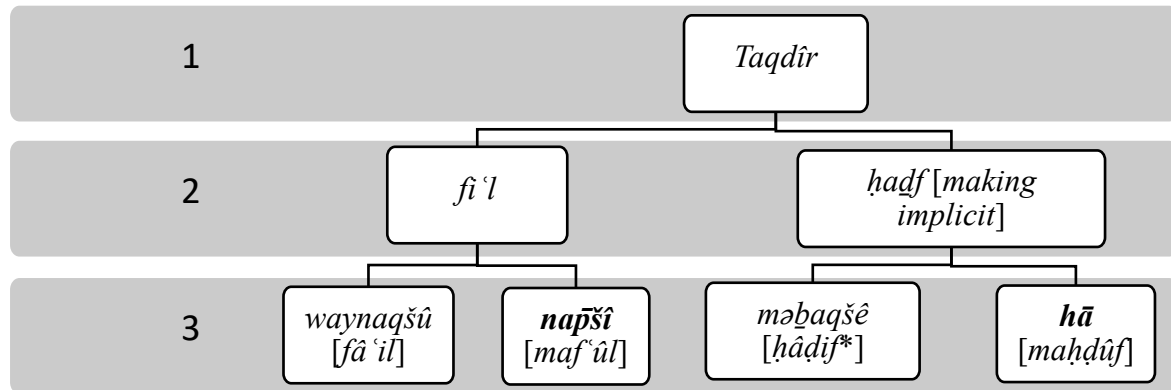
⁹²² Alt. “*they pursue me alone,*” but this reading does not match the Masoretic vocalisation.

⁹²³ Ibn Chiquitilla makes no reference to waynaqšû’s transitivity. Its middle radical ought to double to match the *Pi’el* paradigm. This morphological ‘omission’ was already understood by Iberian grammarians as a feature of certain verbs in the *Pi’el* class to facilitate pronunciation. Ibn Janâh writes.

It’s explanation [tafsîr], sense [kawn] and proper תפסירה ואלכוני ואלוג'ה פי אלקאף אלתשדיד [לאנה] מת'ל ינקש ונושה (תהלים קט:יא) פכ'פ כמא כ'פף [איצ'א] יבקשו למלך (אסתר ב:ב). manner [wujh] is the doubled Q [Qôp] as it is like “*May his creditors seize [yanaqqas]*” (Ps. 109:11) and also undoubled as in “*be sought [yabqashû]*” (Esth. 2:2).”

(’Uṣûl, 454, 31-32 = HaṢôrāšîm, 319). Also (Luma’, 275, 10-12; 275, 26 = HaRiqmâ, 291, 16; 292, 2). Similarly, Ḥayyûj in *Al-Lîn* (M-L-H); cites parallel examples of the middle radical omitting doubling in the roots B-Q-Š and

so, he concludes that “*me (nap̄šî)*” cannot be both the *muḏâf ‘ilayh* and the *maf‘ûl*, if the syntagm [*manzila wâhida*] is to be maintained. His solution is an ellipsis, *nap̄šî*, as the object of *waynaqšû*.⁹²⁴ Its *taqdîr* is:



[Fig. 19]

Ibn Chiquitilla’s use of *taqdîr* recovers the coherence of the text’s syntax despite its complexity. The preferred word order is limited to the representation of what is logically communicated.

Returning to our initial question, does Ibn Chiquitilla’s use of *taqdîr* restrict itself to translating the text? Can it be described as pragmatic? To these questions, we can answer a qualified yes. If Ibn Chiquitilla’s explanations are plausible translations of the texts then his *taqdîr* recovers the structure of the text in conformity with his aesthetic values and is pragmatic meaning. On the other hand, the criticism directed at his *taqdîr* of 2 Chron. 31:3

Š-L-Ḥ to facilitate pronunciation, see *M-L-H* (Wated 1994, 16–17, 127–29, 155–57). He repeats this point in his remarks on Hos. 2:9 (Maman and Ben-Porat 2012, 290–91). Ibn Chiquitilla accepts this without demurring. Ibn Ezra cites this view in his comments on Esth. 2:2 (Mishaly, Zipor, and Simon 2019, 69, 181; Simon 1989, 36 n. 37).

⁹²⁴ For similar elliptical solutions see (*Targûm Psalms*, 83; *Se‘adyah Psalms*, 118; *Luma‘*, 199, 12 = *HaRiqmâ*, 219, 16; Abraham Ibn Ezra *ad loc.* for an alternative solution in which *nap̄šî* is the modifier and part of a chiasmic sentence. Also, for an alternative solution in which *nap̄šî* remains the subject, Radaq *ad loc.*

by his peers for the resulting incoherence, points towards a semantic understanding of *taqdîr*. In truth, none of his detractors attack his methods (which they share), the only plausible reason for rejecting his *taqdîr* is the incoherence of the meaning generated by strict adherence to the ideal structural form of Biblical Hebrew. Under these circumstances, Ibn Chiquitilla ‘solipsism’ is a violation of Ibn Jinnî’s adjuration to the grammarian to leave meaning alone. This indicates an awareness of something beyond the words of the text as defining meaning, even when it is not spelt out. It also shows that matching grammar, syntax and meaning is predicated on *balâḡa* - a form of illocutionary knowledge derived from Qur’ânic hermeneutics.

Meaning

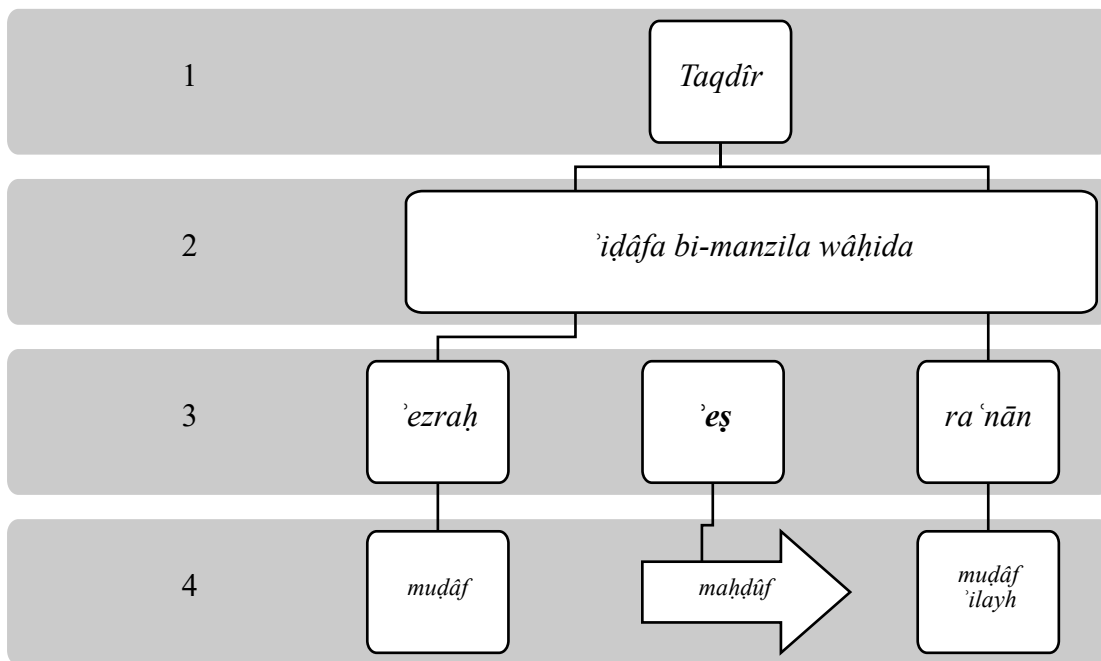
The texts discussed above have concentrated on missing pronominal suffixes, vocalisation of the feminine nouns with a $\bar{A} + \bar{T}$ ($Q\bar{a}m\bar{a}\bar{s} + T\bar{a}w$), and examples of substitution of a \bar{T} ($T\bar{a}w$) in place of a H ($H\bar{e}$). Furthermore, where we have seen ellipsis, it is linked to the presence of a superfluous definite article and a word already supplied in the text. What we have not discussed are examples where the word supplied for the ellipsis is *not* found in the Biblical text. In those cases, from where does Ibn Chiquitilla’s word choice for the ellipsis derive? Does it come from the setting in which the words are spoken or from formal semantic assigning? For example, regarding the phrase, “*Like a native noble* (*’ezrah ra ’nān*)” (Psalms 37:35), Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 44v

The phrase “*like a well-watered noble (tree)*” וקו' **כאזרה רענן** (תהלים לז:לה) יעני כרים אלשג'ר
(Psalms 37:35) meaning a noble tree with its ומלתפהא לאן רענן צפה למוצוף מחד'וף והו עץ כמה יקול
branches. “*Noble (ra ’nān)*” is an attribute [*ṣifa*] ותחת כל עץ רענן (דברים יב:ב) ואזרה מצ'אף אלי רענן
of an omitted attributed subject [*mawṣūf*]; a “*tree* לאנה פתח
(*’ēṣ*),” as it says, “*Under any well-watered tree*”
(Deut. 12:2). “*Noble (’ezrah)*” is annexed to

“robust (*ra ‘nān*),” as it is vocalised with a A
(*Pattāḥ*).

In this example, the ellipsis matches another Biblical verse containing the phrase “robust tree (*‘eṣ ra ‘nān*)” (Deut. 12:2). Ibn Chiquitilla use it as corroborative evidence, as he thinks of the Bible as a repository of poetic forms of expression.⁹²⁵ Even so, the selection must still match the sense of the words chosen to the logic of the surrounding text, including the ellipsis. In Psalm 37:35, the contrast is between the noble with his large family and the rootless stranger (*gēr*). The meaning of *‘ezrāḥ ra ‘nān* there is a tree filled with fruit and leaves. Under these circumstances Ibn Chiquitilla’s *taqdîr* presents no more than a coherent analysis of the syntax. Its *taqdîr* is:



[Fig. 20]

⁹²⁵ For use of *taqârub* [comparison] to identify ellipsis in Moses Ibn Ezra (*Muḥâḍara*, 266-267 = 263) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (Simon 1989, 170 n. 4). Also, Radaq *ad. loc.*

Ibn Chiquitilla's choice of how to harmonise the text belongs to a long-standing tradition of how to translate *'ezrah*. In an article on Psalm 35:37, S. Morag traces the origins of various translations of *'ezrah ra 'nān*, which play a hand in Ibn Chiquitilla's translation, "well-watered like a noble tree." Morag observes that some texts vocalise *'ezrah* with a A (*Pattāh*) indicating the ellipsis, whilst others have *'ezrāh* with a Ā (*Qāmāš*). Despite, this difference in vocalisation the debate among pre-modern exegetes focusses on translating the phrase.⁹²⁶ Commencing with the Latin and Greek translations, the Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos translates *'ezrah ra 'nān* as "*sicut indigena virentem*" (like a robust native).⁹²⁷ In the mediaeval period Se'adyah translates it as אלתאלע אלריאן [*well-watered plant*]. He thought *'ezrāh* was derived from the root Z-R-Ḥ, as if the verse said, "kə-*'ezrāh*: the upward growth." This too is Ibn Janāḥ's opinion.⁹²⁸ Menaḥem follows Se'adyah's association of the word with growth and adds in the elliptical *tree* (*'ešēl*). He writes that:

"Spreads out like the native:" (Psalms 37:35): מתערה כאזרח רענן. פתרונו כאזרח רענן מתלחלח ומצמיח
 meaning like the well-watered native and grows כאשל הנשרש⁹²⁹
 like a well-rooted tree

⁹²⁶ Some modern texts vocalises it with a Ā (*Qāmāš*) (Morag 1971, 3 n. 13). Morag, criticises this amendment as unnecessary (*Ibid.*). Ginsberg does not list Ps. 37:35 as a variant, though he does propose the absolute form with a Ā (*Qāmāš*) as a textual emendation (Barthélemy and Hulst 2005, 2005). *'Ezrah* does not appear in the Biblia Hebraica (Kittel 1971) or on a list of variations collated by *Da 'aṭ Miqrā'* (Hakham 1987).

⁹²⁷ "*Vidi impoum robustum et fortissimum sicut indigena virentem*" (Morag 1990, 2). Morag compares this to a different version in the Greek and psalterium Gallicanum, "*sicut cedros Libnani*."

⁹²⁸ The *'alep* of *'ezrāh* as *daḵūl* (prosthetic).

I translated "like a well-watered plant" (Ps. 37:35) like אלתאלע אלריאן מתלחלח ומצמיח (תהלים לו:לה) ופסרת כאזרח רענן אלדי' הו' טלוע ואשראק, ווג'דת איצ'א אלטהור ילקב בזריחה 'a well-watered shoot,' analogous to 'shining (*zərīḥā*)' כקולה פי עוזיהו והצרעת זרחה במצחו (דברי הימים ב כו:יט), because it grows and shines. I also found that 'appearing כדלך ג'עלת כאזרח נבאתא טאלעא, ויכון ד'כול אלאף ההנא [zūhūr]' is called 'shining (*zərīḥā*),' as it states of, "The leprosy appeared (*zārḥā*) on his forehead" (2 Chron. כד'ולהא פי קולה באזרע נטויה (ירמיהו לב:כא) ואשבאה. 26:19). Therefore I (translated) "like a well-watered," a 'plant growing.' Behold, (the *'alep*) of *'ezrāh* is prosthetic (*daḵūl*) as in the verse "outstretched arm" (Jer. 32:21) and others similar to it.

(Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 117). Ibn Janāḥ's understanding of the verse is והו' אלצריה פי אלנסב [*lit. his pedigree is rooted*]. This meaning follows from the basic meaning אצל מלצ'וין [*a root going green*] (*'Uṣūl*, 202, 25-26 = *HaŠōrāšīm*, 137). Morag identifies a common semantic origin for Se'adyah's association of *'ezrāh* with the appearance of light. The joint Arabic and Hebrew roots N-B-T matches the Akkadian root N-B-Ṭ, "shine." Furthermore, the Aramaic root for shine is Ṣ-M-Ḥ. This common semantic thread was unknown to mediaeval exegetes, but did not impede their understanding of the text (Morag 1971, 4).

⁹²⁹ (*Maḥberet*, 32).

Morag thought that Menaḥem's translation, "tree (ʿešēl)," was a long-standing tradition whose source had been lost.⁹³⁰

One source not considered by Morag is the 9th century Christian translator Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qūṭī, who in his Arabic translation based on the Vulgate adds the word "tree"; رأيت مجرمًا قويًا ضخم كشجر اخضر حين تمّ "J'ai vu le pécheur fort et puissant, tel un arbre verdurant formé."⁹³¹ If this is the origin for Menaḥem and Ibn Chiquitilla then meaning is not predicated on grammatical theories, but parts of the collective vocabulary of the 'ahl al-Luḡa [speakers of the language].⁹³²

Another way to test origins of meaning is to compare mediaeval exegetical opinions familiar and unfamiliar with Arabic. Should there be no correlation between those familiar with Arabic and unfamiliar with Arabic then use of Arabic largely takes the form of an ancillary proof in favour of a difficult Biblical word. To illustrate the point, ḥayyat (Psalms 74:19), can mean tribe or wild beast. Ibn Janāḥ and Se'adyah note the similarity between ḥayyat and the Arabic cognate ḥayya [tribe].⁹³³ They explain the syntax of ḥayyat as an 'infīṣāl [separated] form ending in T (Ṭāw) instead of H (Hē). Later, this reading is adopted by Isaac Ibn Barūn with the comparison made explicit as part of his examination of comparative Semitics.⁹³⁴ If it were the Arabic cognate that brought them to this meaning then it should only be accessible to those exegetes who know Arabic. However, Rashi, who did not know Arabic, also arrives at this meaning.⁹³⁵ Logically, knowledge of Arabic is *not*

⁹³⁰ (Morag 1971, 3).

⁹³¹ (Urvoy 1994, 68).

⁹³² For a discussion of this in Islamic legal theory, see (Lowry 2004, 1–41; Gleave 2012, 94–125).

⁹³³ (Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 179). Also *sab' in al-lafz* (Allony 1982, 220). Ibn Janāḥ interprets 2 Kings 9:17 as an absolute form, with the T (Ṭāw) switching for a H (Hē) (*Luma'*, 66, 12 = *HaRiqmā*, 82, 17, 'Uṣūl, 741, 5 = *HaṢōrāšim*, 529; Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*, *Ṣōrāšim*, 802; *Miklōl* sec. 1:126, 14–15; 80a) *Targūm*, 2 Kings 9:17 does not offer an elliptical explanation.

"And the Philistines gathered the tribes (ḥayyā)" (ויקבצו פלשתים לחיה (שמואל ב כג:יא) אלי אלהי ואחד אחיא (2 Sam. 23:11) tribe, quarter of an Arab tribes. אלערב (Wechter 1964, 84). For the examples of studies in comparative semitic grammar in Iberia, see (Becker 1999; 1998a).

⁹³⁵

Do not deliver to the wild beasts (*i.e.*) to the battalions of the Gentiles. Now [the use of the term 'wild beast'

אל תתן לחיית. לגדודי האומות. וכן ויאספו פשתי לחית:

the source for explaining the text's sense, but a translation of it for an Arabic speaking audience. Similarly, French is used by Rashi to the same effect, and English in this paper. Corollary evidence for the ancillary role of Arabic, as an aide to the production of an adequate translation is visible in Ibn Chiquitilla's different explanations of Psalm 74:19 and Psalm 68:11. Writing on Psalm 74:19 he states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 93r-93v

The phrase, “*Do not deliver Your dove to the wild beast*,” (Psalms 74:19) means ‘*the beast of the field* (*ḥayyat ḥa-sāḏē*)’ through (inclusion) of the (omitted) annexation [*muḏāf*] alongside that which is annexed to it [*muḏāf ‘ilayh*]; as in, do not make these doves food for the wild beasts! Now, “*wild beasts* (*lā-ḥayyat*) retain the A (*Pattāḥ*) - intending annexation [*‘alā niyyah al-‘idāfa*] . If this were not so, then it would be vocalised with a *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) like “*aid* (*‘ezrāt*)” (Psalms 60:13), (and), “*My strength and might*” (*Zimrāt*)” (Ex.15:2, Psalm 118:14). Also, the phrase, “*I see a band of* (*šip‘at*)” (2 Kings 9:17) is vocalised with a *A* (*Pattāḥ*) under its ‘ (*‘ayin*) meaning a band of horses (*šip‘at sūsīm*), as it

וק' אל תתן לחית נפש תורד (תהלים עד:יט) יעני ען חית השדה פאג'תזי באלמצ'אף ען ד'כר אלמצ'אף אליה [93 ב] אי לא תג'על הד'א אלשפנין טעאמא' ללוחוש ובקי לחית פתח אלא עלי ניה אלאצ'אפה ולולא ד'לך לכאן קמין מת'ל חבה לנו עזרת מצר (תהלים ס:יג). עזי וזמרת יה (שמות טו:ב, תהלים קיח:יד) וכד'לך קול פי שפעת אני רואה (מלכים ב ט:יז) אלמצ'בוט עינה באלפתח אנה יריד שפעת סוסים כמא קאל שפעת גמלים (ישעיהו ס:ו)⁹³⁷ ואמא מנת חלקי וכוסי (תהלים טז:ה) אלמצ'בוט בקמין והו מצ'אף פלאנה נאקין אללאם פד'ל אלקמין עליה

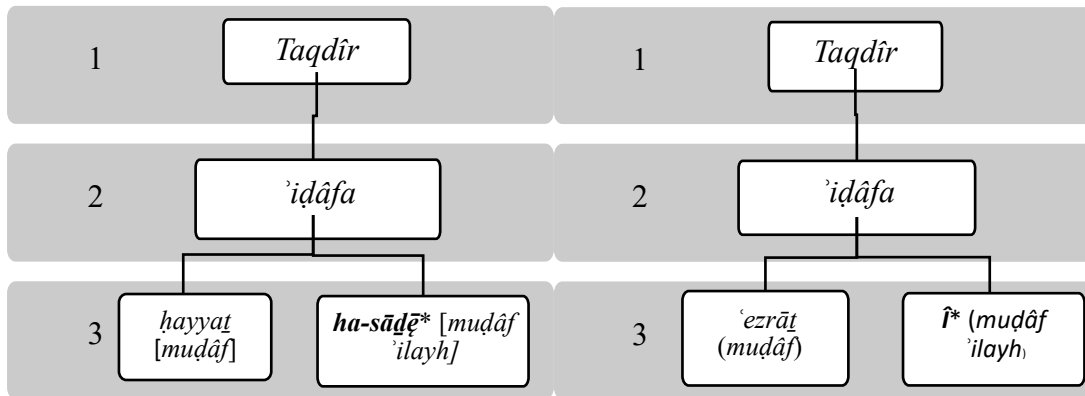
as a metaphor for Gentiles who ruthlessly attack Israel] is similar to [the simile in] “*The Philistines gathered together like a wild beast*” (2 Sam. 23:11)

(*Rashi, Psalms*, Heb. 834, Eng. 494). Rashi interprets both verses as referring to battalions, or troops of soldiers. Gruber suggests Rashi reads the text metaphorical. His explanation does not seem to be influenced by Arabic. Rashi occasionally added explanations for words using Arabic. He derived his information from Dunash Ibn Labraṭ, *Contra Dunash Ibn Labraṭ*, Moses Ha-Darshan, and Hayy's *al-Hāwi*. The above examples do not appear in (Eppenstein 1903b, 47–48) nor in Fenton's revised list of comparison's with Arabic (Fenton 2008). Interestingly Eppenstein writes on “*חית ידך* (*Isaie. LVII, 10*): *לשון ערבי הוא צורר*. – *Le ms. de Munich n'a pas cette glosse. Mais il lit* (*II Sam., XXIII, 11*) *הוא לשון כח כמו ויאספו פלשתים לחיה*. *L'authenticité de cette remarque nous parait donc douteuse*. – *Quant à l'identification du mot arabe, on pourrait songer à* *חיאה*, *que, d'après une obligeante communication de M. Bath, on trouve aussi dans le sens* *פאידה* *< utilité >*.” (Eppenstein 1903b, 55). Furthermore, Eppenstein includes a mention of 2 Sam. 23:11 in his footnotes (*Ibid.* n. 1) that the meaning is different. He is of course referring to Rashi's translation of the text as ‘*troops*.’

⁹³⁷ Is. 60:6 and Kings II 9:17, *supra*.

says, “A band of camels (*šip‘at gəmallîm*)” (Is. 60:6).⁹³⁶ Now “portion (*mənāṭ*)” (Psalms 16:5) is vocalised with a *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*), but it is annexed, as the L (*Lāmeḡ*) of the root letter contracts, as indicated by the *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) underneath the N (*Nûn*).

The decision by Ibn Chiquitilla to translate *ḥayyat* as elliptical, ‘wild beasts (*ḥayyat ha-sāḡē*),’ is not predicated on comparative semantics, but his sense of what the text is trying to say; the wicked people are compared to wild beasts. Under these circumstances, his *taqdîr* is a representation of that meaning according to the ideal morphological form. Its *taqdîr* is presented alongside alternative examples ending in the form *Ā + ʾ* (*Qāmāṣ + ʾTāw*).⁹³⁸



[Fig. 20a]

[Fig. 20b]

Furthermore, the division between Ibn Chiquitilla and Seʿadyah/Ibn Janâḥ over the meaning of Psalm 74:19 is not ideological.⁹³⁹ Their dispute is localised to the meaning of

⁹³⁶ Perhaps he meant Ez. 26:10.

⁹³⁸ Ibn Chiquitilla explains the *Ā + ʾ* (*Pattāḥ + ʾTāw*) as the sign of the feminine annexed noun (*muḡâf*) and by way of comparison, the ending *Ā + ʾ* (*Qāmāṣ + ʾTāw*) of “aid” (‘*ezrâṭ*’) (Ps. 60:13) as indicating the first-person pronoun, “my aid (‘*ezrâṭ*’).”

⁹³⁹ Reliance upon Arabic was initially embarrassing to exegetes and grammarians. Menahem and Dunash Ibn Labraṭ ferociously debated its permissibility (Brann 1991, 27–28; Morag 1993, 4–19). However, this should not

Psalm 74:19.⁹⁴⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla adopts a comparison with Arabic in his gloss on, “*Your tribe (ḥayyâ) dwells there*” (Psalms 68:11).⁹⁴¹

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 86r⁹⁴²

The meaning of, “*Your tribe dwells there*,” (Psalms 68:11) is Your flock (*lit.* group). Perhaps its meaning is ‘*al-hayya*’ in Arabic, as in tribe related to you.

ויעני בקו' חיתך ישבו בה (תהלים סח:יא) ג'מאעתך
ורבמא כאן מענאה מן אלהי פי אלערבי יעני אלהי
אלמנסוב אליך

Usage or non-usage of Arabic is incidental to defining meaning, which originates in tradition and what seems most plausible. The question asked by the exegete is whether Psalm 68:11 and Psalm 74:19 lend themselves best to either an image of wild beasts or

be taken seriously, as Menaḥem's interpretation of Ps. 68:31 and 2 Sam. 23:13 could not avoid passive use of Arabic (*Maḥberet*, 173). For examples of Menaḥem's implicit use of Arabic (J. Martínez Delgado 2010b, 149–52). Another proof for an ambivalent attitude towards comparison between Hebrew and Arabic is of Dunash ha-Levi Ibn Labraṭ against Se'adyah. According to Herzog there are two authors of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ's *Responsa*; a later author, who lived after Ibn Bal'am (late 11th century) and limits comparison to Arabic, and an earlier one who does not, see (Herzog 1980, 26–46; Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1980, chap. XIV–XVII; L. Charlap 1999, 15 n. 53). However, such a claim is disputed. Initially, Porges questioned identification of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ's *Responsa* against Se'adyah as by Dunash Ibn Labraṭ, see (Porjes 1900, 2, n.2). Hazon too rejects one author for both authors based on a linguistic analysis of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ's *Responsa* against Menaḥem and Se'adyah respectively, (Hazon 1995, 20–41, 196–97; 2005, 3). Gaash, however, argues in favour of one author, Dunash Ibn Labraṭ. He claims the original work was in Arabic, before a draft translation into Hebrew was prepared. The reason for this is because it was written towards the end of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ's life and was not complete, see (Gaash 2020, 289–90). Ibn Janāḥ thought Biblical Hebrew was the arbitrator of its own terms, though he was fully aware of Biblical Hebrew's limitations as a dead language. He also knew Arabic's status as a living language was useful to understanding difficult words and did not shy from making comparison to it, (Gottlieb 1984b; Téné 1980). He invokes precedent from Se'adyah's *Tafsīr*, *Sab'īn lafẓa al-farda* (Allony 1969), Hayy Ga'on's dictionary (Abramson 1977, 108–16; Poznański 1901b, 597–604), Ibn Qurayš (Ibn Quraysh and Becker 1984), and spurious examples drawn from Talmudic literature, as justification for his introduction of comparison outside the canon of Biblical and Rabbinic literature (*Luma'*, 6–7 = *HaRiqmā*, 16–18). Also see, (Aron Dotan 1981, 163–212; Steinschneider 1901, 129–34; Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ, Tibbon, and Wilensky 1964, op. 17, n. 23). Ibn Ezra avails himself of similar methods of comparison. For examples, see (Goldstein and Kislev 2016, 135–56; Schlossberg 1986, 122–24; Ratzaby 1980, 445–60; Steiner 2000, 249–67), as does Ibn Bal'am, see (Abramson 1975). For a brief history of comparative Semitics, see (Téné 1980, 355–77).

⁹⁴⁰ Ibn Ezra, as a collator of his predecessors, offers both explanations in his gloss on Ps. 74:19. He writes that: “*Animals la-ḥayyat*” with a A (*Pattāḥ*) because it is the annexed (form) and what is annexed to it is omitted, as in “*I see the troop of*” (2 Kings 9:17). ... Some say “*tribe (ḥayyat)*” as in marsh dwellers or Philistine tribes.

In *Mōznāyīm* he omits Ibn Janāḥ's opinion entirely (M. S. Goodman 2016b, 21).

⁹⁴¹ Also Moses Ibn Ezra (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997).

⁹⁴² (Poznański 1912, 50–51). Also see the Anonymous Psalm Commentary, Evr.-Arab. I, 1409 27r.

tribesmen. The answer given by Ibn Chiquitilla to the first is beast and the second, tribe, both present in the sources examined above.

The examples discussed so far have concentrated on tension between the *lafz* and *ma'nâ* for single words whose significance has been limited to one or two verses. But as suggested earlier by Ibn Qutayba (9th century) in his introduction to *Kitâb al-ši'r wal-šu'arâ*, *ma'nâ* sometimes describes the social effect on those listening.⁹⁴³ Ibn Qutayba asks if the *ma'nâ* of an ode is meant to arouse emotions based on either its themes or motifs. This too is discussed by Ibn Chiquitilla on the opening verse of Psalm 45, “A *maskil*. A love song. (*maškil. Ha-Šîr Yedîdûṭ*).” He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 59r

The meaning of, “A *maskil*. A love song. (*maškil. Yedîdûṭ*)” (Psalms 45:1), is understood as a love song, as this Psalm was composed by the descendants of Korah, I mean Heman and Asaph for David, peace be upon him. They include a description of his military victories in which he carried off wealth, prizes, maids of the king's daughters and concubines. This is how he explained this in the Psalm, as in ‘the song of love (*Ha-Šîr Yedîdûṭ*),’ as intending love song and amorous relation.

ומעני משכיל שיר ידידות (תהלים מה:א) מבין פי ג'נא
אלחב פהד'א אלמזמור כ'אטב בה בנו קרח אעני הימן ואסף
דוד עאלס' יתצ'מן וצף⁹⁴⁴ ט'פרה פי גזואתה ומא יחצל
עליה מן אלפי ואלד'כ'איר ואלג'וארי מן בנאת אלמלך
ואלסרארי וד'לך ביין פי אלמזמור וד'לך כמא השיר
ידידות אי ג'נא אלחב ואלת'ואר.

Ibn Chiquitilla interprets “a song of love (*Ha-Šîr Yedîdûṭ*),” as belonging to a poetic genre, whose theme and music evokes an amorous relationship.⁹⁴⁵ Heman, Asaph and Korah

⁹⁴³ “The relationship between [*lafz-ma'nâ*] were understood as those between a prepared nucleus and the finished literary product that results from the poet's creative contribution to it; it was generally agree that the materials in the common reservoir already had a certain stylistic shape (wording), since a meaning cannot otherwise spread.” (Sadan 1991, 62–64).

⁹⁴⁴ וצ'ף

⁹⁴⁵ One cannot help thinking that Ibn Chiquitilla also wishes to use Psalms as a theological proof for the validity of secular poetry. Raphael Loewe criticised the common practice of dividing Iberian poetry into sacred and secular

memorialise David's conquest of Tyre and capture of her princess. Psalm 45 is a song of courtship, sung to persuade her to fall in love with David. The love-genre includes recollections of David's past military achievements (1 Sam. 15:26) in the mould of Arabic desert poetry, as well as of his historic founding of the Davidic dynasty.⁹⁴⁶

This thematic interpretation supports Rabbinic belief in everlasting legitimacy of the House of David as rulers of Israel by Ibn Chiquitilla,⁹⁴⁷ but does not extend to the date of the Psalm. According to Ibn Chiquitilla, Psalm 45 belongs to the exilic period, with its messianism placed in the mouth of Heman, Asaph and Korah's descendants, without prophecy.⁹⁴⁸ For example, he explains Psalm 45:7 as referring to the enduring legacy of the Davidic house, not King David. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 59r-59v

<p>And the meaning of the phrase, “<i>Your throne, God's (throne) (Kiss 'āka 'ēlôhîm)</i>” (Psalms 45:7), is ‘<i>God's throne (kisse 'ēlôhîm)</i>’ or that (David's throne) is supported by Him forever and eternally, as it states, “<i>Solomon sat upon God's throne as king</i>” (1 Chron. 29:23). It omits the annexed [<i>muḏâf</i>] (throne), but put in its place what is annexed to it [<i>muḏâf 'ilayh</i>].</p>	<p>ויעני בקולה [59 ב] כסאך אלהים (תהלים מה:ז) כסא אלהים או מעצ'וד מנה באלבקא ואלדואם כמא קאל וישב שלמה על כסא ייי למלך (דברי הימים א כט:כג) פחד'ף אלמצ'אף ואקאם אלמצ'אף אליה מכאנה.</p>
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Ibn Chiquitilla's reasoning is that the text is anthropomorphic. Either David's throne is compared to God's throne, which endures, or David's house is supported by God after his

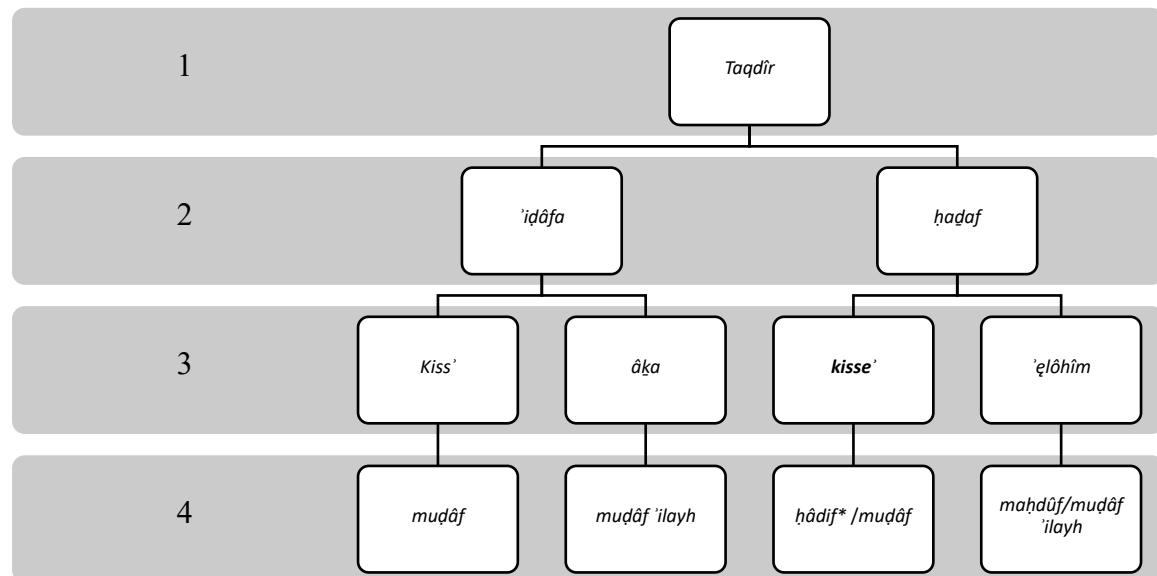
poetry rather than between what is read inside and outside the synagogue (A. Halkin 1982, 54–55). An echo of this objection is found in Maimonides, whose objection to poetry is directed at its social setting in wine parties, see his responsa on music in (Shiloah 2007a; Qafih 1977, 96–97; Harrán 2016, 49–87).

⁹⁴⁶ (Ouyang 1997, chap. 2). On the origins of music and the Davidic traditions of music (Shiloah 2007c; 2007d). Another example of the psychological effect of music on the listener is mentioned in Ibn Chiquitilla's comments on Ps. 56:1 “*I am of the opinion that the doves represent the singers (friends) which use melancholic melodies, but with a sense of separation.*” Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 69r.

⁹⁴⁷ (Schippers 1988, 322–29).

⁹⁴⁸ For a traditional dating and messianic significance, see *Genesis Rabbah* 95:8, *Leviticus Rabbah* 10:1, *Pesiqta of Rabbi Kahana*. For an alternative explanation, in which the text does not refer to the Davidic throne (*Targûm, Psalms*, 96).

death with Solomon's coronation. An ellipsis, *kiss'âḳa*, is inserted before *kisse'* and *'ēlôhîm*, to dispel the blasphemous reading: 'Your (i.e., David's) throne is God.'⁹⁴⁹ Its *taqdîr* is 'Your throne is (like) God's throne (*kiss'âḳa kisse' 'ēlôhîm*).'⁹⁴⁹ It is rendered as:



[Fig. 21]

Furthermore, Ibn Chiquitilla's historicisation of Psalms leads to a reading of "oil of gladness" as an allusion to David's anointment by the prophet Samuel in 1 Samuel. 16:1-13). He states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 59v

It states "oil of gladness (*śāsôn*)" (Psalms 45:8) וקו' שמן ששון (תהלים מה:ח) יעני ולאך רבך ולאיה מרך
 meaning your governor is Your Master; His בהא אכת'ר מן כפוך יעני שאול אלמנצרם מלכה
 governance is through (your anointment with) it
 (the oil). Greater than your predecessor, Saul,
 whose kingship was terminated.

⁹⁴⁹ Se'adyah explains the phrase periphrastically ואלאבד ואלדהר אלי אלהה אל קד נצבה "Your Throne, God established for ever and ever." Alternatively, Ibn Ezra and Rashi translate *'ēlôhîm* as "judge," following Ps. 9:5. (Ibn Ezra, *ad. loc.*; Rashi, *Psalms*, Eng. 350 Heb. 827) Also see Ibn Ezra on Ex. 2:14 and Ex. 22:7 *ad. loc.*

He provides this historic explanation with a grammatical analysis of the phrase, “*You love righteousness and hate wickedness; rightly has God, your God, chosen to anoint you with oil of gladness over all your peers.*” (Psalms 45:8). The M (*Mem*) of “*over your peers* (*meḥabēreḳā*),” alludes to the relative superiority of David over Saul. The whole Psalm becomes a panegyric to David, celebrating his military victories by the post-exilic figures Heman and Asaph.⁹⁵⁰

The historicisation of Psalms by Ibn Chiquitilla is linked with the polysemous meaning of the particle L (*Lāmeḏ*). It is matched to the historic dating and performance of Psalm 4, Psalm 61 and Psalm 39. In Psalm 4, *nəḡīnaṭ* appears in the plural *nəḡīnôt* following *mənaṣṣēah* (*conductor*). Ibn Chiquitilla glosses *nəḡīnaṭ* as a musical instrument, citing examples from other Psalm headings where it appears alongside known instruments called the *səminût* or *gittît*.⁹⁵¹ This analysis belongs to his overall conception of the book as a repository of ancient Israelite poetry. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 6r

⁹⁵⁰ In contrast, Se’adyah believes that David is the author of the whole of Psalms (Simon 1991, chap. 1). According to him “*oil of gladness*” (Ps. 45:7-8) is an allusion to the Davidic messiah and the permanence of the House of David. וְכִרְסִיךָ קֵד נִצְבָה אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵיךָ וְאֵלֶיךָ וְאֵלֶיךָ [Your throne (David), God will establish it forever and ever.] (Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 128 n. 7).

⁹⁵¹ On these terms, *supra*, *Introduction*. Not all instruments are identified by Ibn Chiquitilla. He does not offer any comments on the *Kinnôr*. Se’adyah sometimes calls it a *tanbur*, but on other occasions *Qitâr*, ‘*ûd*, ‘*aydân* and *jank* (Avenary 1968, 152; Allony 1969, 155; Shiloah 1978, 398; Shunary 2008, 37–45).

Ibn Janâḥ is also inconsistent. He writes that:

... the *kinnôr* and ‘*uḡab*, and on the *kinnôrôt* and *nəḡālīm*. The *kanâr* in Arabic is the *tanbûr*, and it is called the *daff*, or the ‘*ûd* and the plural (of it) is the *kannârât*.
בכנור ועוגב ובכנורות ונבלים אלכנאר ענד אלערב אלטנבור ויקאל אלדף ויקאל אלעוד ואלג'מע (פיה) כנאראת

(‘*Uṣûl*, 325, 27-29 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 225). Also, (Tobi 2007, 104; Shunary 2008, 37–45). Ibn Chiquitilla, identifies the *Neḡel* with the *Zaq*: meaning a wine or oil skin - possibly an instrument similar to the *Bot Aranes*, a bagpipe still played in modern day Saragossa (Balosso-Bardin 2017).

And a “*bagpipe* (*Neḡel ‘assôr*)” is a skin flask which he ונבל עשור (תהלים לג:ב) הו זק יזמר פיה ב' אצאבע תתעאודה
תכון פיה י' ת'קב
played with ten fingers which are normally moved back
and forth over its ten holes.

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 38r. This explanation is adopted by Moses Ibn Ezra (Shiloah 1993c, Ar. 219 Eng. 222; Simon 1991, 213). Ibn Bal’âm identifies it with the *zaqâq*, a clay-based instrument (Abramson 1975, 63–64 nn. 5–9). Cf. (*Al-Jâmi*’, 251).

The meaning of “*for conductor (la-mənaṣṣeah) upon the instruments (nəḡînôṭ)*” is that the *mənaṣṣeah*, who is the master of musical instruments, will conduct the music (performance) of the words which David composed upon the *nəḡînôṭ*, or *səminîṭ*, or *gittîṭ* and other types of instruments mentioned for beating out the rhythm of the Psalms and playing their melody.

ומעני למנצח בנגינות (תהלים ד:א) אן אלמנצח והו צאחב א־לֵה אלמוסיקא כאן ילחן אלקול אלד'י כאן ינשיה דוד עלי נגינות או שמינית או גתית וסאיר מא ד'כר מן אלא־לאת־ אלמסתעמלה פי תנג־ים אלמזמור ותלחינה.

In this example, the particle L (*Lāmēḏ*) means “*for*,” rather than “*by*,” as it fits the role of the *mənaṣṣeah* as the conductor. David is the composer of the lyrics, instrument, and melody.

Similarly, the particle L (*Lāmēḏ*) in Psalm 39:1 is defined by the wider perspective on the book. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 47v

It states, “*For the conductor, (a song by) Jeduthun of David.*” (Psalms 39:1) We have explained it similarly, as Jeduthun was his singer-composer [*mullaḥin*] (who played) upon the musical instruments whilst the lyrics were for David.

ק' למנצח לידותון מזמור לדוד (תהלים לט:א). קד ביינא מת'לה מן אן ידותון כאן אלמלחן לה עלי אלה אלמוסיקי ואלקול לדוד.

In this example Jeduthun replaces David as the composer of the music. Ibn Chiquitilla refers his readers to a lengthier discussion, but it is no longer extant. Despite this unfortunate loss, Abraham Ibn Ezra provides a fairly accurate description of Ibn Chiquitilla’s image of Psalms as non-prophetic prayers in his two introductions to Psalms. According to Ibn Ezra, Ibn Chiquitilla attributes and dates individuals Psalms to various exilic and pre-exilic families⁹⁵² Jeduthun is a singer-composer [*mullaḥin*] whose

⁹⁵² Simon’s work on this subject identifies linguistic proofs for his theory that Psalms was composed by groups of poets, including exilic and non-exilic (Simon 1991, chap. 3).

descendants belong to a family of professional singers that set poetic compositions by King David to music. As such the L (*Lāmēḏ*) does not denote authorship, “by,” but either, “for,” or, “dedicated to,” King David.⁹⁵³

The derivation of Jeduthun’s role as a singer-musician was already stated by Se’adyah. He dates the whole of Psalms to the days of King David.⁹⁵⁴ He proves this through extensive (if not overly extensive) use of *ta’wīl* [interpretation] in favour of the Davidic origin of the whole Book of Psalms and in particular the function and date of the various figures who appear in the Psalm headings.⁹⁵⁵ Thus, the L (*Lāmēḏ*) before Solomon’s name in Psalm 72 and Psalm 127 is translated as neither “by,” nor, “for,” but, “about,” allowing Se’adyah to expunge Solomon from the list of potential authors non-contemporaneous with David.⁹⁵⁶ Moses, in Psalm 90, is turned into a dedication to his descendants by David, whilst Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun are the names of contemporary musicians.⁹⁵⁷ The difference between Se’adyah and Ibn Chiquitilla’s interpretation of prepositions and literary allusions to the future is not about the semantic meaning of words. It is a battle over their unspoken significance - the authorship of Psalms.⁹⁵⁸ The particle L (*Lāmēḏ*) can easily be translated

⁹⁵³ See above. For his standard recension see, *Miqrā’ôṭ Gaḏôlôṭ* (Keter edition). For the second recension (Simon 1991, 313–15).

⁹⁵⁴ “The third proof is more complex: while the internal evidence might lead one to infer that the book includes prophecies by several persons (such as Asaph, Heman and Moses), another datum entails the conclusion that “there is nothing that is not by David” – namely, that the superscriptions of several psalms mention two names, like “*lam-mēnaṣṣeah* to Jeduthun, a psalm of David (Ps. 39:1). Since “the Lord does not usually send two prophets on one mission, even though the Torah says, ‘the Lord spoke unto Moses and Aaron, saying’ (Lev. 11:1 and nine other loci), the clear truth [or, reading with Zucker, the accepted truth] is that Moses alone was entrusted with this commandment and Aaron merely heard [it] from him” (ibid.). Saadiah holds that we cannot understand this verse and others like it literally, since according to scripture only Moses’ prophecy was direct revelation, in contrast to the indirect revelation received by all other prophets, including Aaron Aaron (Exod. 33:1; Num. 12:1-8). Consequently, they must be interpreted via the technique of *tawil*: The Lord spoke to Moses, and he transmitted the message to Aaron. Moses’ prophecy was of such high degree that Aaron, who heard it from him, was accounted a prophet; since, however, “David was spoken to through an angelic intermediary, one who heard [the prophecy] from [David] was inferior to a prophet, with regard to what he heard, and was like all the masses. The implication is that when the superscription of a psalm mentions a second name alongside David’s that person must be a musician; even when David is not mentioned at all.” (Simon 1991, 13–14). For Ps. 61 see (Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 152).

⁹⁵⁵ (Simon 1991, chap. 1; Tsoref 2016, 1–18). A similar method is used by Ibn Ezra in his general criticism of Se’adyah (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 93–96).

⁹⁵⁶ (Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 172, 264).

⁹⁵⁷ (Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 208) and (Simon 1991, 13–14).

⁹⁵⁸ From an historical perspective there is a shift towards what Steiner calls a minimalist interpretation of words (Steiner 1992, 431–49). Menahem in his seventh entry under the root Š-‘ includes Is Is. 22:4 and Ps. 39:14 – לִפְנֵי

as “by,” “for,” or “about” depending on one’s broader view of the book’s date and authorship. Furthermore, what differentiates Se’adyah and Ibn Chiquitilla cannot be attributed to advancements in Hebrew linguistics, as even Rabbinic sources, whose methodology bears no resemblance to theirs, presents more than one view of the book’s authorship.⁹⁵⁹

A review of other Iberian and non-Iberian authors also shows their willingness to explain the particle L (*Lāmeḏ*) in line with their overall conception of the book. Ibn Bal’am asserts the prophetic content of all of the Psalms and rejects Asaph and Heman as the names of several of the Psalms’ authors. They are musicians assigned psalms to sing, as in Psalm 39 and Psalm 61. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 1453 I, 39r

“For the singer for Jeduthun,” (Psalms 39:1) said למנצח לידותון (תהלים לט:א) ליקול לדוד ואנמא ידותון
by David, but Jeduthun would sing it in the כאן יקולה פי אלמקדש
Temple.

It states, “For Jeduthun, a Psalm by David,” ק' לידותון מזמור לדוד (תהלים לט:א) קיל אן אלקול
(Psalms 39:1) say the statement is (applicable) to ללג'מיע ומא וג'דנא ידותון יקול וחדה בל מע דויד פי
all (Psalms). However, we find Jeduthun sang מוצ'עין ומע אסף פי ואחד קיל אלסבב פי ד'לך לם תכון
alone once (in a psalm), but with David in two לה נגמה טיבה מת'ל גירה וקיל אן ידותון יחתפי אלמשמר
places, and once with Asaph. Say, the reason for עלי קול גירה וקיל אן אלנבוה חלת עלי דויד פי נובה
this is because he (Jeduthun) does not have a ידותון וכד'לך אסף קיל אן ידותון הו איתן לק' פי דברי
pleasant melody like the other (singers). And say, הימ' ויעמידו הלויים את הימן בן יואל ומן אחיו אסף בן
Jeduthun honoured the (priestly) watches (*mišmār*) ברכיהו ומן בני מררי אחיהם איתן בן קושיהו (דברי
with the melody of others. And say, the prophecy הימים א טו:יז) ות'ם ק' ויעזב שם לפני ארון ברית ה'
descended upon David during Jeduthun’s watch לאסף ולאחיו וג' ועמהם הימן וידותון (דברי הימים א

ענין (according to context) (*Maḥberet*, 366). Cf. Hayyūj (*Al-Lîn*, 298-299) and Ibn Chiquitilla Evr.-Arab 1453 I, 51r-52v, who rejects the inclusion of these verses on morphological grounds. Evidence for the maximalist-minimalism shift is borne out by Menahem’s grouping verbs under the root D-D, meaning, “to remove someone from their place” and “runaway” (*Maḥberet*, 120, 27 and 121, 3), whereas Hayyūj is careful to distinguish between the two (*Al-Lîn*, 348-349). This supports a tightening of the elasticity between the form and intent (J. Martínez Delgado 2010b, 146–48).

⁹⁵⁹ TB *Bava Bathra* 15a cites the view the David wrote the Book of Psalms along with ten elders, including Abraham and Moses. It too must read the particles in concert with how it conceives the books, as prayer or prophecy.

and similarly Asaph. Say, Jeduthun is Ethan in Chronicles: “*So the Levites installed Heman son of Joel and, of his kinsmen Asaph son of Berechiah; and, of the songs of Merari their kinsmen, Ethan son of Kushaiah.*” (1 Chron. 15:17). Then it states; “*He left Asaph and his kinsmen there before the ark of the Covenant of the Lord ... And with them Heman and Jeduthun*” (1 Chron. 16:37-41). Know Ethan is Jeduthun as he has two names which are mentioned above (*i.e.*, 1 Chron. 15:17).

טז:לז-מא) ערף אן איתן הו ידותון להם אסמין והו אלתי
אלמד'כורין פוק

Ibn Bal‘am’s definition of the L (*Lāmēḏ*) before Jeduthun’s as “*for*” flows from the view that Jeduthun and Asaph are contemporaries of King David, who sing his prophetic prayers. He deduces this from the Biblical citation of the names Jeduthun and Asaph in 1 Chron. 15:17 as Levitical families. Jeduthun’s name appears alongside Ethan and Asaph as members of the musical watch in 1 Chron. 16:37-41. In Psalms, however, Jeduthun only appears with Heman and Asaph. He is therefore identical to Ethan, but does not have his own melody.⁹⁶⁰

Another revealing example of the way the sense of the text provides the particle with its meaning is found in Ibn Bal‘am’s gloss to Psalm 77:1. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 1453 I, 62r

“*For the conductor; for Jeduthun by Asaph. A Psalm.*” (Psalms 77:1) The ‘*on* (‘*al*),’ behold, it is in place of L (*Lāmēḏ*), because it means ‘*for* (‘*lî*) Jeduthun’ as if it said ‘*for David, for Asaph and for Heman.*’ And similarly, in the reverse it says “*tell me* (‘*imrî lî*)” (Gen. 20:13) instead of ‘*tell me about* (‘*imrî ‘alay*)’ (and) in place of ‘*on* (‘*al*),’; “*To*

למנצח על ידותון לאסף מזמור (תהלים עז:א) על ההנא
פי מוצ'ע אללאם לאן מענאה לידותון כמא יקול לדויד
לאסף להימן וכקולה פי מקאבלה אמרי לי (בראשית כ:יג)
מכאן עלי אל פרעה ללחם (בראשית מא:גה) אי על הלחם

⁹⁶⁰ Similarly, for Asaph. Compare this to Se‘adyah (*Psalms, Introduction*, 28).

Pharaoh for (‘ēl) bread” (Gen. 41:55) in place of
‘about the bread (‘al lāhem).’

In this text the meaning of the particle *‘al (on)* is understood as if were equivalent to the L (*Lāmēḏ*), meaning “for,” or “by.” Two other examples are cited where the reverse takes place; the L (*Lāmēḏ*) meaning *‘al (on)*. In both these examples meaning is determined by knowledge of the world at large, but in Psalms the context is informed by Ibn Bal‘am’s conception of the book as prophecy. In contrast, Ibn Chiquitilla interprets the particle *‘al (on)* to match his claim that Jeduthun lived after King David’s lifetime.⁹⁶¹

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 79r

It states, “for the conductor (*sung*) by Jeduthun (*la-mənāṣṣeah ‘al*)” (Psalms 62:1) meaning ‘the song of Jeduthun,’ as we discussed many times.

ק' למנצח על ידותון (תהלים סב:א) יעני על שיר ידותון ועלי מא ד'כרנא מרארא.

Neither Ibn Chiquitilla nor Ibn Bal‘am deny the polysemous meaning of particles, so the problem must be about the authorship of the Psalms. The same is true for Abraham Ibn Ezra, whose own analysis of headings in the Book of Psalms rejects his forebearers’ conclusions when they do not match his conception of the book.⁹⁶² He writes that:

“*La-mēnāṣṣeah bi-nēgīnōt*” (Psalms 4:1) In my opinion, the Israelites had many melodies before the time of David. Here he indicates the melody by quoting the first word of the song, which is “*bi-nēgīnōt*,” and similarly: “*‘al nēgīnāt lē-Dawīd*” (61:1); the proof being that [the] word *nēgīnāt* is in

למנצח בנגינות (תהלים ד:א) לפי דעתי שהיו בישראל נגינות ושירות על נעימות רבות לפני דוד. והנה הזכיר הנזעם, ואמר תחלת השיר והוא “בנגינות,” וכן: “על נגינות (ו) לדוד” (תהלים סא:א), והעד שהוא סמוך ופתוח התי"ו:

⁹⁶¹ See Ps. 45 above.

⁹⁶² (Simon 1991, chap. 4).

the construct case and the *taw* is [preceded] by a *pataḥ*.⁹⁶³

In what U. Simon calls a unique understanding of the headings, Ibn Ezra develops a thesis that the Psalms are the remnants of a lost repertoire of ancient Israelite melodies. His gloss of *nəḡînat* in Psalm 4:1 holds that it ends in a *T̄* (*Tāw*) because it is a truncated quote, in which the name of the melody is missing.⁹⁶⁴ According to Simon this is because Ibn Ezra does not apply substitution of letters to anything but adjectives. Though factually true,⁹⁶⁵ Ibn Ezra explains his reasoning clearly in his remarks on Psalm 4:1. He states that:

The meaning (*ta'am*) of *bi-nəḡînat* is that it has two melodies (Se'adyah).⁹⁶⁶ Some say (Ibn Chiquitilla) that it is the name of an instrument called *nəḡînat*. In my opinion, the Israelites had many melodies and songs and the reason (*ta'am*) *bi-nəḡînat* is at the beginning of the song is to indicate the Psalm's melody.

וטעם בנגינות (תהלים ד:א): שיש לו שתי נעימות. ויש אומרים כלי שיר נקרא נגינות. ולפי דעתי, שהווי בישראל נגינות ושירות על נעימות רבות, וטעם בנגינות שהיה תחלת שיר, והנה נכתב עם זה המזמור הניגון.

Ibn Ezra acknowledges the plausibility of the grammatical analysis of *nəḡînat* by his predecessors, but what matters is whether their suggestions match his vision of the book.

Tanḥûm Yerushalmi too attaches polysemous meaning to particles that match his view that some texts date to David and others do not. In Psalm 6:1, he adopts the view that the

⁹⁶³ (Simon 1991, 233, 321).

⁹⁶⁴ (Simon 1991, 234 n. 183).

⁹⁶⁵ On the equivalent of *ta'am* for *ma'nâ* in Ibn Ezra (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 61 nn. 122; 241–45). Cf. *Šôrāšîm*, which combines Ibn Ezra's interpretation with Ibn Janâḥ's semantic solution to the morphology (*Šôrāšîm*, 207, 224).

⁹⁶⁶ (Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 152 n. 1).

particles L (*Lāmeḏ*) and B (*Beṭ*) refer to the *mənāṣṣeah*, who was responsible for learning the melodies of King David. He states that:

Evr.-Arab 1699 I, 2r

למנצח בנגינות (תהלים ו:א) קול לראיס אלאחאן. אי
 אלמתולי עלי ד'לך אלנאצ'ר פיאמרה אלהאכם עלי
 אלמשתגלין ב[הא]⁹⁶⁷ על השמנינית (תהלים ו:א)
 Meaning the one commissioned for that (musical)
 arrangement. The master instructs those who
 practices upon it, upon the *samînûṭ*.

This interpretation of Tanḥûm Yerushalmi, like the previous example, interprets the particle L (*Lāmeḏ*) in accordance with his view of the *mənāṣṣeah*'s role in the production of music. Similarly, the L (*Lāmeḏ*) in Psalm 61 refers to David's melody written for the *mənāṣṣeah*. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab 4554 I, 25r⁹⁶⁸

למנצח על נגינות לדוד (תהלים סא:א) יג'וז אן יכון הד'א
 איצ'א אסם אלה או לחן וקד [...] מעני אנה יקאל באלחאן
 ונגמאת אלה.
 "For the conductors, a melody by David."
 (Psalms 61:1) It could also be either the name of
 an instrument (Ibn Chiquitilla) or a melody (Ibn
 Bal'am), and ... intending that he said it with
 rhythms (Se'adyah)⁹⁶⁹ and the beats of an
 instrument.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁷ Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 184r.

⁹⁶⁸ Also see Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 54r.

⁹⁶⁹ Qafih suggests correcting the text to one melody. See Se'adyah's *tafsîr* to Psalms (Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 152 n. 1). However, this correction seems unnecessary in light of the consistent citation of Se'adyah's opinion, *melodies*. See Ibn Ezra to Ps. 4:1 *ad. loc.*

⁹⁷⁰ The term *alḥân* is amphibolous in Arabic, lending itself to the meaning melody or rhythm. Shiloah claims the meaning of *tanḡîm* in *Kitâb al-'Amânât*; "*tanḡîm* (= intonation), an uncommon word in music theory, as a derivative of *naghma* Rather, they testify to Saadia's acquaintance with a different theoretical tradition; one finds a similar usage in contemporary works on musical theory. For instance, in their Epistle on Music, '*Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ*' writes: "melody (*lahn*) is composed of well-ordered notes (*naghamât*), and notes arises from beat." (Shiloah 2007b, 270, 274, 280 n. 31). Also see (Simon 1991, 17). Cf. (Farmer 1943; Werner and Sonne 1941; Avenary 1968). The debate among Mediaeval writers whether Biblical songs are metrical is summarised by Kugel (Kugel 1981b, 181–200). There is nothing in the body of Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary indicating his view on the

Despite these remarks, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi follows a more flexible line than Se'adyah towards the authorship of Psalms. A. Tsoref records that Tanḥûm Yerushalmi did not believe every Psalm was written by David, nor that every particle L (*Lāmēḏ*) is proof of Davidic authorship.⁹⁷¹ Those Psalms whose thematic content [*ma'nā*] is unavoidably Babylonian are assigned a post-exilic date. Some Psalms are authored by the Levite singers who accompanied the Babylonian exiles and are arranged by the sons of Korah and Asaph. For example, Psalm 90 is dated to the destruction of the First Temple. Tanḥûm Yerushalmi believes that it is only those who are zealous in attaching a literal meaning to the words who argue to the contrary. For example, he interprets the particles 'al (*to*) in his gloss on Psalm 62:1 as polysemous.⁹⁷² He states that:

Evr.-Arab 4554 I, 27r

“For the conductor, for (‘al) Jeduthun” (Psalms 62:1), that is to say, ‘for (*lî*) Jeduthun,’ as it says for Asaph, for Ethan, but (the *Lāmēḏ*) does not mean the words are his (Jeduthun’s) - they were said by David - rather it means that Jeduthun mastered the melody as he would sing the songs and arrange the praises for the Levites to sing as it states in Chronicles, “Under the charge of their father Jeduthun, who, accompanied on the *kinnôr*, prophesied, praising and extolling the Lord” (1 Chron. 25:3). Further proof that this poem [...] and they were called prophets and he said of them, they speak with the Holy Spirit. It says, “All these were

[r27] ... למנצח על ידותון (תהלים סב:א) יריד לידותון
כמא יקול לאספ לאיתן לכן ליס יעני אנה קולה פאנה יקול
לדוד בל יעני אנה ממא כאן ידותון יתולי תלחינה לאנה
כאן יקול אלשירות וירתב אלתסאביח לאן תקולהא
אללויים כמא קיל פי דברי הימ' על ידי אביהם ידותון
בכנור הנבא על הודות והלל [לה'] (דברי הימים א כה:ג)
והדא' דליל איצ'א עלי אן אלשער [...] וסמו נביאים
ויקאל אנהם יתכלמ[ו] ברוח[ו] הקדש. וקד קיל כל אלה
בנים להימן⁹⁷³ [חווה] המלך בדברי האלהים להרים קרן
(דברי הימים א כה:ה) סמי חווה⁹⁷⁴ המלך (דברי הימים
ב לה:טו) והו כאן שאער לה מנשד אקואיל⁹⁷⁵ כמא קיל
כל אלה על ידי כמא קיל כל אלה על ידי אנשים השיר

presence of metre in the Bible. We may deduce from his classification of Psalms as non-prophetic that minimally the subject content of a Bible text classifies its genre. Whether this definition of poetry and song also extends to requiring metre or other qualities depends on finding additional material.

⁹⁷¹ (Tsoref 2016, 1–18).

⁹⁷² Also, Ps. 20 and Ps. 110 (Tsoref 2016, 1–18).

⁹⁷³ Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 21r.

⁹⁷⁴ Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 21r.

⁹⁷⁵ Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 21r.

sons of Heman, the [seer] of the king, (who uttered) prophecies of God for His greater glory.” (1 Chronicles 25:6-7). He is called “*the seer of the king*” and is a poet who composed words as it says, “*All these were under the charge of their father for the singing in the House of the LORD, to the accompaniment of cymbals, harps, and lyres, for the service of the House of God by order of the king. Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman—their total number with their kinsmen, trained singers of the LORD ...*” (1 Chronicles 26:56-7). Therefore, it was clear that the phrase “*seer of the king*” means poet, who arranges the words of his praise *etc.* Also, they explain “*a band of prophets*” (1 Sam. 10:5), as a group of poets and also. “*Is Saul too among the prophets?*” (1 Sam. 10:11).

We have enlarged upon this matter (Holy Spirit) and described the proofs in the introduction of the book. Holy Spirit means that he said them, these specific words with the Holy Spirit and they belong to an early part of this scroll. It is not impossible that Jeduthun is also the name of an instrument or melody, not the name of an individual, “*upon Jeduthun*” (Psalms 62:1).

בית יי במצלותם נבלים וכנורות לעבודת⁹⁷⁶ [v28] בית אלהים על ידי אסף וידותון והימן. ויהי מספרם עם אחיהם מלומדי שיר ליי (דברי הימים א כה:ו-ז) פצח אן ק' חוזה המלך יריד בה שאער ירתבה אלאקואל אלתסביחיה וגירהא ולד'לך שרחו חבל נביאים (שמואל א י:ה) ג'מאעה שערא וכד'לך הגם שאול בנביאים (שמואל א י:יא)

וקד בסטנא הד'א אלמעני וסתופינא דלאילה פי צדק אלכתאב מעני רוח הקודש אלתי יקאל מנהא אן אלקול אלפלאני ברוח הקדוש וקד תקדם מן ד'לך פי הד'א אלמג'לה טרף ולא [ימתנ]ע אן יכון ידותון איצ'א אסם אלה או לחן מא⁹⁷⁷ כאן אסם שכ'ץ לקולה על ידותון⁹⁷⁸ (תהלים סב:א)ץ

In Psalm 39:1, Tanhûm cites Ibn Bal‘am’s opinion on Psalm 39:1 that Jeduthun is Ethan and does not have his own melody. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 4353, 6v

⁹⁷⁶ Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 21r.

⁹⁷⁷ Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 21r.

⁹⁷⁸ Evr.-Arab 3735 I, 21r.

It states, “*For Jeduthun. A psalm by David.*” (Psalms 39:1). He said (Ibn Bal’am) that it states “*For Jeduthun, a Psalm by David.*” Say that the statement is for all (Psalms). However, we find Jeduthun sang alone once, but with David in two places, and with Asaph once. Say, the reason for this is that he (Jeduthun) does not have a pleasant melody like the other (singers). And say, Jeduthun honoured the (priestly) watches (*mišmār*) with the melody of others. And say, the prophecy descended upon David during Jeduthun’s watch and similarly Asaph. Say, that Jeduthun is Ethan in Chronicles: “*So the Levites installed Heman son of Joel and, of his kinsmen, Asaph son of Berechiah; and, of the sons of Merari their kinsmen, Ethan son of Kushaiah.*” (1 Chron. 15:17). Further on, “*Also the singers Heman, Asaph, and Ethan to sound the bronze cymbals*” (1 Chron. 15:19). They protect the ark, “*He left Asaph and his kinsmen there before the Ark of the Covenant of the LORD*” (1 Chron. 16:37) (and) “*With them were Heman and Jeduthun*” (1 Chron. 16:41). Know that Ethan is Jeduthun as he has two names which are mentioned above (*i.e.*, 1 Chron. 15:17).

ק' לידותון מזמור לדוד (תהלים לט:א) קאל אן אלקול
ללג'מיע ומא וגד'נא ידותון יקול וחדה בל מע דויד פי
מוצ'עין ומע אסף פי ואחד קיל אלסבב פי ד'לך לם תכון
לה נגמה טיבה מת'ל גירה וקיל אן ידותון יחתפי
אלמשמר עלי קול גירה וקיל אן אלנבוה חלת עלי דויד
פי נבוה ידו[תון] וכד'לך אסף קיל אן ידותון הוה איתן
לקו' פי דברי הימ' ויעמידהו הלויים את הימן בן יואל ומן
אחיו אסף בן ברכיהו ומן ב[ני] מררי אחיהם איתין בן
קושיהו (דברי הימים א טו:יז) ות'ם קו' והמשוררים
הימן אסף ואיתן במצל[תים נחשת להשמיע] (דברי
הימים א טו:יט) כאנו יחג'בו אל'ארון ות'ם ויעזב שם
לפני ארון ברית יי' לאסף ולאחיו וג' (דברי הימים א
טז:לז) ועמהם הימן וידותון (דברי הימים א טז:מא) ערף
אן איתן הו ידותון להם אסמין והם אל[ד'ין] אלמד'כורין
פוק

Jeduthun’s appears alongside David because he lacks his own mode. He is provided with one either by David or one of the other watches (1 Chron. 25:3). The same is claimed of Heman’s sons who in 1 Chronicles 25:6-7 is accompanying David with music as he prophesises. The link between music and prophecy comes from the description of the musical guilds that accompany the prophet in 1 Sam. 10:11.⁹⁷⁹ Tanḥûm shifts the meaning

⁹⁷⁹ For a further description of the various figures in Psalms by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (Tsoref 2016, 1–18).

of the L (*Lāmeḏ*) to match this description. The first L (*Lāmeḏ*) means “for Jeduthun,” whilst the second L (*Lāmeḏ*) is “by David.” Tanḥûm also postulates that Jeduthun is either the name of an instrument or a melody, with the particle ‘*al* (upon) retaining its usual meaning.⁹⁸⁰

Earlier, Ibn Chiquitilla opined that *nəḡînaṭ* (Psalms 4:1) is a musical instrument. Though abstract in its presentation, his analysis of the syntax surrounding *nəḡînaṭ* is restricted to matching the form to the wider sense of Psalms as a repository of poetry. The word *nəḡînaṭ* appears in Pss. 4:1; 6:1; 54:1; 55:1; 61:1; 69:12; 76:1; 77:7. It also appears in Job 30:9, Is. 38:20, Lam. 3:14, Lam. 5:14, and Hab. 3:19. Of these Ibn Chiquitilla comments on Pss. 6:1; 61:1; 77:7. *Nəḡînôṭ* (Psalms 6:1) appears alongside the *səminîṭ*, which he identifies as the ‘*ūd*.⁹⁸¹ Furthermore, when *nəḡînôṭ* appears in the body of Psalm 77, Ibn Chiquitilla links it to a list of well-known instruments mentioned in Psalm 59. He states that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 98v

It states, “*I will recall my instruments (nəḡînôṭay) וק' אזכרה נגינתי בלילה (תהלים עז:ז) ישיר בה אלי* at night.” (Psalms 77:7). It refers to him playing מא כאן יסתעמלה מן אלאה אלג'ניא פי עבאדה רבה musical instruments ['*alât al-ḡunâ* ']⁹⁸² in worship ותסביחה כמה קאל עורה כבודי עורה הנבל וכנור and praise of his Master as it states, “*Awake, my (תהלים נז:ט)* soul, Awake, O bagpipe (*neḥēl*) and lute (*kinnôr*)” (Psalms 57:9).

Finally, in Psalm 61:1 there is nothing preventing Ibn Chiquitilla from analysing the text elliptically. However, his definition of *nəḡînaṭ* as the proper name of an instrument leads him to reject this syntactic analysis.⁹⁸³ He states:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 79r

⁹⁸⁰ Only found in Abraham Ibn Ezra (Neubauer 1890, 44).

⁹⁸¹ *Supra*.

⁹⁸² '*alât al-ḡunâ*' a term for an acceptable musical instrument (Shiloah 1978; 1993c; 1993b; 1993a; 2007b; 2007a; Scheindlin 1999a; 1999b).

⁹⁸³ Se'adyah and Ibn Ezra translate it as sing (Ratzaby 1993a, 82; Friedlaender 1878, 169). Hereafter, *Se'adyah, Isaiah and Ibn Ezra, Isaiah*.

It states, “*Upon the instrument (nəġīnaṭ)*” (Psalms 61:1): (vocalised) with a A (*Pattāḥ*) (underneath the N (*Nūn*) presumes the annexed (form), but for the L (*Lāmēḍ*) (of *lā-Dāwīḍ*) following it, as we said for “*were standing on the south side*” (Ez. 10:3) (and) “*behind the curtain*” (Ex. 26:33, Lev. 16:2 and Lev. 16:15).

The apparent annexed form is read as separated despite the paradigmatic feminine noun ending A + Ṭ (*Pattāḥ* + *Tāw*) as it is followed by a L (*Lāmēḍ*).

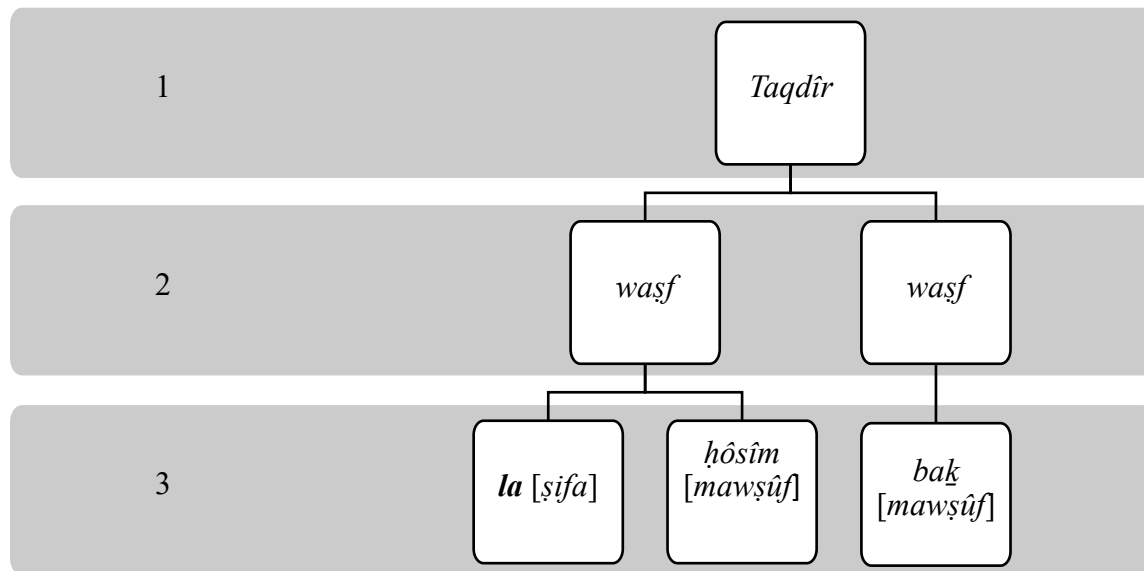
To conclude our analysis of the role played by *taqdîr* as a representation of the syntactic components of a sentence, we shall look at one final example from Ibn Chiquitilla. This example includes two nearly identical phrases, Psalm 2:12 and Psalm 31:20, and precludes *taqdîr* representing anything other than their syntactic arrangement. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 4r

<p>The phrase “<i>all who take refuge in him,</i>” (Psalms 2:12) presumes annexation with the (independent) pronoun. The B (<i>Bet</i>) interposes (between the words) in “<i>take refuge (ḥôsim bāk) in You</i>” (Psalms 31:20), although that is permitted for the word <i>ḥôse</i>’ which is indefinite, it is not permitted for <i>la-ḥôsim</i>, because it is definite as the definite possess itself and is separated from what follows. It (<i>la-ḥôsim</i>) therefore cannot be annexed to it (<i>bāk</i>).</p>	<p>וק' כל חוסי בו (תהלים סא:א) עלי ניה אלאצ'אפה ואן אלצ'מיר ואן כאנת אלבא קד אפצליתהא פי קו' לחוסים בך (תהלים לא:כ) וג'אז ד'לך פי לפט' חוסי אלד'י הו נכרה ולם יג'וז פי לחוסים אלד'י הו מערפה לאן אלמערפה קד אסתבדת בד'אתהא ואנפצלת עמא בעדהא ולם יכון סביל אלי אצ'אפתהא אליה.</p>
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In this example the issue is the *lafẓ: ḥôse*’s (*refuge*) (Psalms 2:12) category in the hierarchical structure of grammar. Ibn Chiquitilla compares *ḥôse* (Psalms 2:12) to *ḥôsim*

(Psalms 31:20). Both mean “those who take refuge in You (*la-ḥôsim bak*),” but only Psalm 2:12 fulfils the syntactic requirements of an *’idâfa*. Psalm 31:20 is comprised of two independent attributes [*sing. wasf*].⁹⁸⁴ Psalm 31:20’s *taqdîr* is presented below.



[Fig. 22]

Ibn Chiquitilla’s syntactic analysis of the above two verses highlights their near indistinguishable sense. Implied is that *taqdîr* recovers no more than the structure of the text. Meaning comes from ‘somewhere else’ since the sentences share the same meaning. But he is not clear where one finds that ‘somewhere else.’

Despite the difficulty of locating the illocutionary knowledge absent from the surface form presented by this final example, the overall impression of Ibn Chiquitilla’s attitude to *taqdîr* is not radically altered. In all these interpretations, Ibn Chiquitilla (and his peers) use *ma’ nâ* to mean the text’s semantic meaning, themes, or the sense of the language chosen. Under these conditions emic knowledge plays an important role in deciding the

⁹⁸⁴ The surface form includes a vocalic shift form /î/ to an /ê/, as expected in the construct form but not the absolute form *ḥôsim*. For other examples of construct participles (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, sec. 9.6b, 155). Also (*Luma* ‘, 360, 12 = *HaRiqmâ*, 375, 23). This morphological shift is irrelevant to Ibn Chiquitilla’s exegetical aim.

Biblical text's *ma'nâ*. In the Psalm headings this is rather clear, as each heading is closely tied to Ibn Chiquitilla's perspective on the book. Other examples of *ma'nâ* (e.g. Fig. 22) are less clear about what emic knowledge is absent for it to warrant either an ellipsis or contextual interpretation suggests. They seem to rely on *balâḡa* to justify their presence. Even so, Ibn Chiquitilla clearly tries to follow Qudâma Ibn Ja'far's advice to only add an ellipsis that makes sense to the listener, even if sometimes his fixation on structure distorts the obvious sense of the Biblical text. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his interpretation of 2 Chron. 3:13, which leads to an unconvincing interpretation of the text that his peers reject. Perhaps, at times he is not engaging in exegesis, but instructing the student on how to parse data and write according to a Hebrew ideal. If we accept this caveat, we can conclude that Ibn Chiquitilla is motivated by pragmatism and largely adheres to Ibn Jinnî's maxim to accept the meaning as received by tradition and concentrate on making a coherent case for its morpho-syntax. In this way he reflects the dual motivations of *taqdîr* in Arabic grammar and rhetorical theory; to recover a coherent analysis of the text's structure and provide an adequate translation of the text's meaning.

The Problem of Incomplete and Inaccurate Data

At the beginning of the previous chapter, we drew on an analogy of the discovery of the platypus to explain the difference between categorising information and describing what is observed. The problem of the platypus highlighted the limited function of categories for the arrangement of descriptive information. Where no pre-existing category existed a new one was invented to account for it. The same problem exists among Iberian mediaeval Hebrew grammarians, who though at the cutting-edge of grammatical studies, fail to anticipate diachronic linguistics and modern comparative Semitics.⁹⁸⁵ They too, like the early 18th century scientist who first saw the platypus, describe the meaning of words

⁹⁸⁵ (de Saussure et al. 1959, 79–102).

through an explanation that matches the logic of the text to its forms.⁹⁸⁶ For example, in his gloss on Psalm 20:9, Ibn Chiquitilla raises the difficulty whether to classify *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* as either having identical second radical and third radical, or as a hollow root. He writes that:

The meaning [*ma'nâ*] of “raise up (*wa-Niṭ'ôḏāḏ*)” (Psalms 20:9) is ‘raised us up’ or ‘supported us.’ It is a weak second radical, though we do not find (the) hollow (root) ‘-W-D (matches) the (verse’s) meaning [*ma'nâ*], first and foremost, one must produce the identical (root) pattern (‘-D-D), for its patterns is clear [*zâhir*] and thus we have said regarding the weak (verbs); if we find its basic form [*aṣl*], we must accept this. And so too (the phrase), “The Lord supports (*mə'ôḏeḏ*) the lowly” (Psalms 147:6).

ומעני ונתעודד (תהלים כ:ט) אעתצ'דנא ותאידנא והו
מצ'אעף מן אלמעטל אלעין אד'א לם נג'ד עוד מעתלא
[31 א] פי אלמעני פאלא'ולי ואלאוג'ב אן יג'על מן
ד'ואת אלמת'לין אד' אלמת'לין ט'אהרין פיה ואנמא
כנא נקול באלתצ'ע'יף לו וג'דנא לה אצל'א נחמלה עליה
וכד'לך מעודד ענוים יי (תהלים קמז:ו).⁹⁸⁷

Ibn Chiquitilla states the *ma'nâ* [meaning] of *wa-Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* is either “raised us up” or “supported us.”⁹⁸⁸ The text describes the relative physical condition of the righteous and the wicked. David is “raised up” (*qamnû*), as if God is placing His hands underneath his armpits and helping him up (*Niṭ'ôḏāḏ*). *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* parallels its antonym, “to fall”; “They collapse and lie fallen (*nāpālû*), but we were raised up and supported (*Niṭ'ôḏāḏ*).” (Psalms 20:9); whilst *Mə'ôḏeḏ*’s antonym is “to bring down” from the verse, “The LORD raises up (*mə'ôḏeḏ*) the lowly - and brings the wicked down (*mašpîl*) to the dust.” (Psalms 147:6).⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁶ Kaplan calls this a semantic test, and provides examples from Ḥayyûj, including Ps. 37:7 and Ps. 76:6 (Roger J Kaplan 1992, 366), which are repeated by Ibn Chiquitilla (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 43r, 97r).

⁹⁸⁷ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 5v.

⁹⁸⁸ Following Se'adyah and Menaḥem for Pss. 20:9; 146:9; 147:6. (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 85, 284, *Maḥberet*, 277). Alt. trans. “Reassures” (Dahood 1965, vols 1, 126). Also, Ibn Ezra, Radaq *ad. locum*.

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*

Following this, Ibn Chiquitilla notes a disharmony between form and meaning. His definition of the *ma'na* ought to integrate with the categories of Hebrew grammar, but no meaning unambiguously matches either the hollow root 'W-D or the identical radicals 'D-D. To decide which root it is, Ibn Chiquitilla states that the word's "*patterns must be clear* [*ẓāhir*]." He chooses the identical radicals two and three as the root. His reference to formal categories of grammar suggests a semanticist's view of the relationship between signs and meaning, however before analysing the relationships, he accepts the descriptive meaning of *Niṭ'ôḏād* derived by usage (also found in Rabbinic texts).⁹⁹⁰

The grammatical problem addressed by him stems from contemporary division of the Hebrew verbal system. This was already discussed by Ḥayyūj in *al-Lîn* who writes that:

The third radical of these verbs, which have a weak second radical, can be reduplicated and the second radical (continues to be) a weak waw. At times, this changes the meanings. Thus, from קם and הקים was said יקום לאויב (Micah 2:8), waw is the second radical of the verb, since it is יפעל מתקוממה (Job 20:27) is מתקוממה (Psalms 17:7) is מתקוממה.

Regarding יסובב על חומותיה (Psalms 55:11) it does not belong to יפועל, but rather is from וסבב בית אל (1 Sam 7:16), it is not יפעל, the first bet is the second radical of the verb. Similarly, we have ויתפועל (1 Sam 21:14), which is from ויתפועל (Psalms 75:5) and הולל is a ... פועלים. The first lamed in these is the second radical of the verb.⁹⁹¹

וקד תצאעף לאמאת הד'ה אלאפעאל אללינה אלעין
תכון אלעינאת פיהא נאנאת לינה ורבמה כאן ד'לך
לאכ'תלאף אלמאעני פקיל מן קם הקים לאויב יקום
אלואו עין אלפעל לאנה יפעל מתקוממה לו (אויב
כ:כו) מתפעלה מתקוממה (תהלים יז:ז) מתפעלים
ואמא יסובב על חומותיה (תהלים נה:יא) פלים מן
הד'ה לאנה יפועל מן וסבב בית אל (שמואל א ז:טז)
לא יפעל אלבא אלואלי עין אלפעל וכד'לך ויתפועל
(שמואל א כא:יד) ויתפועל מן אמרתי להוללים אל
תהולו הוללים (תהלים עה:ה) פועלים אללאם אלואל
פי הד'ה עין אלפעל⁹⁹²

⁹⁹⁰ Both meanings are found in *Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael* 14:10 and *Mekhilta of Simon Bar Yôhai* 14:10. On parallelism in mediaeval and modern exegesis (Perez 2001, 125–39; Watson 1984, chap. 6).

⁹⁹¹ *Trans.* modified from (J. Martínez Delgado 2014a, 337). Ibn Chiquitilla also thinks *Hôlālîm* has an identical second and third radical. See Ps. 5:7, *supra*.

⁹⁹² (*Al-Lîn*, 117–118).

According to the above remarks, verbs with a weak second radical sometimes duplicate their third radical. In such cases they blend the ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ (*i.e.*, causative) meanings of the *Qal* and *Hiṭpō‘il* forms as in *yāqômem* (*arise against*) in Micah 2:8. Ḥayyûj arranges the verbal stem system in such a way that what is now called the *Hiṭpō‘el* verbal stem (*i.e.*, *Niṭ‘ôḏāḏ*) is subsumed within the *hiṭpō‘el* stem.⁹⁹³

Light Form	Heavy Form	Others
פָּעַל	פָּעַל (פָּעַל)	נָפַעַל
פָּעַל	הִפְעִיל (הִפְעַל)	הִתְפַּעַל
פָּעַל	פּוֹעַל (הִתְפּוֹעַל)	

Ibn Janāḥ forges a more sophisticated schema of the Hebrew verbal stems in *al-Mustalḥaq*, detailing if the form is ‘light,’ ‘heavy,’ or if it is a ‘heavy’ passive form. His template for perfect forms matches that found in Ibn Barûn’s schema, but it too does not include a separate *Hiṭpō‘el* stem.⁹⁹⁴ Presented below is Ibn Barûn schema of Hebrew verbs.

Light Form	Compound Form	Not Included
פָּעַל	הִפְעִיל	הִתְפּוֹעַל
פָּעַל	פָּעַל	
פָּעַל	נָפַעַל	
	הִתְפַּעַל	
	פּוֹעַל	

⁹⁹³ (J. Martínez Delgado 2014a, 337).

⁹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

In either schema what is immediately apparent is a lacuna in the categories that make up the verbal stem system. *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* has no stem which satisfactorily matches its form and meaning together. Furthermore, no distinction is made between *Hitpa'el* and *Nip'al* verbs whose meaning is simplistically labelled as passive [Arabic 'infi'âl].⁹⁹⁵ In *al-Mustalḥaq*, Ibn Janâḥ rejects Ḥayyûj's opinion that *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* is hollow. Ibn Janâḥ writes that:⁹⁹⁶

['-D-D] He [Ḥayyûj] does not mention it. Where necessary, the heavy form is specifically used, יתום ואלמנה יעודד עניי ואלאפתעאל מנה (Psalms 146:9), ואלמנה יעודד עניי ואלאפתעאל מנה (Psalms 147:6). Its *Hitpa'el* is ואלמנה יעודד עניי ואלאפתעאל מנה (Psalms 20:9).

He further places “*Niṭ'ôḏāḏ*” under the geminate root⁹⁹⁸ '-D-D in his longer work ' *Uṣûl*. He states that:

עדד יתום ואלמנה יעודד (תהלים קמו:ט). מעודד עניי (Psalms 146:9), מו' (Psalms 147:6), *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* (Psalms 20:9). I mentioned it in *al-Mustalḥaq*. It was mentioned in *al-Lîn*, even though it is geminate. (If it is found as a hollow verb [but with gemination of the third radical, notwithstanding the analogy, we should not be inclined to think that the root

⁹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹⁶ The word does not appear in an anonymous book of Hebrew words in Judaeo-Arabic from the 10th century (Martínez Delgado 2014, 325–59).

⁹⁹⁷ (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, Ar. 218, Eng. 355).

⁹⁹⁸ The term geminate means the generation of the third radical from the second and is consistent with Delgado's translation. Alternatively, it means the repetition of two identical radicals, numbers two and three (Roger J Kaplan 1992, 349–50).

of the geminate verbs is the hollow (root)) without proof of derivation, because it is obligatory on one who places it (‘-D-D) among the geminates to be clear [*ẓâhir*] about its pattern. The excuse of the one who places it (‘-D-D) among the hollow (roots), and claimed that it geminates the L (*Lāmēḏ*) is unclear [*ḡayr ẓâhir*], as we have not found gemination of the root in the Bible. This is our opinion of the matter of the comparison).

אלי אלמעטלה אלעין⁹⁹⁹ אלא בדליל מן אלשתקאק לאן חג'ה מן ג'עלה מן ד'ואת אלמת'לין ט'אהרה פיה בט'הור מת'לה. וחג'ה מן ג'עלה מעתל אלעין וזעם אנה מתצ'אעף אללאם גיר ט'אהרה אד' לם נג'דה פי אלכתאב גיר מתצ'אעף אצלא. והד' מד'הבנא פימה ג'אנסה¹⁰⁰⁰:

This is identical to what Ibn Chiquitilla says in his gloss on Psalm 20:9; *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ*'s form must be satisfactorily matched with its meaning.¹⁰⁰¹ Ibn Janāḥ's search for *ẓâhir* [clear] proof is stumped by the same deficiency as those he criticises as *ḡayr ẓâhir* [unclear] (i.e., Ḥayyûj). The form *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* has a reflexive meaning, but the only available categories to Ibn Janāḥ are heavy and passive.¹⁰⁰² He chooses duplication.

The debate over whether to identify verbs with a both a W (*Wāw*) and repeating radical as having either identical second and third radicals or hollow is repeated in Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss on "You have been angry; restore (*ṭṣôBeB*) us!" (Psalms 60:3). This verb, *ṭṣôBeB* (restore)¹⁰⁰³ is among examples cited by Ḥayyûj in *al-Lîn*. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

⁹⁹⁹ Neuberger tried to reconstruct the Arabic according to the Hebrew. "The words in brackets are supplied from the Heb. trans." (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Neubauer 1888, n. 11).

¹⁰⁰⁰ (*Uṣūl*, = 505, 6-16 = *HaṢôrāšim*, 192).

¹⁰⁰¹ The clarificatory note updates the schemata of the 10th-11th century with a contemporary verbal schema by calling it a *Hiṭpô'el*. Obadiah the Spaniard's Hebrew translation of *al-Mustalḥaq* modifies the translation to reflect later developments in the classification of the Hebrew perfect forms. *Niṭ'ôḏāḏ* is "from the form *miṭpô'el*." (Téné and Maman 2016, 195). BDB derives it from *Hiṭpô'el*.

¹⁰⁰² Radaq in *Ṣôrāšim*, lists it as a having identical second and third radicals, but notes the alternative hollow meaning. He also adds that his father compared it to the Arabic cognate, "to help, support," which may be influenced by Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion (*Ṣôrāšim*, 252). Also see, Ibn Danān (Ibn Danan and Jiménez Sánchez 2004, 300).

¹⁰⁰³ (*Al-Lîn*, 366-7).

[73 א] ואנפת תשובב לנו (תהלים ס:ג) יחתמל אן יכון
 (Psalms 60:3) could mean ‘restore us following
 Your anger.’¹⁰⁰⁴ פי מעני תעוד עלינא בעד אנפתך¹⁰⁰⁵

Later in this gloss, he supplies two examples of the form *t9ŠôBeB*, which match examples of both hollow verbs and identical second and third radical. He states that:

Therefore, according to the first explanation it is derived from (the verse) “*They act stubborn* (*ŠôBeB*)” (Is. 57:17) (Š-W-B), whilst according to the second (explanation it is derived) from (the verse), “*The flame* (*ŠôBîB*) *of his fire*” (Job 18:5) (Š-B-B). Both explanations (of the root) could also (apply) to the phrase, “*I will turn you around/burn* (*ŠôBaBîkâ*) *and drive you out*” (Ez. 39:2). According to the first (explanation) the verse’s order is ‘*restore us, You were angry, You abandoned us, You broke us up into pieces.*’ Whilst according to the second explanation it remains the same.

פיכון עלי אלוג'ה אלאול משתקא מן וילך שובב (ישעיהו נז:יז) ועלי אלוג'ה אלת'אני מן שביב אשו (איוב יח:ה) וכלי אלוג'הין יחתמל איצ'א פי ק' ושובבתיך ושאשאתיך (יחזקאל לט:ב) ועלי אלוג'ה אלאול תכון רתבה אלפסוק תשובב לנו אנפת זנחתנו פרצתנו ואמא עלי אלוג'ה אלת'אני פבחסבה.¹⁰⁰⁵

Ibn Chiquitilla’s explanation of “*restore*” (*t9ŠôBeB*)” (Psalms 60:3) draws an analogy between it and two other verses; it is analogous to either the hollow root Š-W-B as in *ŠôBeB* (Is. 57:17) or the identical radicals two and three Š-B-B, *ŠôBîB* (Job 18:5). Furthermore, to complicate the matter, both the hollow and identical radicals two and three match the form and meaning of *ŠôBaBîkâ* (Ez. 39:2). The problem is a repetition of the limitations of categorisation; mediaeval grammatical theory lacks a suitably unequivocal category that

¹⁰⁰⁴ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 73r.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 73r.

matches these forms with their meaning. Despite the interest it has to a history of grammar, the fact that there was no satisfactory category to explain the forms just created confusion, but did not actually influence the meaning of the word.¹⁰⁰⁶

In the next example, descriptive analysis and post-Biblical Hebrew are used to circumvent the limits of categorisation. The example chosen is “arrayed (*Šātû*)” in Psalm 3:7 and “lead” *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 49:15, Psalm 73:9). The difficult form *Šātû* is explained by modern Biblical Hebrew scholars as the internal *Qal* passive, revocalised as *ŠiTTû*.¹⁰⁰⁷ This perspective, unknown to the Massoretes and Mediaeval grammarians alike, forced them to explain the text using descriptive interpretation.

Commencing with Se‘adyah, he translates *Šātû* (Psalms 3:7) and *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 49:15 and Psalm 73:9) identically. He uses *Ja ‘alû* [they put] (Psalms 3:7), *Ja ‘alta* [you put] (Psalms 49:15) and *Ja ‘alû* [they put] (Psalms 73:9) for each occurrence of the word and root.¹⁰⁰⁸ However, where the meaning is figurative his translation is exegetical: *asâsâh* [foundations] for *ŠātôT* (Psalms 11:3),¹⁰⁰⁹ *Saw’ah* [genitals] for *ŠeT* (Is. 20:4)¹⁰¹⁰ and the passive form *hîya* “garbed” for *ŠîT* (Prov. 7:10).¹⁰¹¹ For him, translating is about conveying the intent of the text, without forcing artificial harmonisation of form and meaning upon it.¹⁰¹²

¹⁰⁰⁶ Consider the above discussion of “smash (*təRo‘em*)” (Ps. 2:9), which compares it to the Aramaic form *məRa‘Rā* (Dan. 2:40), although only for a morphological purpose and to identify the root.

¹⁰⁰⁷ (Dahood 1965, vols 1, 19; Perez 2001, 125–39).

¹⁰⁰⁸ (Se‘adyah, *Psalms*, 58, 135, and 175). His conclusions are not dissimilar to Qara’ites Jepheth b. Eli and Al-Fāsi who translate Ps. 3:7 as *ja ‘ala* [he put] (Bargès J. J. L. 1861, 4; Al-Fāsi and Skoss 1936, 711).

¹⁰⁰⁹ (Se‘adyah, *Psalms*, 69).

¹⁰¹⁰ The image of men and women marching naked into captivity (Se‘adyah, *Isaiah*, 41), as does the Anonymous Commentary on the Book of Chronicles Attributed to a Student of Se‘adyah, מקום השת (genitals) (Kirchheim 1966, 34). He derives this meaning from the parallel “shame (*‘erwat*) of Egypt.” i.e., genitals. So too Ibn Bal‘am *ad. loc.* Menaḥem (*Maḥberet*, 370) and Rashi on Is. 20:4. The author of the commentary on 1 Chron. 19:4, attributed to Rashi, reaches the same conclusion from the context. On the problem of attribution to Rashi (Viezel 2010, 8–9). R. Ḥananel (b. Qayrawān first half 11th century) offers this meaning: “*Its meaning: place of urination, and the buttock; place of faeces.*” (TB *Megilah* 25b.). He too, like Ibn Chiquitilla distinguishes between the literal meaning, “to put” (Is. 20:4) and the related meanings: “*buttocks*” 2 Sam. 10:4, Prov. 7:10, “*foundation*” in Ps. 11:4 and “*traps, nets*,” (Ps. 3:7).

¹⁰¹¹ The image is of a harlot’s clothing, which she uses to ensnare her customers. Se‘adyah captures this passive meaning in his *tafsîr*; פאד'ה באראה תלקאה פי היאה זאניה סאלבה אלקלוב [Behold, a woman approaches him garbed as a harlot, ensnaring the heart.] (Qafih 1975, 68). This explanation was already found in TB *Shabbath* 53b-54a, which translates Prov. 7:10 as exposing one’s genitals.

¹⁰¹² Notwithstanding Se‘adyah’s incomplete knowledge of the trilateral root system.

Although, Psalm 3:7 and Psalm 49:15 do not appear in *al-Lîn*, Ḥayyûj's includes Psalm 73:28 and Is. 22:7 under the root Š-Y-T. Ḥayyûj proposes a solution to the disharmony between form and meaning for *ŠāTî* and *ŠaTTû*, but his interpretation of the meaning is the same as Se'adyah's. He writes that:

שֵׁת ... שְׁתִּי (תהלים עג:כח) באלאדגאם וקד סקט עין
אלפעל מן שְׁתִּי ביי אלהים מְחִסִּי (תהלים עג:כח), ...
שֵׁתוּ הַשְׁעָרָה (ישעיהו כב:ז)¹⁰¹³
ŠāTî: *ŠaTî* (Psalms 73:28), with the elision [of the
Tāw into the first radical] and the dropping of the
second radical of *ŠaTî* (Psalms 73:28), ... *ŠāTî* (Is.
22:7)

According this explanation, the accent on *ŠaTî* (Psalms 73:28) and *ŠāTî* (Is. 22:7) is oxytone, over the T (*Tāw*) indicating a quiescent letter between it and what preceded it. Ḥayyûj identifies this as indicative of an elided W (*Wāw*).¹⁰¹⁴ He adds nothing further on this example either in *al-Lîn* or *al-Nutaf*, but a similar problem is discussed under the root Š-W-M. He states that:

Regarding “*wayyîŠēM*” (Gen. 50:26), it is *beyond*
analogy. Say it is analogous to “*wayyûŠāM*” (Ge.
24:33). The paragogical quiescent Y (*Yôḏ*)
replaces the paragogical quiescent W (*Wāw*) of
wayyûŠāM. It is a passive verb, as the E (*Segôl*)
vocalises the Š (*Šîn*) like a A (*Pattāh*).
ואמא ויִישָׁם בארון (בראשית נ:כו) פשאד כ'ארג' ען
אלקיאס וקיל פיה אנה מת'ל ויִישָׁם לְפָנָיו (בראשית
כד:לג) אליא אלסאכנה אלמזידה פיה מבדלה מן
אלואו אלסאכנה אלמזידה פי ויִישָׁם לְפָנָיו והו פעל
לם יסם פאעלה ואן אלסגול אלמחרך בה אלשין מת'ל
פתח.¹⁰¹⁵

Ḥayyûj treats both “*wayyîŠēM*” (Gen. 50:26) and “*wayyûŠāM*” (Gen. 24:33) as “*beyond analogy*” [Ar. *karûj min al-qiyâs*]. They are *Hôp'al* weak medial third radical masculine singular imperfect forms with a paragogical Y (*Yôḏ*). So far as they follow any analogy it

¹⁰¹³ (*Al-Lîn*, 181-182).

¹⁰¹⁴ (Eldar 1990, 173).

¹⁰¹⁵ (Sivan and Wated 2011, 180-81).

is that there is a latent quiescent after the imperfect preformatives and the initial radical Y (*Yôḏ*) switches to a W (*Wâw*) in the *Hôṭ* *al*.¹⁰¹⁶

Ibn Janâḥ rejects this explanation in favour of metathesis “*wayyîṢēM*” (Gen. 50:26) and “*wayyûṢāM*” (Ge. 24:33) from the root Y-Ṣ-M. The paragogical Y (*Yôḏ*) switches places with the medial radical Ṣ. He states this view *al-Mustalḥaq*:

In this article he denies that וַיִּשָּׂם בְּאֲרוֹן (Genesis 50:26) is analogous to וַיִּשָּׂם לְפָנָיו לֶאֱכֹל (Genesis 24:33) and I have already explained in יסך that in my opinion it is legitimate.

שום אנכר פי הד'א אלכאב אן יכון וישם בארון (בראשית נ:כא) מת'ל וישם לפניו לאכל (בראשית כד:לג) וקד ד'כרת פי באב יסך ג'ואז ד'לך ענדי.¹⁰¹⁷

The reference to Y-S-K includes an analogy between the form *wayyîṢēM* (Gen. 50:26) and *yîṢāK* (Ex. 30:21). He is referring to the following passage:

Identical to this is the heavy passive of the defective second radical with *kasra* /i/ in the place of *ḍamma* /u/ וַיִּשָּׂם בְּאֲרוֹן (Genesis 50:26), although what is expected is וַיִּשָּׂם with a *ḍamma* /u/. If Abū Zakariyā' had taken note of לֹא יִסָּךְ (Exodus 30:32) he would not have ruled out that וַיִּשָּׂם בְּאֲרוֹן (Genesis 50:26) is identical to וַיִּשָּׂם לְפָנָיו לֶאֱכֹל (Genesis 24:33).

פאעלה מעתל אלעין ת'קיל באלכסר מכאן אלצ'ם וישם בארון (בראשית כו) פאן אלוג'ה פיה וישם באלצ'ם ולו אבה אבי זכריא אלי לא ייסך (שמות ל:לב) למא אבעד אן יכון וישם בארון (בראשית נ:כו) מת'ל וישם לפניו (בראשית כד:לג)¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁶ (Roger J Kaplan 1992, 307–8, 320; Sivan and Wated 2011, 176–77, n. 235).

¹⁰¹⁷ (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, Ar. 146 Eng. 310).

¹⁰¹⁸ (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, Ar. 82 Eng. 264).

His position that “wayyišēM” (Gen. 50:26) and “wayyûšāM” (Gen. 24:33) are examples of metathesis includes switching Y (*Yôḏ*) to a W (*Wâw*) as with other *Pē-Yôḏ* stems.¹⁰¹⁹

Whether one accepts Ḥayyûj’s or Ibn Janâḥ’s explanation the issue is about form and not meaning. This carries over to Ibn Janâḥ’s comments on *ŠāTû* (Psalms 3:7) and *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 49:15, 73:9). Here, he searches for a way to harmonise *ŠāTû* (Psalms 3:7) and *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 49:15, 73:9) in *al-Mustalḥaq*. He states that:

לם יד'כרה שתו בשמים פיהם (תהלים עז:ט) כצאן | לשאול שתו, (Psalms 73:9), שתו בשמים פיהם
(Psalms 49:15). What is most obvious about these לשאול שתו (תהלים מט:טו) אלט'אהר מן התין
two words is that they are from among those that אללפט'תין אנהמא לאנדגאם אלסאכן אללין אלד'י הו
have geminates. Perhaps the reduplication that they עין אלפעל פי אשר סביב שתו עלי.¹⁰²⁰
have is from having assimilated the weak quiescent
that is the second radical in: אָשֶׁר סָבִיב שְׁתוּ עָלָי: (Psalms 3:7).

Ibn Janâḥ grapples with the contradictory features of the different morphological forms of Psalm 3:7, 49:15, and 73:9 and their overlapping meanings.¹⁰²¹ He confirms Psalm 3:7 is a hollow root, but is less sure about the root of Psalm 49:15 and Psalm 73:9. His proof that their root is S-T-T is the gemination of the radical T (*Tāw*) *ŠaTTû* and the vocalisation of the T (*Tāw*) with a A (*Pattāḥ*). This is opposed to the non-gemination of the T (*Tāw*) and its vocalisation with a *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) in Psalm 3:7. However, Ibn Janâḥ is not certain as the

¹⁰¹⁹ Another example of this is found here:

teŠəBû (Jer. 42:10)

אם ישוב תשבו (ירמיהו מב:י) והו מקלוב מן ישב
(*‘Uṣûl* 707, 33= *HaRiqmāh* 503). For further examples, see (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Neubauer 1888, 710; Abū al-Walīd Merwan Ibn Janāḥ and Ibn Tibbon 1896, 503; Derenbourg and Ibn Janāḥ 1886, 98, 3–4; Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ, Tibbon, and Wilensky 1964, 117; Ibn Djanah and Derenbourg 1880, 369).

¹⁰²⁰ (*al-Mustalḥaq*, Ar. 244, Eng. 267-368).

¹⁰²¹ Arabic *al-Sâkin al-Layyin* [quiescent letters], (Hen 2015, 17).

morphological forms do not match their meaning; *ŠāTû* “set down” (Psalm 3:7), *ŠaTTû* “gather” or “flow” (Psalm 49:15), and *ŠaTTû* “set down” or “flow” (Psalm 73:9).¹⁰²²

The crux of the matter is returned to by Ibn Janâḥ in *’Uṣûl*, where he lists both Š-Y-T/ Š-T-T and tries to align their descriptive/figurative meanings with their morphological forms. He states that:

The word is used for warfare, “*The horsemen: They stormed (ŠāTû) at Judah’s gateway*” (Is. 22:7), (and) “*Arrayed (ŠāTû) against me*” (Psalms 3:7), as it states also about warfare, “*And they advanced (ŠîMû) against the city.*” (1 Kings 20:12). Also derived from this word is, “*Her nets (šātōtēhā) shall be crushed*” (Is. 19:10), (and), “*When the traps (Šātôt) are destroyed, what can the righteous man do?*” (Psalms 11:3). Meaning they set traps for snakes and traps for the innocent. The proof of the meaning is the phrase “*and their traps (Šātôtēhā)*” (Is. 19:10). Therefore, they are (fish) nets laid down at night to catch fish as it says, “*And all who make dams shall be despondent*” (Is. 19:10)

וקד אסתעמלת הד'ה אללגה פי אלחרב קיל והפרשי
שות שתו השערה (ישעיהו כב:ז). אשר סביב שתו
לה [עלי] (תהלים ג:ז) כמא קיל פי אלחרב איצ'א שימו
וישימו על העיר (מלכים א כ:יא). וממא אשתק איצ'א
מן הד'ה אללגה קולהם והיו שתותיה מדוכאים
(ישעיהו יט:י). כי השתות יהרסון (תהלים יא:ג) יריד
מא ינצב ללחיתאן מן אלמצאדיר ואלאבריא מן
אלמעאתר. ואלדליל עלי אן אלמרעד בקולה והיו
שתותיה (ישעיהו יט:י) אנמא הו אלמגאלק אלתי כאנו
יצנעונהא פי אלליל לציד אלסמך מת'ל קולה כל עושי
שכר אגמי נפש (ישעיהו יט:י).¹⁰²³

According to Ibn Janâḥ, the forms *ŠāTTû* (Is. 22:7) and *ŠāTû* (Psalms 3:7) share a descriptive theme, war. He uses this shared theme as the basis for their meaning, and connects them to the unrelated root, “*advanced (ŠîMû)*,” in 1 Kings 20:12.¹⁰²⁴ He then cites other examples that are derived [*’istiḡâq*] from this descriptive usage - laying fish nets and

¹⁰²² The root of *Šātôt* is disputed, Ibn Chiquitilla thinks it is hollow, so he compares it to Is. 19:10. Others thinks the second and third radicals are identical, Š-T-T. Also see a discussion of it by Ibn Bal’ am to Isaiah 19:10, where he identifies Ps. 11:4,7 and Ps. 3:9 as hollow (*Ibn Bal’ am, Isaiah*, 104 n. 2). *Daat Mikra*, ad. loc. suggests a third root, Š-T-H.

¹⁰²³ (*’Uṣûl*, 712, 29 - 713, 3 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 505-506).

¹⁰²⁴ The term used is *’isti’ amalat hādahi al-luḡa* [the word used], indicating customary or habitual usage.

traps. This problem is returned to again in *'Uṣûl*, but with the introduction of *isti 'âra* [name transfer] and an appeal to Rabbinic tradition.¹⁰²⁵

Š-T-T : *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 73:9), *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 49:15). I discussed them in *al-Mustalḥaq*. There is no contradiction in my opinion, if I say the two are derived and borrowed from the words of the *Mishnah* “What then is ‘mixed blood’? It is that of a crucified person whose blood is streaming forth (*ŠôTeT*)” (*Mishnah 'Ohaloth* 3:5), meaning ‘flowing.’

Therefore, the meaning of *ŠaTTu* (Psalms 73:9) following this is ‘they release their tongues,’ and the word ‘flowing’ was borrowed for this meaning here (Psalms 73:9), just as it was borrowed there (*Mishnah 'Ohaloth* 3:5) for that meaning. [Also] (the meaning ‘flowing’ is borrowed) in another instance and for another word, and their verses are, “Stop preaching (*taTTiP̄*)! They preach (*yaTTiP̄û*).” (*Micah* 2:6), (and) “proclaim (*wə-haTTeP̄*)” (*Ez.* 21:2), which means the speech and is derived and borrowed from the word *hiTTiP̄û* (*Amos* 9:13), which means ‘flow.’

The meaning *ŠaTTu* (Psalms 49:15) is ‘were flowing.’ And ‘were flowing’ is derived from their statement – ‘flow of water’ meaning flow drop by drop. It too is also borrowed in Hebrew from the meaning “whose blood is streaming forth

שתת: שתו בשמים פיהם (תהלים עז:ט) כצאן לשאול שתו (תהלים מט:טו). קד'כרנאהמא פי כתאב אלמשתלחק. וליס במסתנכר ענדי אן אקול פיהמא אנהמא משתקאן ומשתעארן מן קול אלמשנה אי זה הוא דם תבוסה צלוב שדמו שותת (משנה אהלות ג:ה) אי סאיל.

פמעני שתו בשמים פיהם (תהלים עז:ט) עלי הד'א אטלקוא אלסנתהם פאסתעיר לפט' אלסילאן להד'א אלמעני הנא כמא אסתעיר ד'לך להד'א אלמעני [איצ'א] פי גיר הד'א אלמוצ'ע ומן גיר הד'א אללפט' וד'לך קולהם אל תטיפו יטיפון (מיכה ב:ו) והטף אל דרום (יחזקאל כא:ב) אלד'י יראד בה אלנטק והו משתק ותסתעאר מן לפט' והטיפו ההרים עסיס (עמוס ט:יג) אלד'י מענאה אלסילאן.

ומעני כצאן לשאול שתו (תהלים מט:טו) אנמא הו תסארבו. ותסארבו משתק מן קולהם סרב אלמא אי קטר. והו איצ'א מסתעאר פי אלעבראני מן מעני שדמו שותת (משנה אהלות ג:ה). ולנא פיהמא מד'הב אכ'ר איצ'א פי אלמשתלחק.¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²⁵ See discussion of *'isti 'âra*, *supra*.

¹⁰²⁶ (*'Uṣûl*, 752, 15-26 = *HaŠōrāšim*, 537).

(*ŠôTeT*)” (*Mishnah ’Ohaloth 3:5*). We have another theory in *al-Mustalḥaq*.

Ibn Janāḥ adjusts his technical vocabulary from what he said in *al-Mustalḥaq*, as he explains the image of the words according to the logical sense of the sentence. *ŠaTTu* (Psalms 49:15) ‘a flow,’ and *ŠaTTu* (Psalms 73:9) ‘release their tongues,’ are compared to the descriptive-figurative image of the root *T-T-P*, ‘a flow of words.’¹⁰²⁷ He adds that this descriptive-figurative image, “flow,” is also found in *Mishnah ’Ohaloth 3:5*, *ŠôTeT* (*stream of blood*). This conclusion separates the descriptive-figurative image of Psalm 49:15 and Psalm 73:9 from the descriptive-literal meaning of laying traps, nets *etc.* associated with Is. 19:10. However, it must concede a passive meaning to *ŠaTTû* despite its active form to conform to the image of the sheep passively being led to their death.

Ibn Janāḥ’s appeal to Rabbinic Hebrew as a solution is not unique. The Anonymous Psalm Commentary records Ibn Naḡrîla’s discussion of the figurative intent and semantic composition of *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 73:9). It states that:

The Naḡîd, may his memory be blessed, stated that אלגיד ז"ל וקול שתו בשמים פיהם (תהלים עג:ט) “they set their (*ŠaTTû*) mouths against heaven” יעני תכלמוא בתעא[טם] וקד יכון אנהם טאכ'וא (Psalms 73:9) means ‘they spoke haughtily.’ It is אלאג'לא וקאל פי נחוה יכון שתו בשמים מת'ל דלו עיני (ישעיהו לח:יד) כצאן לשאול שתו (תהלים מט:טו) מת'ל דלו מאנוש נעו (איוב כח:ד) קאל וג'איז (the Naḡîd,) said of the grammar *ŠaTTû* is like אן יכון אצלה שתת ויכון תפריקא והו אלתשתית שתו מת'ל קרעו ואל דמו (תהלים לה:טו) ועלי מא יקול אלאואיל דמו שותת (משנה אהלות ג:ה).¹⁰²⁸ *DaLLû* (Is. 38:14), *ŠaTTû* (Ps 49:15) (and) *DaLLû* (Job 28:4). He states: it is possible that its root is Š-T-T meaning ‘scatter’ and is *TaŠTiT* (scatter in Arabic). *ŠaTTû* is like *DaMMû* (Psalms 35:15) as our ancestors’ state “blood is flowing” (*ŠôTeT*) (*Mishnah ’Ohaloth 3:5*).

¹⁰²⁷ He cites an identical analysis of the unambiguous root *T-T-P* as comparative proof.

¹⁰²⁸ (Perez 2002b, 251–52).

Ibn Naḡrîla explains the meaning of Psalm 73:9 as ‘*they spoke haughtily.*’ He classifies the morphology of Psalm 49:3 and Psalm 73:9 as identical radicals two and three; Psalm 73:9 is compared to Is. 38:14: *ŠaTTû- DaLLû*, oxytone, whilst Psalm 49:15 is compared to Job 28:4, *ŠaTTû- DaLLû*, paroxytone.¹⁰²⁹ Only then does he connect the figurative meaning, ‘*flowing*’ with *Mishnah ’Ohaloth* 3:5 and its Arabic cognate, “*scatter [TaŠTîT].*”

This difficulty in harmonising form and meaning on the part of Ḥayyûj, Ibn Naḡrîla, and Ibn Janâḥ is revisited by Ibn Chiquitilla in his gloss on *ŠaTTû* (Psalms 49:15). He too abandons an attempt to match the meaning to the form of *ŠaTTû*, accepting the passive meaning. He writes that:

“*Sheeplike they head (ŠaTTû) for Sheol*” (Psalms 49:15) meaning ‘*to be put,*’ as in punctuated with a *û* [*Dumma*] for the W [*Wāw*] and I [*Kasra*] for the *Ḍ* [*Dād*]. It is from the verse, “*They set their mouths against heaven (ŠaTTû)*” (Ps, 73:9). They place a A [*Fatha*] under the W [*Wāw*] and *Ḍ* [*Dād*]. Therefore, I mean, ‘*Like sheep, their mouths were led to Sheol*’ meaning ‘*were led (HûŠTû).*’ When in their dotage, like a flock of sheep, death was appointed to shepherd them.

וק' כצאן לשאול שתו (תהלים מט:טו) אי ו'צ'עוא
מצ'מום אלווא מכסור אלצ'אד והו פי ק' שתו בשמים
פיהם (תהלים עג:ט) ו'צ'עו מפתוח אלווא ואלצ'אד
פהו אדא' אעני כצאן לשאול שתו פיהם מעני הושתו
פלמא סבההם כאלצאן¹⁰³⁰ ג'על להם אלמות
ראעוא.¹⁰³¹

Ibn Chiquitilla accepts the passive meaning of *ŠaTTû* “*to be put,*” when he draws an analogy with the passive *Hôp'al* stem, *HûŠTû*.¹⁰³² This interpretation follows the logic of the text – sheep are led to slaughter - and shows that Ibn Chiquitilla does not derive meaning

¹⁰²⁹ This is despite differences in the Biblical texts. Both the Leningrad Codex Aleppo Codes are oxytone. However, this variation is recorded by Solomon Norzi (1560-1626), *Minḥaṭ Šai ad. loc.* C.f. (Ginsburg 1913; 1975).

¹⁰³⁰ MSS באלצאן.

¹⁰³¹ Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 55v.

¹⁰³² Also, Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.* Cf. *Radaq* Ps. 49:15, *ad. loc.*

through semantic assignation of meaning to signs.¹⁰³³ The same descriptive analysis is used by him to distinguish between the basic (literal) meaning and figurative meanings in Psalm 3:7, Psalm 11:3, and Is. 19:10. He writes that:

The meaning of the phrase, “*Arrayed against me* (Šāṭû)” is ‘*they lie in wait for me and ambush me.*’ Traps and nets are called (in Hebrew) *šāṭôt*, as it states, “*When the traps are destroyed*” (Psalms 11:3) (and), “*Her traps shall be crushed*” (Is. 19:10). Its basic meaning [ʿašl] is ‘*to put,*’ for it is transferred [ʿintaqala] from its general sense ‘*to put*’ to the specific (sense) ‘*to set down (traps).*’

ומעני קו' שתו עלי (תהלים ג:ז) רצדוני [כ]מנא עלי ותסמי אלמצאיד ואלשבאך שתות כמא קאל כי השתות יהרסון (תהלים יא:ג) והיו שתותיה מדוכאים (ישעיהו יט:י) ואצלהא מן אלוצ'ע פאנתקל מענאהא מן וצ'ע עאם אלי וצ'ע כ'אץ.¹⁰³⁴

In the above passage, Ibn Chiquitilla transfer [ʿintaqala] the meanings of the root S-Y-T from its basic meaning [ʿašl], “*put,*” to *Šāṭôt*, ‘*nets, traps.*’ So too in *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Taʾnîṭ* [Book of Masculine and Feminine Nouns], Ibn Chiquitilla distinguishes between the the basic and transferred meaning. He states:

Š-T: ŠeT: “*And with bared buttocks – to the shame of Egypt*” (Is. 20:4). The basic (meaning) of this lexeme [lafz] is “*to put*” (figuratively) the snare of two buttocks from “*snare (ŠîT)*” (Prov. 7:10), because it is the ensnarement of the harlot (*Ibid.*). Its plural form is feminine *šāṭotêhem* (*their buttocks*) (2 Sam. 10:4). Before the annexed (form) it is *šāṭôt*, “*When the nets (šāṭôt) were destroyed*”

שת וחשופי שת ערות מצרים (ישעיה כ:ד) אצל הד'ה אללפט'ה מן אלוצ'ע גיר הו נצבה אליאתין לאנה שית (משלי ז:י) אלד'י הו נצבה זונה (משלי ז:י) וג'מעה עלי אלת'אנית שתותיהם (שמואל ב י:ד)¹⁰³⁷ והו קבל אלאצ'אפה שתות כי השתות [יהרסון (תהלים יא:ג) א[עני אוצ'אע אלמאסיה ואמא מן כאן בה [...] א פפאחש מכטי.¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³³ Grice derives meaning from the ‘logic of conversation’ (H. P. Grice 1975, 41–58).

¹⁰³⁴ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 5v..

¹⁰³⁷ MSS. adds וקו.

¹⁰³⁸ (J. Martínez Delgado 2008a, 222–23).

(Psalms 11:3). I mean ‘*the placing of nets.*’ As for who ... {this is a mistake}¹⁰³⁵ is terribly wrong.¹⁰³⁶

He adds to the basic meaning, “*put,*” the meanings *šātôt* (this time “*foundations*”), and “*buttocks,*” (2 Sam. 10:4 and Prov. 7:10).¹⁰³⁹ The meanings of 2 Sam. 10:4, Is. 20:4 and Prov. 7:10 are arrived at by combination of contextual exegesis and equivocal analysis of the root stem.

Repetition of Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion in a truncated form is found in the 12th century Anonymous Psalm Commentary on Psalm 73:9. It writes that:

ŠîT: *snare*, as in “*Snare (ŠîT) of a harlot.*” (Prov. 7:10) The basic form of the lexeme is “*to put.*”¹⁰⁴⁰ ושית נצבה מת'ל שית זונה ונצורת לב (משלי ז':י) ואצל אללפט' מן אלוצ'ע והד'א מד'הב אבן ג'קט'¹⁰⁴⁰
This is Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion.

The Anonymous Psalm Commentary also reports the meaning, “*to set*” for *ŠâTTû* (Psalms 73:9). It writes that:

Ibn Chiquitilla: It states, “*They set their mouths against the heaven*” by way of hyperbole [*'igÿâ*]. אבן ג'קטילה וקול שתו ב(שמים פיהם) (תהלים עג:ט) עלי סביל אלאגיא אנהם יחסבון ואמרם¹⁰⁴¹ מת'ל They (erroneously) think their commands are like אקראר אלסמא אלנאפד'ה ואלעצ'ו אלנאטק בהא אנמא the valid decrees of heaven, and (likewise) the speech organ (*i.e.*, tongue) is on it, *i.e.*, the earth.

¹⁰³⁵ גלט פיה “*The scribe’s annotation in the margin is included in the braces.*” (J. Martínez Delgado 2008a, 235, n. 68).

¹⁰³⁶ Compare *al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta’nîl* (J. Martínez Delgado 2008a, 235) = (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916, 66).

¹⁰³⁹ The meaning buttocks, implies a comparison with the Arabic cognate *’asat* [*buttock*],¹⁰³⁹ whose root is ‘-S-T. (Corriente 1997, 13; Dozy 1927, vols 1, 20; Lane 1863, vol. I, 56).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Evr.-Arab 3734 I, 1r.

¹⁰⁴¹ The scribes corrected it from אואמסדם.

There it states, “*And their tongues range over the earth.*”¹⁰⁴² (עג:ט)
 הו ארץ' ד'אך קו' לוישו(נב) תה(לך) בא(רץ) (תהלים)

Here the basic meaning of *ŠaTTû* (*they put*) is given a figurative sense¹⁰⁴³ when the Anonymous Psalm Commentary identifies it as an *'ig̃yâ* [*hyperbole*];¹⁰⁴⁴ the wicked think their commands pierce the heavens and spread across the earth.

In the above examples, Ibn Chiquitilla accepts the logical sense of the Biblical text and gives an analysis of its grammar. Where that analysis is deficient, he describes the text's imagery and matches it as best as he can to the categories of grammar available. Since he is a mediaevalist there are methods of analysis unavailable to him, such as modern diachronic linguistics or revocalising the Masoretic text to include an internal passive *Qal* form.

One method we would not expect from Ibn Chiquitilla is to violate the sacrosanct status of the consonantal text. However, in Psalm 18:37 he argues it would be clearer if a correction was made to the text of Lam. 4:18. He writes that:

<p>The verse, “<i>You have let me stride on freely</i>” (Psalms 18:37) (means) the opposite of the verse, “<i>His strides of strength will be restrained</i>” (Job 18:7). It states in the negative: “<i>When you walk your steps will not be hampered</i>” (Prov. 4:12). This is necessarily the (opposite) meaning to “<i>You have let me stride freely.</i>” It is then surprising that all [texts] read, “<i>Our steps were checked; we</i></p>	<p>וקו' תרחיב צעדי תחתי (תהלים יח:לז) מצ'אד לקו' יצרו צעדי אונו (איוב יח:ז). יקיל באלנפי בלכתך לא יצר צעדך (משלי ד:יב) והו מעני תרחיב צעדי מוג'בא ולקד אסתגרבר קרא'ה אלכאפה צדו צעדינו מלכת ברחובותינו (איכה ד:יח) באלדאל מן דון אלרא מע פשא אללגה אלצ'ייקה פי אלצעדים לא סימא מע וג'וד ברחובותינו אלמצ'אד ללצ'יק מעה. ואסתקאמה אלמעני צ'אקת כ'טאנא ען אלסיר פי רחאבנא אלואסעה פאסתות [22 א] אלמטאבקה מע</p>
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¹⁰⁴² Evr.-Arab 3734 I, 1v. The text ends with a space, possibly indicating the authors own opinion rather than Ibn Chiquitilla's. Finkel writes “*Upon closer examination, however, I found that, if I attempted to extract the citations, I should have had to copy a goodly portion of the commentary, because it is extraordinarily rich in quotations.*” (Finkel 1927a, chap. Introduction).

¹⁰⁴³ Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*

¹⁰⁴⁴ Se'adyah uses this term in his commentary on Job 12:7, (*Se'adyah, Job*, 85). Also, see (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 334, n. 277; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 99, n. 4). On hyperbole, *Supra*.

could not walk in our squares” (Lam. 4:18) with a D (*Dālēḏ*) [*ṣādû*] instead of with a R (*Reš*), (*ṣāRû*, restricting) despite the widespread use of the expression ‘*hampered*’ in connection with ‘*steps* (*ṣa’ādîm*),’ especially when it is simultaneously found with ‘*our wide places*’ (whose root R-Ḥ-B) which is an antonym of restriction (he is referring to the contrast [*mutâbaqa*] in the word-play). It is possible,¹⁰⁴⁵ that the meaning is, ‘*The movement of our steps are restricted in our wide streets,*’ where the contrast [*mutâbaqa*] comes into balance in light of evidence from the examples “*Without breaking stride*” (Prov. 4:12) and “*His iniquitous strides are hobbled*” (Job 18:7). I think this error is only because the readers of the original version of the text mistook the R (*Reš*) for a D (*Dālēḏ*), and was subsequently (copied) thus.

שהאדה אלאמת'לה מן לא יצר צעדך (משלי ד:יב). ויצרו
צעדי אוננו (איוב יח:ז). ומא אט'ן הד'א אלוהם אלא מן
אלנסכ'ה אלאולי אד' אשתבה ראוהא בדאל פג'רי בעד ד'לך
כד'לך.¹⁰⁴⁶

The motivation behind Ibn Chiquitilla’s textual emendation is mutual comprehension. What is clearer is the optimal form of the text. It follows that Ibn Chiquitilla’s emendation of “*Our steps were checked* (*Ṣādû*),” (Lam. 4:18) is built around a perceived obfuscation in the original text: The confusing use of *Ṣādû* “checked” (Ṣ-W-D),¹⁰⁴⁷ and *Ṣa’ad* “steps” (Lam. 4:18) together with the root R-Ḥ-B (wide). He compares this combination to

¹⁰⁴⁵ For the Xth form *’istaqâma* (Joshua Blau 2006, 574).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 21v-22r.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Mediaeval grammarians disagreed over the root of Lam. 4:18 (Perez 1998, 96, n. 56). Lam 4:18 appears twice in Arabic versions of Ḥayyûj’s *Al-Lîn*. Under the root Ṣ-D-H, it appears alongside Zeph. 3:6 (*Al-Lîn*, 278-79), with a different meaning “*hunt, lie in wait*.” Ibn Janâḥ discusses the meaning of Zeph. 3:6, along with Ex. 1:13 and 1 Sam. 24:12 and concludes that it means “*destroy*” (*al-Mustalḥaq*, Ar. 183-184, Eng. 334; *’Uṣûl*, 599, 27-660, 1 = *Ha-Ṣôrâšîm*, 422-423). He does not, however, discuss Lam. 4:18. It does not appear in Ibn Chiquitilla’s translation of *Al-Lîn* (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, Heb., 91 Eng. 106) and in *Al-Lîn* itself, Ḥayyûj discusses Lam. 4:18 under the hollow root Ṣ -W-D (*Al-Lîn*, 95-6; Nutt, Ar. 33, Eng. 38). Others, too, consider it hollow (Rashi Lam. 4:81 *ad. loc.*, *Ṣôrâšîm*, 308, *Miḳlôl*, 100, 1). So too BDB and Halot. For an explanation of the vocalisation, see (*Al-Lîn*, 279, n. 293). The meaning “*hunt, lie in wait*” is found in the Aramaic Translation of Lam. 4:18, *ad. loc.*, *Al-Fâsî* under the root Ṣ-D (*Al-Jâmi’*, Vol. XXI, 500); Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.* and in *Ṣaḥôṭ* (*Ṣaḥôṭ*, 99). Se’adyah, however, translates it as תוהשת “*destruction*,” following the root Ṣ-D-H (*Se’adyah, Lamentation*, 351).

examples of the roots Y-Ṣ-R (*restrict*) in place of Ṣ-W-D in a positive sense in Job 18:7 and a negative sense in Prov. 4:12. The central point of his analysis is that Job 18:7 and Prov. 4:12 share the same sense as Lam. 4:18, but are clearer expressions of constricting movement in wide spaces. He concludes that *ṢāDû* ought to have been written with a R (*Reš*), instead of with a D (*Dāleḏ*), as if it said *Ṣārû*.¹⁰⁴⁸ At the end of his gloss, he suggests the reason was scribal error!¹⁰⁴⁹ However, perhaps aware of the radical nature of his analysis and that there is a viable alternative, he suggests the restrictive meaning of Lam. 4:18 is comprehensible when contrasted with Prov. 4:12 and Job 18:7. The image in Lam. 4:18 is of being hemmed in on all sides by enemies lying in wait.¹⁰⁵⁰

Another example of Ibn Chiquitilla searching for the most coherent sense of the text leads him to reject one textual tradition over another in his gloss on Psalm 57:3. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

It states “*good (gômer)*.” (Psalms 57:3) It means וקיל פי גומר (תהלים נז:ג) אנה יעני אלמסתהרין עלי מן
the enemies are heedless of me, as if it says ‘*they* אלאעדא כאנה קאל קמו והו ענדי בעיד וקד קיל פי גיר הדא
arose.’ In my opinion it is farfetched for it states אלמכאן כי גמל עלי (תהלים יג:ו) פאן תכון הנא אלא
elsewhere, “*he has been good (gāmal) to me*.” מבדלה מן לאם גאז דלך¹⁰⁵¹
(Psalms 13:6). It is possible that the R (*Reš*) is
permitted in place of the L (*Lāmeḏ*) here.

¹⁰⁴⁸ For example, Rashi Job 15:24 and Radaq 1 Chron. 1:7, see (Eldar 1988, n. 33). For a discussion of the switching of letters in an anonymous fragment, see (Eldar 1988, 483–510).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Another example of vocalic emendation is “*Now the Ô (Hôlām) is corrected to a û (Šûrûq), without a doubt since they are both û vowels.*,” for Prov. 25:19, *infra*. Also, written over read text: “*The written text is more accurate than the read text*” to Ps. 24:4, *supra*.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cf. Ibn Bal‘am offers this explanation. The basis for his criticism is that the verse still makes sense without the emendation. The square’s width has no bearing on the ability to hunt down and constrict someone’s movement (Perez 1998, 85, 95–96). Ibn Ezra cites Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion anonymously in *Ṣaḥôṭ*, but also rejects the text emendation on the grounds it is comprehensible without it (*Ṣaḥôṭ*, 99). He cites other examples of textual emendation suggested by the anonymous interlocuter and rejects them for the same reason; *Doḡānīm* (Gen. 10:4) - *Roḡānīm* (1 Chron. 1:7); *Də‘û‘el* (Num. 1:14) - *Rə‘û‘el* (Num. 4:12), *ḥāśak* (Ez. 30:18) - *ḥāśak**. (*Ṣaḥôṭ*, 99, nn. 6:9-79). We now know all these anonymous examples originated with Ibn Chiquitilla. In al-Ḳazarâ, Lam. 4:18 is mentioned alongside Ps. 24:4. (Baneth 1977, 115; ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969, 164). This too is Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion, and is discussed *supra*.

¹⁰⁵¹ Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 74r.

Ibn Chiquitilla proposes that the R (*Reš*) of *gômer* is in place of the L (*Lāmeḏ*) of *gômel*. This suggestion is not a textual emendation, but a reference to different textual tradition. In an earlier debate between Se‘adyah and Mevasser Ha-Levi ben Nissim al-Ma‘rûf b. Ibn ‘Ašba, Se‘adyah’s version of Psalm 57:3 has *gômel*, whereas Mevasser’s text has *gômer*. Se‘adyah claims that the meaning of *gômer* and *gômel* overlap in his *tafsîr* on Proverbs 11:17 and Psalms 57:3,¹⁰⁵² whereas Mevasser adheres to his own text in *Kitâb al-Kašf al-Sahû* [*The Book of Revealing the Errors*].¹⁰⁵³

What we see from these examples is that Ibn Chiquitilla tries to adhere to the sense of the text. It is most acute when existing categories are either insufficient to explain the meaning of the text, or the text’s form would be clearer with a different reading. However, when it comes to figurative language Ibn Chiquitilla abandons this sensitivity to a close reading of the text in favour of the abstract intention of the text and the old-fashioned grammarian’s metaphor. In the following section, we look at the use of *majâz* and other terms to explain the relationship between the proper semantic meaning of a word and its deviations.

Chapter 5

Figurative Language and Parallelisms

In this chapter we look at subcategory of the form-meaning dichotomy, *majâz*. *Majâz* is a “mode of expression” that indicates a permitted deviation either in form or meaning of language.¹⁰⁵⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla uses this term in two ways that relate to the *lafẓ-ma‘nâ*

¹⁰⁵² (*Se‘adyah, Psalms* 144; *Se‘adyah, Proverbs*, 96).

¹⁰⁵³

In the commentary on Proverbs “A kindly man benefits himself;” (Prov. 11:17) it has two explanations, one of which, ‘kindly’ is derived from “to God who is good to me” (Ps. 57:3). The correct version is *gômer*.

(Joseph Blau and Yahalom 2019, 196–97). The book of *al-Kašf al-Sahû* circulated in Iberia and is cited by Ibn Bal‘am, Abraham Ibn Ezra and Moses Ibn Ezra (Joseph Blau and Yahalom 2019, xlii–xliii).

¹⁰⁵⁴ (Almagor 1999, 273, n. 34). Rawidowicz makes this point in his discussion of anthropomorphism in Se‘adyah (Rawidowicz 1943, 254–55).

dichotomy. The first meaning of *majâz*, the older, designates what deviates from the true or paradigmatic form of a word, *lafẓ al-ḥaqîqa*.¹⁰⁵⁵ In this context, *majâz* replaces *taqdîr* and *ḥaqîqa* and is short-hand for *ḥaqîqa ‘alâ al-lafẓ* [*the proper form of the word*].¹⁰⁵⁶ The second meaning of *majâz* is used as a general term for figurative tropes, which contrast with the *ḥaqîqa al-ma ‘nâ* [*proper meaning*].¹⁰⁵⁷ When Ibn Chiquitilla uses this meaning for *majâz* the word’s figurative meaning is explained contextually, *bayâniyyûn* [*explanations*] and, according must relate to the semantic meaning of the *ḥaqîqa*.¹⁰⁵⁸ In this section we examine examples of both types of *majâz* found in Ibn Chiquitilla in which he uses the terms *ḥaqîqa*, *ḥaqq*, *lafẓ* and *ma ‘nâ* alongside it. We shall see how *majâz* describes either a tension between *lafẓ* [form] and *ma ‘nâ* [meaning] or literal [*ḥaqîqa*] and figurative [*majâz*] meanings of words.¹⁰⁵⁹

For example, Ibn Chiquitilla uses the phrase *majâz* to describe a divergence from the usual particle following the verb. In his gloss on Psalm 5:5 he writes that:

Cambridge T-S Ar. 21,23 1.v.a

The phrase “ <i>abide (with) You</i> ” (Psalms 5:5) deviates, with the meaning [<i>mûwajjaz bi-ma ‘nâ</i>] ‘ <i>abide with You</i> ,’ because it is not transitive, as in without a place (<i>i.e.</i> , the dative). And in the majority of instances, it is with the letter B (<i>Beṭ</i>) as in, “ <i>Who may sojourn in your tent</i> ” (Psalms 15:1), (and) “ <i>I have dwelled with you</i> ” (Gen. 21:23). But occasionally it is without the B (<i>Beṭ</i>), “ <i>Inhabitants of my house and maidservants</i> ” (Job 19:15).	וקול יגורדך (תהלים ה:ה) מוגז במעני יגור עמך לאן לם יתעד אי גיר אלמכאן ובראבט אלבא עלי אלאכת'ר מי יגור באהלך (תהלים טו:א). אשר גרתה בה (בראשית כא:כג). ודון אלבא והו קליל גרי ביתי ואמהתי (איוב יט:טו).
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¹⁰⁵⁵ Sometimes referred to as *maṭal* vs. *ḥaqq* (Wansbrough 1970; 2004, 46, n. 52). For earlier and later usage of *majâz* (Almagor 1999). For similar developments among Jewish authors see (Ben-Shammai 2003, 33–50; 1991, 380–83; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 41–42).

¹⁰⁵⁶ In Ps. 15:5 he uses *ḥaqîqa al-lafẓ*, *supra*.

¹⁰⁵⁷ (Wansbrough 1970, 261–62). Also see Ibn Barûn’s citation of Ibn Nağrîla’s opinion (Kokovtsov 1970, 24–25; Wechter 1964, 56–57). Like his Gə’onic predecessors, Ibn Nağrîla uses it to justify departure from the literal sense (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 54).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Heinrichs argues that for the *‘Uṣûliyyûn* it is the *only* sound condition for interpreting *majâz* (Heinrichs 1984b, 114, n. 8).

¹⁰⁵⁹ On the development of this term see (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 299–309).

The phrase *mûwajjaz bi-ma'nâ* [*deviates from the meaning*] describes the syntactic variation between the dative meaning of “*abide with you* (*yaġûrêka*)” and the more frequent dative form, either with or without the particle B (*Beṭ*).¹⁰⁶⁰

In contrast to this, in Psalm 18:25, Ibn Chiquitilla uses the term *ḥaqq* to describe the ‘proper’ morpho-syntax form of the Biblical text - what the text *ought* to have said in order to conform to the paradigmatic form. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 21v

<p>It states “<i>can bend</i> (<i>NiḤaṭâ</i>)” (Psalms 18:35) meaning, ‘<i>They weakened and defeated them</i> (<i>my arms</i>).’ Its proper form [<i>ḥaqq</i>] is <i>NiḤaṭû</i> as (its subject) is ‘<i>the arms</i>.’ (The discrepancy in subject agreement) is similar to, “<i>For the Lord’s purpose is fulfilled against Babylon</i>” (Jer. 51:29) (and) “<i>Our guilt testifies against us</i>” (Is. 59:23).¹⁰⁶¹</p>	<p>וקו' ונחתה (תהלים יח:לה) יעני אשלתהא וקהרתהא וכאן חקה ונחתו לאנה יעני אלזרועות פג'א מת'ל כי קמה על בבל מחשבות יי' (ירמיהו נא:כט). חטאתנו ענתה בנו (ישעיהו נט:יב).</p>
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According to Ibn Chiquitilla, the verb-subject agreement in Hebrew means the sentence *ought* to have been written in the plural the form *NiḤaṭû* (*pl.*),¹⁰⁶² not *NiḤaṭâ*, as the sentence is about the enemies of David defeating him; ‘*They defeated, my arms* (*niḥaṭû bî*

¹⁰⁶⁰ Also, Ibn Ezra, *ad. loc* and in *Yesod Morah* (Joseph Cohen and Simon 2018a, 176). Dahood calls it the dative suffix (Dahood 1965, vol. I, 31).

¹⁰⁶¹ In Jer. 51:29, “*fulfilled*” is a feminine singular verb, but “*purpose*” is plural. In Is. 59:23, “*our guilt*,” is plural, but its verb, “*testifies*,” is a feminine singular.

¹⁰⁶² On disagreement between person and gender in Ibn Chiquitilla, see (Poznański 1912, 46). For Ḥayyûj, see (*Al-Lîn*, 86, n. 8) = (Maman and Ben-Porat 2012, 298–99, n. 687; Kokovtsov and Allony 1916, 14). Ibn Janâḥ lists the root N-Ḥ-T and offers two explanations of the meaning: “*break*” based on the Targûm, or “*descend*” (Gen. 28:1 and Dan. 5:20). Similarly, he translates *niḥaṭû* (Ps. 38:3) as “*descend*.” Ibn Bal’am, see (Poznański 1924b, 28), Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (Shai 1991, 66), Abraham Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*, (*Šôrāšîm*, 214), include it under Ḥ-T-T, although *Šôrāšîm*, also lists it as N-Ḥ-T (*Šôrāšîm*, 431). Radaq follows the latter and Ibn Janâḥ’s opinion. Ibn Bal’am and Tanḥûm Yerushalmi also cite Ibn Janâḥ’s reference to the Targûm. Al-Fāsi divides his opinion, citing Ps. 18:35 *niḥaṭâ* “*to break*,” but *niḥaṭû* as *descend* (*al-Jāmi*’, 597, 33-598, 1). Also see (Maman 1996, 266).

zərô 'ôṭay).’ Under these circumstances *ḥaqq* is short for *ḥaqq al-lafz*, and *ma ‘nâ* describes the resultant divergent meaning.¹⁰⁶³

Psalm 68:14 is another example of *ḥaqq* indicating deviation from the usual verb-subject agreement. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 87r

The correct [*ḥaqq*] (grammatical agreement ought) to say, ‘*Sheathed in silver (neḥpâṭ bakṣep̄)*,’ as it mentions “*wings (kanpê)*” which is a feminine plural. However, it (*neḥpâ*) was modified by the word *dove (yônâ)* next to [*mujâwar*] it. Similarly, “*Bow of the mighty are broken (qṣṣet gibbôrim ḥattîm)*” (1 Sam. 2:4) (*Ḥattîm*) is modified by the word *gibbôrim*. It (modifies the feminine noun) *qṣṣet*, as it states “*their bows (qašoṭām) shall be snapped*” (Jer. 51:56).

וכאן חקה אן יקול נחפות בכסף לאנה ד'כר כנפי והו ג'מע
מונת' לכנה חמל עלי לפט' יונה אלמג'אור לה מת'ל קו'
קשת גבורים חתים (שמואל א ב:ד) אלמחמול עלי לפט'
גבורים והו אלקשת כמא קאל חתתה קשתותם (ירמיהו
נא:נו).

In the above examples, Ibn Chiquitilla justifies divergence from the grammatical form, as acceptable Biblical style. There is an irregular noun-attributive agreement in the phrase, “*Wings of a dove sheathed in silver (kanpê yônâ neḥpâ bakṣep̄)*,” the plural feminine plural noun *kanpê* (*wings*) is modified by a feminine singular attribute *neḥpâ* (*sheathed*). Ibn Chiquitilla explains that the proximity [*majrûr*]¹⁰⁶⁴ of the feminine noun *yônâ* (*dove*) to *neḥpâ* causes it to change from the usual masculine plural attribute to a feminine singular one. He cites 1 Sam. 2:4, as a corroborative example of *majrûr*. The proximity of the masculine plural attribute *gibbôrim* (*mighty*) to *ḥattîm* causes *neḥpâ* to disagree with

¹⁰⁶³ The verse could mean “*my arms can bend a bow of bronze*” or “*a bow of bronze bends my arms*.” Like the subject in “*your arrows have pierced me*” (Ps. 38:3).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Metzger calls it “*voisinage*” (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Metzger 1889, 298).

the feminine singular noun *qəṣṣet* (bow).¹⁰⁶⁵ The origins of this explanation lie with Ibn Janāḥ.¹⁰⁶⁶

In Psalm 45:5, the more familiar term *ḥaqīqa* is used to explain a deviation from the regular annexed form of *‘anwā*.¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 59v

<p>“Meekness (‘<i>anwā</i>)” (Psalms 45:5) is joined to “justice,” even if it is not with the (feminine ending) T (<i>Tāw</i>) and annexed to it, in order to explain the Ō (<i>Hōlām</i>) according to the proper form [<i>ḥaqīqa</i>] – without weakness, abbreviation and proof of annexation - it must be analogous to (the separate form), “<i>Humility precedes</i> <i>honour</i> (‘<i>anāwā</i>)” (Prov. 15:33, Prov. 18:12).</p>	<p>וענוה (תהלים מה:ה) מצ'אף אלי צדק (תהלים מה:ה) ואן לם יכן באלתא ואצ'אפתה אליה ליביין אנה באלחלם עלי אלחקיקה לא עג'ו ותקציר ודליל אצ'אפתה אליה אנה יכון מת'ל ולפני כבוד ענוה (משלי טו:לג, יח:יב)</p>
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By stating *‘anwā*'s *ḥaqīqa*, in Psalm 45:5, a deviation from the ‘proper’ semantic meaning of *‘anwā* on a morphological level is implied. *Anwā* appears to be joined with

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla lists *qəṣṣet* as feminine in his grammatical treatise *Kitāb al-Taḏkīr wal-Ta'nīl*. He writes that: It is not like the T (*Tāw*) of “mighty bow (*qəṣṣet*)” (1 Sam. 2:4), (also) it is feminine, for it is feminine like *ḥērēb* (Ex. 5:21) according to the meaning [*ma'nā*] not the form [*lafz*] for it is from *Qaṣṣāṭ* (Gen. 21:20), which follows the morphological pattern *Pa'al* as in *GaNNāB* (Jer. 2:16). Its plural is *Qaṣṣāṭ* (2 Chron. 26:14).

(Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 291, Heb. 298). The isolated examples, cited in Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Psalms belong to a list of five exception that includes 1 Sam. 2:4, but not including Ps. 68:14. According to Téné and Maman several implicit rules about attributive constructions found in Ibn Janāḥ. The construct forms have no external morphological form following the *mawṣūf* that indicates a *ṣifa* follows. The word order is fixed; *mawṣūf* followed by *ṣifa*. The *ṣifa* always agrees in gender, number, and definitiveness. Agreement of definitiveness is mentioned explicitly by Ibn Janāḥ, a fact also found in Ibn Chiquitilla (Téné and Maman 2016, 85). See Ps. 40:3 *infra* and *supra*.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibn Janāḥ writes that:

<p>The regular form is <i>ḥattā</i> or <i>ḥattīl</i>, as the attribute of <i>qəṣṣet</i> is not <i>gibbōrīm</i>, but it uses the masculine plural, because it is next to [<i>mujāwara</i>] it (<i>gibbōrīm</i>). (<i>Luma</i> 306, 8 = <i>HaRiqmā</i>, 321, 15).</p>	<p>אלוג'ה חתה או חתית לאן אלנעת ללקשת לא ללגבורים לכנה ג'מע באלתד'כיר עלי אלמג'אורה</p>
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¹⁰⁶⁷ Abū Hilāl sees the variance between *ḥaqīqa* and *ma'nā* as: “the intention which one expresses in one manner but not another. Linguistically the meaning (*ma'nā*) of the discourse can also be one's aim.” (Kanazi 1988, 83).

righteousness (*ṣedeq*), though it lacks the feminine marker ending in a T̄ (*Tāw*).¹⁰⁶⁸ Also, the sense of the verse does not easily lend itself to annexation, as it would mean ‘meekness of righteous’ or ‘meekness of righteousness.’ The issue of comprehensibility leads Ibn Chiquitilla to reject either an ellipsis or the replacement of the W (*wāw*) with a Y (*yôd*).¹⁰⁶⁹ Instead he compromises strict categorical alignment of form and meaning, and treats ‘*anwâ*’ as if it were the separated form ‘*anāwâ*’ (Prov. 15:33, Prov. 18:12).¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla explains the text as, “*Defend meekness with righteousness*”¹⁰⁷¹ accepting the difficulty of a like-for-like match between semantic form and meaning.

This willingness to accept the *bayân* [explanation] of the text despite its lack of strict alignment of form to meaning comes to the fore in a discussion found in Psalm 26:1. Ibn Chiquitilla uses the phrase ‘*alâ sabîl al-majâz*’ [by way of deviation] to describe homologous morphological forms of *Mû ‘āḏeṭ* (Prov. 25:19) and their relationship to its meaning. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 57r-57v, 34r

M-‘D refers to a group of men when it states here, “ <i>I have trusted in the Lord I have not faltered</i> ” (Psalms 26:1) and to his feet, “ <i>His feet do not slip</i> ” (Psalms 37:31), (and) “ <i>Unsteady leg (mû ‘āḏeṭ)</i> ” (Prov. 25:19).	ומעד יתסב אלי ג'מלה אלאנסאן במא קאל הנא וביי בטחתי לא אמעד (תהלים כו:א). ואלי קדמיה לא תמעד אשוריו (תהלים לו:א) ורגל מועדת (משלי כה:יט).
‘Abû Zakarîya’ states that it (<i>mû ‘āḏeṭ</i>) is “ <i>Pā ‘ûl</i> ” matching the stem - <i>Pu ‘al</i> (perfect verb). But this is a mistake as his other examples, which he	וקאל אבו זכריא אנה פעול ג'א עלי בניה פועל וד'לך מנה גלט לאן אצחאבה אלד'י אדכל מעה אעני אוכל (שמות ג:ב) ולקח (מלכים ב:י) ויוקשים (קהלת

¹⁰⁶⁸ It is analogous in meaning to other examples of feminine nouns ending in H (*Hē*) that do not switch to a T̄ (*Tāw*) (*HaRiqmâ*, 237-238, 228 n. 2).

¹⁰⁶⁹ See Daat Mikra, *ad. loc.*

¹⁰⁷⁰ I.e., *Ô* (*Hôlām*).

¹⁰⁷¹ Cf. *ha-ṣedeq* (the-righteous) (Dahood 1965, 272). Also, Abraham Ibn Ezra writes that:

The words (<i>millat</i>) “meekness (and) righteousness” whether separate or annexed intend (‘ <i>anwâ ṣedeq</i> ’) ‘meekness and righteousness’ (‘ <i>anwâ with ṣedeq</i> ’).	ומלת וענוה צדק בין עומדת ובין נסמכת והטעם ענוה עם צדק:
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Millâ corresponds to *ḥaqîqa* and *ṭa ‘am*, *ma ‘nâ*. On the relationship between *millâ-ṭa ‘am* and *lafẓ-ma ‘nâ*, see *lafẓ-ma ‘nâ* (Shai 1990, 2; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 243, n. 54). Others translates it as “meekness and righteousness,” New American Standard Bible; “truth and meekness and righteousness,” King James; and “truth and meekness and right,” JPS 1985.

includes with it, I mean; *'uKKāL* (Ex. 3:2), *LuQQāH* (2 Kings 2:10) and *yûQāŠîm* (Eccl. 9:12) are transitive, and every "*Pā 'ûl*" includes an object, therefore *yûQāŠ* is a perfect transitive verb (like), "*I set a snare for you*" (*yaQoŠtî lāk*) (Jer. 50:24).

Now since M- 'D is never transitive, neither is *Mû 'āDâ*, though he ('Abû Zakarîya') is correct to read it as *Mā 'ûDâ*. However, it should be read as *Mô 'āDēṭ* with an *Ô (Hôlām)*. Its active participle is intransitive, its verb is like *YôŠâBēṭ* (2 Kings 4:13). Now, the *Ô (Hôlām)* is corrected to a *Û (Šûrûq)*, without a doubt since they are both *Û* vowels.

I am surprised by the Masters of this Science; may God have mercy upon them. How did they not pay heed to this contradiction of his (Ibn Janâḥ), when the author of *al-Mustalḥaq* adds another example "*was born (ha-YûLLāD)*" (Judg. 13:8)? If only he had removed *Mû 'āDēṭ* and replaced it with *YûLLāD* then he would have been correct.

Also, the author of *Rasâ 'il al-Rifâq [The Epistle of the Companions]* rivalled him (Ibn Janâḥ). If only he (Ibn Naḡrîla) had not defended him (Ḥayyûj). For *ha-YûLLāD* is identical to them (*Pā 'ûl*), meaning '*the one born (ha-YāLûD)*' resulting in a contradiction with *Mû 'āDēṭ*. The number of words in the first (group) remains the same, and it is incorrect to add to it. It is worse to claim that "*was born (ha-YûLLāD)*" means '*the one born (ha-YāLûD)*.' A better meaning [*ma 'nâ*]

ט:יב) מתעדיה פכל פעול מנהא מפעול לאן יקוש מתעד פעל מאץ' יקושתי לך (ירמיה נ:כד).

ואמא מעד פליס ממא תעדי פליס אד'א' מועדה ממא יצלח אן יקול פיה מועדה¹⁰⁷² אנמא ינבגי אן יקול פיה מועדת באלחולם. פאעלה גיר מתעד פעלהא מת'ל אנכי ישבת (מלכים ב ד:יג) פעדל באלחולם אלי אלשרק לא מן אללבס ולאנהמא מן אלצ'ם.

ואנא אעג'ב מן שיוך' הד'א אלעלם רחמהם אללה כיף לם יאבהוא אלי אנכאר הד'א עליה עלי אן צאחב אלמסתלחק קד אצ'אף אליהא לנער היולד (שופטים יג:ח) ולו אנה יכ'רג' מנהא מועדת וידכ'ל מכאנהא [57 ב] היולד לכאן מציבא.

וכד'לך כ'צמה צאחב רסאיל אלרפאק. לו לם ימאנעה פיוון לנער היולד מת'להא במעני היולד יהתתדי אלי אנכאר מועדת. ותבקי אלאלפאט' בעדדהא אלאול ולא תצח זיאדה פיהא לא חסן לאן כון היולד פי מעני היולד. אחסן מן כונה במעני אשר יולד כמא קאל לאן כונה פי מעני היולד יכון האוה ללתעריף צפה לנער מת'לה אלד'י הי מערפה

¹⁰⁷² מועדם Mss.

than this is “*the one who will be born* (‘*ašer YālûD*),” as he states (Ibn Nağrîla); by reason that the definite article H (*Hē*) of “*born* (*ha-YālûD*)” defines an attribute “*the lad* (*la-N‘aR*),” it is identical to “*‘alladî* (*which*),” which is definite.

But this is worthless, as ‘*Abû Zakarîya*’ states the “*Pā‘ûl*” matches the stem (form) of the *Pu‘al*. It (*Mû‘āDēṭ*) must be a *MaF‘ûl* [passive participle] not a *Pā‘ûl* (one of the four internal passive verbs). Do you not see, it is passive and *Pā‘ûl* (forms) exclude *Mû‘āDēṭ*? If ‘*Abû Zakarîya*’ wanted otherwise, then he would have made another mistake, consequently we launch this attack against the majority by way of (morpho-syntactic) analogy [*‘alâ sabîl al-majâz*].

Now their (the four internal passive verbs) correct (form) [*al-ḥaqîqa*] is *Pu‘ālîm* and it (*Mû‘āDēṭ*) is a *maF‘ûLa* and there is no reason to think of (five of) them as *Pā‘ûLîm*. Its (*YûLLāD*) correlation with the (passive) meaning of the *MaF‘ûl* is necessary for “*the one who will (lit. was) be born* (*la-Na‘aR Ha-YûLLāD*).” Then it has multiple meanings [*ma‘anât*], although it (the definite article) means [*ma‘nâ*] “*lad who will be born* (‘*ašer Ha-YûLLāD*).”

There are two errors; they claim it (*Ha-YûLLāD*) H (*Hē*) means ‘*who*’ alongside the possibility that it is identical to *la-Na‘aR*’ which has proper (morphology) [*ḥaqqahu*]; if it were *la-ha-Na‘aR* it would then link the attribute (*Na‘aR*) to the one attributed and similarly join the qualifier with the one qualified. Furthermore, it (*YûLLāD*) is a

וליס פיה עלה לאן קול אבי זכריא פעול ג'א עלי בניה פועל. לא יוג'ב אל'א יכון מפעול גיר פעול. אל'א תרי אנהא מפעולה ואן לם תכון פעול חאשי מועדת. ואן כאן אראד אבו זכריא גיר ד'לך פהו [גל]ט אכ'ר ואנמא נקול ד'לך חמלא עלי אלאכת'ר עלי סביל אלמג'אז.

ואמא אלחקיקה לאנהם פועלים והי מפעולה ולא חאג'ה בנא אלי כונהא פעולים לאנה קד תאדי מנהא מעני אלמפעול והו בחסבהא פאלחאק לנער היולד בהא ואג'ב אד' הו פי מענאת ואמא כונה פי מעני אשר יולד.

פמעלול [34 א] בעלתין והמא אדעאווה פי האוה אנהא במעני אשר מע אמכאן כונהא מת'ל הד'א לנער אלד'י חקה. אן יכון להנער פתרתבט אלצפה באלמוצוף ויתצל אלנעת באלמנעות מת'לה. ת'ם כון אלמאצ'י מכאן אלמסתקבל עלי ג'הא אנה ביאן מא ועד בה והד'א איצ'א עלה.

perfect in place of the imperfect, exactly as he (Ibn Nağrîla) explained which confirms it (the error). This is also an error.

It also states M-‘-D following (the root) “*Collapse continually (ha-M‘aD)*” (Psalms 69:24), but reverses its middle radical (i.e., ‘-M-D) in, “*And make all their loins unsteady (M-‘-D)*” (Ez. 29:7).

וקד יקאל מעד איצ'א ללחקוין ומתניהם תמיד המעד
(תהלים סט:כד). וקד תקלב עינהמא והמעדת להם כל
מתנים (יחזקאל כט:ז).

Ibn Chiquitilla begins his gloss with the basic semantic meaning of Pss. 21:1; 37:31 and Prov. 25:19, which share the root M-‘-D. Those roots may be respectively translated as either “*slip*,” “*unsteady*” or “*faltered*.” Furthermore, Psalm 21:1 is figurative; humans earning God’s trust through steadfastness. With this basic problem of meaning cleared-up, Ibn Chiquitilla focuses on classifying *mû ‘āḏeṭ* (Prov. 25:19) in relation to other morphological forms. The problem is complicated by uncertainty among grammarians as to the proper relationship between *mû ‘āḏeṭ* and other verbal morphological forms whose meanings are passive.¹⁰⁷³

To fully grasp the complexity of the debate, criticism and contribution of Ibn Chiquitilla, we shall begin with Ḥayyūj’s opinion in *al-Lîn*. He writes as follows:

That which does not mention its agent (i.e., passive) *‘uKKəLû* (Nah. 1:10), *təKKəLû* (Is. 1:20). I had thought that *‘uKKāL* (Ex. 3:2) was the perfect form. I thought that the *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) of the

ומא למ יסם פאעלה אָפּלו קָקש יָבֵשׁ (נחום א:י)
חָרַב תֵּאָפְלו (ישעיה א:כ) וקד כנת אצ'ן אן וְהִסָּנָה
אֵינָנו אָפְל (שמות ג:ב) פעל מאצ'י וכנת אחסב
קִמְצוֹת אֶלְכָּאָף לֹאנְקֻטָּאע אֶלְכָּלָאָם אד' אכת'ר

¹⁰⁷³ Poznański writes that: “*The explanation of these forms was a controversy between the Jewish grammarians of Spain, which was already known from the writings of ibn Ezra and some of his successors; - they are also quoted here: Abu Zakariya, ibn Hayyuj; The author of the Mustalḥaq d. I. Abu al-Walid and the author tract of the tractate rasā’il al-rifāq, Samuel Ibn Naghrila.*” Die Erklärung dieser Formen war der Gegenstand einer Kontroverse zwischen den jüdischen Grammatikern Spaniens, die schon früher aus den Schriften ibn Ezra’s und einiger seiner Nachfolger bekannt war; - sie werden auch hier zitiert: Abu Zakarja, d. i. Hajjug; der Verfasser des Mustalhak דאחב אלמסתלהק d. i. Abulwalid and der Verfasser Traktate der Gesellung דאחב רסאיל אלרפאק d. i. Samuel ibn Nagdela (Poznański 1912, 47–48, 55). For a discussion of Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ (Becker 1992b, 214–15).

K (*Kāp̄*) is because it is at the end of a phrase (end of a verse), as most verbs and nouns are *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) in the pausal form and at the end of a phrase. (That was) until I read *LuQQāḤ* (2 Kings 2:10) and saw that the *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) was neither in the pausal form nor at the end of a phrase. I reached the conclusion that *’uKKāL* and *LuQQāḤ* are *Pā’ûL*, matching the *Pu’al* form. This is based on contextual meaning [*ma’nâ*] and interpretation [*tafsîr*]. If *LuQQāḤ* was, in context, a perfect verb, then it should have been vocalised with a *A* [*Pattāḥ*] as in *LuQQaḤ* (Is. 52:5) or *LuQaḤ* (Jer. 29:22) ... like many others.

After I saw *LuQQāḤ* with a *Ā* (*Qāmāṣ*) in its contextual form, I concluded it was (morphologically) a “*Pā’ûL*” matching the *Pu’al* stem [*bunya*]. After I found these two, *’uKKāL* and *LuQQāḤ*, (I found) two other parallel examples in the Bible; *Mû’āDēṭ* (Prov. 25:19) and *YûQāṢîm* (Eccl. 9:12). These are also *Pā’ûL* forms derived from the pattern *Pu’al*. I do not recall a fifth example in the Bible.

אלאפעאל ואלאסמא פי אלוקף ואנקטאע אלכלאם
קמציס חתי קראת אפ תראה אתי לקח מאתך יהי
לך כן (מלכים ב ב:י) וראיתה קמץ פי גיר וקף ולא
אנקטאע כללם פצרת אלי אן אעתקד אן איננו אפל
לקח מאתך פעול גא עלי בנה פעל אד' ד'לך פי
אלמעני ואלתפסיר אמשא פי האד'א אלמוצ'ע ולו
כאן לוקח מאתך פי הד'א אלמוצ'ע פעלא מאצ'יא
לכאן פתח מתל פי לקח עמי חנם (ישעיה נב:ה)
ולקח מהם קללה (ירמיהו כט:כב) ... וגירהא כת'יר

פלמא ראית לקח מאתך קמץ פי אדראג' אלכלאם
אעתקדתה פעול גא עלי בניה פועל ת'ם וג'דת להמא
איננו אפל לקח מאתך נט'רין פי אלמקרא והמא שן
רועה ורגל מועדת (משלי כה:יט) פקחם יוקשים בני
האדם (קהלית ט:יב) האד'א איצ'א פעולים כ'רג'ת
עלי מת'אל פועלים ולא אד'כר להא כ'אמסה פי שי
מן אלמקרא.¹⁰⁷⁴

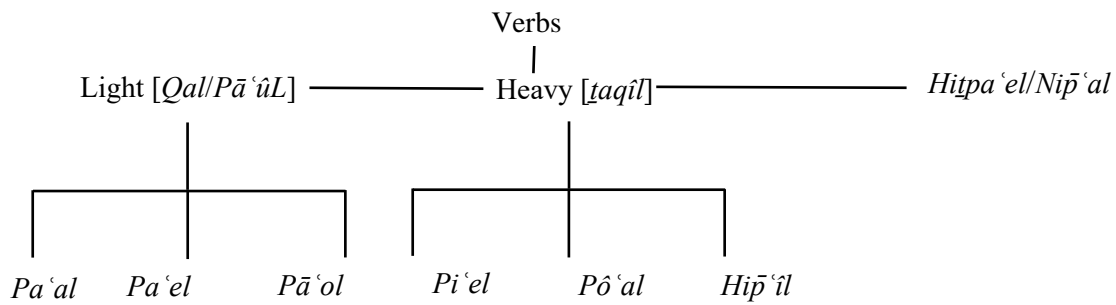
Ḥayyûj describes the participle forms *’uKKāL* (Ex. 3:2) and *LuQQāḤ* (2 Kings 2:10) as *la yusamm fâ’il* [that which does not mention its agent] whose morphological stem [*bunya*],¹⁰⁷⁵ “*Pā’ûL*,” is indistinguishable from the *Pu’al* pattern.¹⁰⁷⁶ He adds two more examples, *Mû’āDēṭ* (Prov. 25:19) and *YûQāṢîm* (Eccl. 9:12) to the list. Dan Becker, in his analysis of Ḥayyûj, notes that he uses the term *la yusamm fâ’il* [that does not mention its agent] in his description of other examples of the “*Pā’ûL*” [Ar. *maf’ûL*] forms. However,

¹⁰⁷⁴ (*Al-Lîn*, 42-5, nn. 35-38). Ḥayyûj is the first to identify this form.

¹⁰⁷⁵ (Wated 1994, 39).

¹⁰⁷⁶ (Hendel 2000, 45-46).

for the passive forms of the *Hiṭṭāʿil* and *Piʿel*, (*Hôṭṭāʿal* and *Puʿal* verbs), he also uses the phrase term *la yusamm fāʿil* [that which does not mention its agent].¹⁰⁷⁷ Becker concludes that Ḥayyūj used “*PāʿûL*” inconsistently: sometimes the term “*PāʿûL*” specifies the passive form the *Qal* active verb (i.e., the internal *Qal* passive), but on occasion it refers to any passive morphological form. For example, *hûṭṭāl* is characterised as “*PāʿûL*,” but refers to either the *Hûṭṭāl* perfect verb or the *Hiṭṭāʿil* attributive. Becker attributes this to Ḥayyūj’s use of *la yusamm fāʿil* [that which does not mention its agent] as a description of both terms, despite the different morphological forms.¹⁰⁷⁸ However, a simpler explanation is that Ḥayyūj does not view the passive form of the verb as an independent verbal pattern, but as a mirror of the active form.¹⁰⁷⁹ Ḥayyūj divides the verbal schema as follows:



(Fig. 1)

Ḥayyūj divides the verbs into three types Light [*Qal/PāʿûL*], Heavy [*taqîl*] and *Hitpaʿel/Niṭṭāʿal*. The latter two are never labelled as heavy except for in a few passages in *al-Nutaf*.¹⁰⁸⁰ The heavy form is divided into three *Piʿel*, *Pôʿal* and *Hiṭṭāʿil*. Each has its own internal passive form which is not a separate verbal stem, but a mirror of the active *Piʿel* and *Hiṭṭāʿil*. The separation *Hitpaʿel/* and *Niṭṭāʿal* excludes them from inclusion in the category of Light [*Qal/PāʿûL*] Verbs, but this does not explain their relationship to the

¹⁰⁷⁷ For a list of references collated from Ḥayyūj see (Becker 1992b, 214–15).

¹⁰⁷⁸ (Becker 1992b, 215).

¹⁰⁷⁹ A suggestion made by Delgado, also see (Kahan 2021, 313–26).

¹⁰⁸⁰ (Basal 2001, 71).

other verbs. In addition to the above, he lists weak second verbs which duplicate the third radical *Pô 'LēL* and *Nitpa 'al*.¹⁰⁸¹

The passage taken from *al-Lîn*, presents us with a glimpse into Ḥayyûj's working methods. It is quite easy to imagine him collating verbs as he read through the Bible, arranging them into different categories and inventing new ones as he went along. When he encounters 2 Kings 2:10 none of the pre-existing categories match this new form. He invents a new one and places those words that match it into the same class.

Despite the imprecision in Ḥayyûj's language and the difficulties in classifying the verbal system, Ḥayyûj is certain of the meaning of the words - "*This is based on contextual meaning [ma 'nâ] and interpretation [tafsîr]*." For example, he appeals to context when he equates the active and passive meanings of *YûQāšîm* (Eccl. 9:12) and *yəQūšîm* (Jer. 5:26). He writes that:

<p><i>yûQāšîm</i> (Eccl. 9:12) <i>Pû 'aLîm</i> (passive form) following the meaning [<i>ma 'nâ</i>] of <i>Pə 'ûLîm</i> (active form) as in <i>yəQūšîm</i> (Jer. 5:26), which follows the meaning [<i>ma 'nâ</i>] of <i>Pə 'ûLîm</i> (active form).</p>	<p>יְקוּשִׁים בְּנֵי הָאָדָם (קהלת ט:יב) פועלים ג'א עלי מעני פעולים מת'ל כְּשֶׁךְ יְקוּשִׁים (ירמיה ה:כו) אלד'י ג'א עלי מעני פעולים.¹⁰⁸²</p>
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Ḥayyûj's appeal to *tafsîr* [interpretation]¹⁰⁸³ reinforces the separation between form and meaning and the role natural logic plays in forming meaning. Illustrative of this is the difficulty Ibn Chiquitilla's predecessors had with explaining the internal *Qal* passive. Starting with a comparison between Ḥayyûj's conclusion rabbinic exegesis, in TB *Shabbath* 67a, Moses observes that the bush has not *been* consumed. So too *Targûm*

¹⁰⁸¹ A version of this arrangement is also presented by Wated in which *Hitpa 'el* is included among the heavy verbs. He divides the verbs into two groups, heavy and light with *Nip 'al* a separate category. He includes the passive verbs *Pu 'al* and *Hup 'al* under the heavy verbs, (Wated 1994, 34).

¹⁰⁸² (*Al-Lîn*, 86). This opinion is cited and rejected by Ibn Ezra in *Mōznāyîm* (M. S. Goodman 2016b, 214–15). Also see (Charlap 1999).

¹⁰⁸³ *Contra* Wansborough, "The transmission of authoritative witness" (Wansborough 2004, 154, 156).

ʿOnqəlôš translates *ʿuKKāL* (Ex 3:2) with the reflexive form *miṭʿākîl* (*eat itself*). The non-like-for-like relation between the Hebrew and Aramaic morphology preserves the sense of the text and that the verb contains its own object. This too is how Seʿadyah translates the passive forms for *משתעל באלנאר* [*ablaze*] (Ex. 3:2) and *אפניתכם באלסיה* [*be consume by the sword*] (Is. 1:20). Rashi with limited grammatical knowledge of the root system derived from Menahem Ibn Sarûq,¹⁰⁸⁴ interprets Gen. 3:23 and Ex. 3:2 passively, but links them to the *Nipʿal* stem in Deut. 21:3.¹⁰⁸⁵ Also, one can read R. Ishmael in *Siphra* 22:9, as understanding Eccl. 9:12 as passive.¹⁰⁸⁶ These wide range of sources share the same contextual sense of the Biblical text, even though their explanations have little to do with the analyses of the morpho-syntax for its own sake. They too represent the text as passive, as suggested by Ḥayyûj’s use of the term *tafsîr*.

The problem of classifying “*PāʿûL*” verbs is taken up by Ḥayyûj’s successors, but as it flows from his appeal to the natural logic of language, they do not directly challenge the interpretation of the text. All they do is either disagree or refine Ḥayyûj’s initial categories.¹⁰⁸⁷ We shall follow their arguments as well as Ibn Chiquitilla’s criticism in the order presented by Ibn Chiquitilla.

The most important dissenter to Ḥayyûj’s analysis is Ibn Janâḥ.¹⁰⁸⁸ He understands the term “*PāʿûL*” in the list of four words found in Ḥayyûj as applicable to any verbal class that has an active and passive form. He does not link them with the internal *Qal* passive. Ibn Janâḥ writes in *al-Mustalḥaq* that:

¹⁰⁸⁴ (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, *41, *213-5; Aharon Dotan 2005, 2:67).

¹⁰⁸⁵ He writes in Ex. 3:2 that:

ʿuKKāL means “*devoured*,” be eaten. It is like “*which* אשר לקח משם
has not been wrought with (*ʿuBBaD*)” (Deut. 21:3) (בראשית ג:כג)
(and) “*when he was taken* (*LuQQaḥ*)” (Gen. 3:23)

He does not directly comment on the grammar of the other verses.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Also appears in TB Sanhedrin 81b in the name of Resh Laqish.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Its development is analogous to the development of the categorisation of the platypus (Eco 2000, 268).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Also Ibn Ezra, see (Fassberg 2001, 253; Sivan 2009, 51; L. Charlap 1999, 136–41; Chomsky 1933, 103). A mention of this is found in Ibn Barûn’s *al-Muwâzana* (Kokovtsov 1970, 12).

When he mentions וְהִסְכֵּה אֵינָנוּ אָכַל (Exodus 3:2), in this article, he says that it is from a פֶּעַל that appears with the form פֶּעַל. He said that its analogue is אִם-תִּרְאֶה אֹתִי לִקְחָה מֵאֲתֶרְךָ (2 Kings 2:10), confirmed by that *qames*, and שֶׁן רָעָה וְרָגַל מוֹעֵדֶת (Proverbs 25:19) and כָּהֵם יוֹקְשִׁים בְּגִי הָאֲדָם (Ecclesiastes 9:12) are also its analogues. He said: these are also פֶּעַלִּים that appear as analogues to פֶּעַלִּים and I do not remember a fifth in the Scripture.

Marwān ibn Ḡanāḥ, the author of this book, said: after him I found a fifth world, that is מִהֶנְעֻשָׁה מִהֶנְעֻשָׁה (Judges 13:8), it is a פֶּעַל that appears with the פֶּעַל, the original was הִילִיד like הִילִיד (1 Kings 3:26.27). Perhaps an investigation will find more in addition to these five words, but it is not my intention here to criticize the man when mastery is God's alone.

In another author I found a sixth word, namely עֵם מִמֶּשֶׁךְ וּמוֹרָט (Isaiah 18:7) that is in the place of מָרוּט. I add a seventh that is אֵילָנָה שׁוֹלֵל וְעָרוֹם (Micah 1:8) that is in the place of שָׁלִיל. I have proposed to alert you about these words, since it is said that מוֹעֵדֶת (Proverbs 25:19) is a qualifier of רָגַל according to the form לֵב הוֹתֵל (Isaiah 44:20), and thus the words cited above are considered qualifiers, according to the form מִעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי אָמֵן (Song 7:2).

ולמא ד'כר פי הד'א אלבאב והסנה איננו [אכל] (שמות ג:ב) וק[אל פיה] אנה פעול ג'א עלי בניה פועל קאל ומת'לה [אם] תראה אותי לקח מאתך (מלכים II ב:י) ואסתדל עלי ד'לך [באל]קצמות ומת'להא איצ'א קאל שן רועה ורגל מועדת (משלי יכ:יט) כהם יוקשים בני האדם (קהלת ט:יב) קאל הד'ה איצ'א פעולים כ'רג'ת עלי מת'אל פועלים ולא אד'כר לה כ'אמסא פי אלמקרא

קאל מרואן בן ג'נאח ואצ'ע הד'א אלכתאב קד וג'דת אנא בעדה לפט'ה כ'אמסה והי מה נעשה לנער הילוד (שופטים יג:ח). פאנה פועל ג'א עלי בניה פועל וכאן אצלה אן יכון הילוד מת'ל הילוד החי ועסי אן יוג'ד איצ'א ענד אלבחת' גיר הד'ה אללפט'ה אלכ'אמסה ולם אקצר ההנא תעגיו אלרג'ל אד' אלחאטה ללה וחדה.

וקד וג'דת לבעצ'הם לפט'ה סאדסה והי אל עם ממשך מורט (ישעיה יח:ז) והי מקאם מרוט וקד אסתלחקת אנא סאבעה והי אלכה שולל וערום (מיכה א:ח) והי מקאם שלול. ואנמא קצדת תחפט'ך הד'ה אללפט'ה וקד יקאל אן מועדת צפה לרָגַל עלי זנה לב הותל (ישעיהו מד:כ) וכד'לך תג'על הד'ה הד'ה אלאלפאט' אלמתקדם ד'כרהא צפאת כלהא עלי זנה מעשה [ידי] אמן (שיר השירים ז:ב).¹⁰⁸⁹

Ibn Janāḥ begins his analysis by adding a fifth example, *YūLLāD* (Judg. 13:8), to Ḥayyūj's list of four verbs included under the description *la yusamm fā'il* [that which

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Al-Mustalḥaq* Arb. 69-70, Eng. 257.

does not mention its agent]. *YûLLāD* is another example of the “*Pā ‘ûl*” whose meaning is equivalent to “*be born (YālūD)*” (1 Kings 3:26). Ibn Janâḥ interprets the amphibolous term “*Pā ‘ûl*” as referring to the verb’s ‘aspect’; perfect, imperfect, imperative, active participle and passive participle. Ibn Janâḥ thinks Ḥayyûj is saying that the *Qal* form has two “*Pā ‘ûl*” forms that are different from each other: “*Pā ‘ûl*” (e.g., *Kaṭûb*) and *la yusamm fâ ‘il* [that which does not mention its agent] (*KuTTāb*). By analogy, Ibn Janâḥ’s extends the use of “*Pā ‘ûl*” to other passive verbs whose meaning is active; *Mû ‘āDēṭ* = *Mā ‘ûDâ*, *YûQāŠīm* = *YāQûŠīm* (*Pu ‘al* imperfect verbs) and *LuQQâH* = *LaQQûaH*, ‘*uKKāL* = ‘*āKûL* (*Pu ‘al* perfect verbs). Alternatively, Ibn Janâḥ adds examples to Ḥayyûj’s list because he thinks it is a list of attributes; *Mû ‘āDēṭ* is derived from the form *Hûṭal* (Is. 44:20).¹⁰⁹⁰ Either conclusion leads to a contradictory resolution of the two forms of “*Pā ‘ûl*” and their meaning.¹⁰⁹¹

Ibn Janâḥ’s understanding of Ḥayyûj may explain the differences in the number of words added to various versions of *al-Mustalḥaq*. In some Arabic versions of *al-Mustalḥaq* (Evr.-Arab. I 2893) only four examples are listed. The same is true for the Hebrew translation completed by Obadiah.¹⁰⁹² In other editions, three additional examples appear.¹⁰⁹³ Maman and Téné, suggest that examples 5-7 are later interpolations.¹⁰⁹⁴ They note that example five, *YûLLāD* is mentioned by Tanḥûm in his commentary on Ecclesiastes,¹⁰⁹⁵ and as we have seen also by Ibn Chiquitilla. Delgado, in his recent edition of *al-Mustalḥaq*, notes the additions and suggests two reasons for them: they are scribal interpretations of Ibn Janâḥ or his own additions as he revised his work.¹⁰⁹⁶ Furthermore, Ibn Chiquitilla includes only five examples from Ibn Janâḥ which supports both conclusions. At the same time Ibn Chiquitilla’s physical proximity to Ibn Janâḥ in

¹⁰⁹⁰ (Maman and Téné 2006, 16, n. 5). They either belong to the passive *Hup ‘al/Hop ‘al* stem or are attributes [*šifât*] following the pattern *Po ‘el/Pā ‘ûl*, see (*al-Luma* 114, 13-21; 310 4-16 = *HaRiqmâ*, 134; 1-2; 15-16 -135, 1-3; 326, 16-18. Also (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, Arb. 83, Eng. 265).

¹⁰⁹¹ (Becker 1992b, 219).

¹⁰⁹² (Maman and Téné 2006, 16, n. 5).

¹⁰⁹³ (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, 257, n. 11).

¹⁰⁹⁴ (Maman and Téné 2006, 16, nn. 4-5).

¹⁰⁹⁵ (Ibn Djanah and Derenbourg 1880, XL, 1).

¹⁰⁹⁶ (J. Martínez Delgado 2020, 257, n. 11). Ibn Janâḥ revised his text over the course of his life, but as Delgado observes it is impossible to trace the number of revisions from the text’s stemma (*Ibid.* 46).

Saragossa and approximate dates are close enough to Ibn Janâḥ to suggest examples six and seven were later additions. To this we may add, Obadiah's inclusion of only the first four examples may reflect Ibn Chiquitilla's criticism of Ibn Janâḥ and that examples six and seven were added much later.

Elsewhere, the amphiboly around the meaning of "*Pā'ûl*," misleads Ibn Janâḥ to remove *tə'uKKLû* (Is. 24:10), the imperfect form of *'uKKāl* (Ex. 3:2), from those called *la yusamm fâ'il* [that which does not mention its agent] because *Qal* stem verbs are intransitive, whilst *Pu'al* stems are transitive. He writes in *'Uṣûl* that:

This basic form is the heavy verb [*taqîl*]. We [brought it in *al-Mustalḥaq*] and also raised doubts against 'Abû Zakarîya'. It *tə'uKKLû* (Is. 24:10) is an imperfect (from) *'uKKLû* (Nah. 1:10) and is not as 'Abû Zakarîya' claimed, taken from *'uKKāl* (Ex. 3:2), following the morphological form of *SuGGaR* (Is. 24:10). Now, if *tə'uKKLû* (Is. 24:10) is imperfect, then there is no reason to include the word 'sword,' unless one explains its additional B (*Bəṭ*), so that it is approximately [*taqdîr*] 'with a sword they were consumed,' as in 'With a sword you consumed.' In my opinion it would be better if *tə'uKKLû* were derived from the transitive *Pi'el* (heavy stem). I mean *'ikkel* following the morphological form *Dibber* (Jer. 42:19). Its interpretation [*tafsîr*] is 'you were consumed by a sword,' meaning "Place food for the sword and it shall be satiated," (Jer. 46:10) as in 'place food for the sword and it was satiated,' this is what I prefer.

ופי הד'א אלאצל פעל ת'קיל פאתנא [אלתנביה עליה פי אלמסתלחק] ותשכיכה איצ'א אלי אבי זכריא. והו חרב תאכלו (ישעיה א:כ) מסתקבלא (מן) אכלו כקש יבש (נחום א:י) וליס כמא זעם אבו זכריא וד'לך אן אכלו הו מאכ'וד' מן אוכל עלי זנה סגר כל בית מבא (ישעיה כד:י). פלו כאן חרב תאכלו (ישעיה א:כ) מסתקבלה למא כאן יכון לד'כר חרב מעני אלא אן יתאול בזיאדה בא חתי יכון תקדירה בחרב תאכלו אי באלסיף תפנון: ואלאחסן פיה ענדי אן יכון תאכלו מאכ'ודא מן פעל ת'קיל מתעד אעני אכל עלי זנה דבר יי עליכם (ירמיהו מב:ט). ויכון תפסירה פאן אביתם תטעמון אלסיף עלי מעני ואכלה חרב ושבעה (ירמיהו מו:י) אי תג'עלון טעאמא ללסיף ואכלא לה. הד'א הו אכ'תיראי פיה.¹⁰⁹⁷

¹⁰⁹⁷ ('*Uṣûl*, 43, 14-25 = *HaṢôrāšîm*, 28).

What stands at the heart of this problem is the transitivity of *tə'uKKLû*. If it belonged to the *Qal* stem then it should be transitive. It would then necessarily have to be written as *tə'uKKLû* with a B (*Bəṭ*). Ibn Janâḥ concludes *tə'uKKLû* is the imperfect passive form “*Pu'al*” related to the active *Pi'el* verb, like the form *SuGGaR* (Is. 24:10).¹⁰⁹⁸

Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss continues with an analysis of Ibn Naḡrîla's opinion found in his lost treatise, *Rasâ'il al-Rifâq*.¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibn Naḡrîla adds *YûLLāD* (Judg. 13:8) to the list of “*Pā'ûl*” and gives it the same meaning as *Ha-YāLûD*.¹¹⁰⁰ The definite article, H (*Hē*), matches the form and meaning of the Arabic relative pronoun *'allaḏi*, which is definite and contextually means “*who*.”¹¹⁰¹ However, Ibn Chiquitilla criticises Ibn Naḡrîla's failure to remove *Mû'āDəṭ* from the list of *Qal* internal passive verbs. He bolsters his argument by reanalysing Ḥayyûj's original list of examples and establishes a list of criteria that link the identification of the *Qal* internal passive to transitivity.¹¹⁰² The criterion for identifying *Qal* internal passive verbs in the perfect is the existence of an active transitive form in the *Qal*.¹¹⁰³ For the imperfect verbs, the criterion for the *Qal* internal passive is the existence of the *Hip'îl*, *təKKəLû* (Is. 1:20).¹¹⁰⁴ For *Pi'el* verbs the

¹⁰⁹⁸ (Maman and Téné 2006, 15, n. 3). Ḥayyûj explains the vocalisation as indicative of the *Hûp'al* (*al-Nutaf*, 146, n. 2).

¹⁰⁹⁹ See introduction.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibn Ezra explains this as follows; the imperfect form of the verb ought to be *YəYûLLāD*, but due to the definite article H (*Hē*) one Y (*Yôḏ*) elides (*Mōznāyîm*, 90).

¹¹⁰¹ Contextually it refers to Samson's birth. So too Ibn Ezra, who states that Ibn Naḡrîla compares *Ha-YāLûD* to Ex. 26:17 (*Mōznāyîm*, 90; *Ṣaḥôṭ*, 143). Also see his commentary on Ex. 3:2.

¹¹⁰² For the meaning of *ta'di* as both a direct and indirect objects (Téné and Maman 2016, 40–41).

¹¹⁰³ Bacher and Poznański cite Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion in Abraham Ibn Ezra, see (Bacher 1882b, 99; Poznański 1894a, 22). More recently Ibn Ezra's citation of Ibn Chiquitilla has been discussed by Charlap and Sivan, see (L. Charlap 1999, 136–41; Sivan 2009, 51) (Sivan 2009). *'UKKāl* (Ex. 3:2) and *LuQQāH* (2 Kings 2:10) both have active transitive forms *'ākal* and *lāqah* in the Bible, *passim*. Ibn Chiquitilla cites the verse “*I set a snare for you*” [*yaQoṣṭi lāk*] (Jer. 50:24) as proof of an active transitive verb for the root Y-Q-Ṣ. Sivan lists two forms of the *Qal* internal passive *ṣṣl'ṣṣl* (Sivan 2009, 50). Thus *Mû'āDəṭ* and *Mô'āDəṭ* would have sounded identical to Ibn Chiquitilla, as in Iberia the Ō (*Hólām*) and a Ū (*Šûrûq*) were both pronounced as Ū (J. M. Martínez Delgado 2013, 82–83). For another example, see Ibn Chiquitilla's discussion of *Šūšān* (Ps. 60:1) *infra*.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Hē'əḳîl*, *passim*. On the identification of Jer. 50:24 as a perfect verb by Ibn Janâḥ (*Luma'*, 138, 12 = *HaRiqmā*, 162, 8, n. 2).

criterion for identifying the internal passive verb (*Pu'al*) is the active intransitive *Qal* verb.¹¹⁰⁵

Following these criteria for transitivity, Ibn Chiquitilla removes *Mû'āDēṭ* from the list. All examples of the root M-ʿ-D are intransitive, so it cannot be a *Qal* internal passive perfect (which must have an active transitive form), therefore *Mû'āDēṭ* must be an attribute, but analogous in meaning, *'alâ sabîl al-majâz* [by way of (morpho-syntactic) analogy] to the *Qal* internal passive verb. Either it should be understood as saying *Māmû'ēḏēṭ* (as Ḥayyûj suggests)¹¹⁰⁶ or as the active attributive *Mô'āDēṭ* (pausal form)¹¹⁰⁷ following the paradigm of the intransitive *YôšâBēṭ*, “live” (2 Kings 4:13).¹¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, he criticises as incorrect two errors by those who think that *la-na'ar* means “who” and that the particle L (*Lameḏ*) of *la-Na'aR* implies a definite article. If this combination were accepted the particle L (*Lameḏ*) of *la-Na'aR* would be elliptical and either be a *šifa-mawšûf* or *na't-man'ût* construction.¹¹⁰⁹ Therefore it must mean “who” without ellipsis. In addition, the definite article H (*Hē*) proceeding an imperfect verb would be contrary to Hebrew syntax.¹¹¹⁰ With these adjustments, *YûLLāD* remains an internal perfect *Qal* passive, with the contextual meaning “the one **who** will be born,” as originally suggested by Ibn Naḡrîla.¹¹¹¹

The final example, Psalm 38:18, uses *majâz* in reference to divergent morphological forms of the same noun *Šēla' / Šēla'*.¹¹¹² Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 47-47

¹¹⁰⁵ *وَأَمَّا لَمْ يَسْمَ فَاعِلٌ مِنَ الْإِفْعَالِ ... يَأْتِي عَلَى ٱلْإِثْبَاتِ* [that which does not identify the verb's agent ... comes as a *Pu'al*] (Poznański 1894a, 22).

¹¹⁰⁶ Menahem, see (*Mahberēṭ*, 51).

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibn Chiquitilla thinks *tiM'aD* is an anagram of *ha-M'aD* (Ps. 69:24), which is intransitive and therefore cannot belong to the verbal paradigm *Pu'aL*, which is transitive, (*Contra*. Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*). *Mû'āDēṭ*'s is morphologically equivalent to the Arabic *maF'ûl*. Also see (Sivan and Wated 2011, 44, n. 37).

¹¹⁰⁸ This is cited by Abraham Ibn Ezra to (Prov. 25:19).

¹¹⁰⁹ The definite article either indicates an ellipsis; as if it said *La-Na'aR Na'aR Ha-YûLLāD*, or an imperfect verb *YəYûLLāD* in which the first Y (*Yôḏ*) elides into the definite article, (*Mōznāyīm*, 90).

¹¹¹⁰ Ibn Janāḥ compares the meaning of Jer. 20:10 to the Arabic *ḏil'* [stumble] (*'Uṣûl*, 611, 26 = *HaŠôrāšīm*, 432).

¹¹¹¹ On *ma'anât* as multiple meanings (Carter 1973, 146–57).

¹¹¹² (Heinrichs 1984b, 128–29, 133).

It states, “*For I am on the verge of collapse* (*Ṣela* ‘)’” (Psalms 38:18) is like “*my weakness* (*Ṣal’î*)” (Psalms 35:15). Perhaps it is interpreted as ‘*weakness* [*dali* ‘]’ by (way) of (morphological) analogy [*majâz*]; with a A (*Pattâḥ*) underneath the Ṣ (*Ṣâḏî*), I mean ‘*weak*.’ Now, it (*Ṣela* ‘) is vocalised with an I [*kasra* = *Serê*]¹¹¹³ underneath the Ṣ (*Ṣâḏî*) and has a A (*Pattâḥ*) underneath the L (*Lâmêḏ*), oxytone. *Ṣela* ‘ and *Ṣela* ‘ are identical whether annexed with a suffix or without one; it states in the annexed form *Ṣela* ‘; “*And for the rear* (*Ṣela* ‘) *of the Tabernacle*” (Ex. 26:20) or “*And two on the other side* (*Ṣal’ô*)” (Ex. 25:12). The purpose of this statement is to fortify his enemies (resolve) against him and their announcement of his destruction.

וקו' כי אני לצלע נכון (תהלים לח:יה) מת'ל ובצלעי (תהלים לה:טו). ורבמא פסר צ'ל'ע'א' עלי אלמג'אז בפתח אלצאד אעני אלצ'עף ואמא אלצלע אלמכסור אלצאד פהו פתח אללאם ומלרע. וקד אסתוי צלע וצלע פי אלצ'אפה אלי אלצ'מיר ואלי אלט'אהר ג'מיעא קיל פי מצ'אף צלע ולצלע המשכן (שמות כו:כ) על צלעו האחת (שמות כה:יב) והד'א אלקול הו עלה לתכברה אעדאיה עליה [47 ב] ואסת[ב] שארהם בהלאכה.

The difficulty described by Ibn Chiquitilla relates to the sub-classes of nouns with two primitive short vowels. To understand why Ibn Chiquitilla describes *Ṣela* ‘/*Ṣela* ‘ by (way) of (morphological) analogy [*majâz*], we shall first explain the problem from the perspective of modern diachronic Hebrew grammar and then compare it to Ibn Chiquitilla’s synchronic analysis. According to Muraoka there are three basic types of Segholate nouns, R1 *mēḏēk* (primitive form *qatl*), R2 *seḏer* (*qitl*), and R3 *qodeṣ* (*qutl*). Furthermore, with a guttural the R1 form *qatl* becomes *na’ar*. Of these forms we are only interested in R1, R2 and the guttural form. In the construct form R1 becomes *malkê*, whilst R2 becomes *Siḏrê*. There are, however, considerable numbers of *qitl* forms that have become *qatl* forms as far as the first vowel is concerned in the construct state. The transition from one type to the other is facilitated by the similarity of the inflected forms

¹¹¹³ Delgado describes Ḥayyûj’s vocalic system as preferring the sequence “*pataḥ, qameṣ, segol, šere, ḥireq, ḥolem and šureq, i.e., a, e, i, o u.*” These seven sounds were reduced to an intermediate and 3 basic ones with the *šerê* called a *kasra* (J. M. Martínez Delgado 2013, 83). Also for a history of Hebrew vowel names (Posegay 2021, 29–55).

of R1 and R2. The construct form *Qitlî* may originate from either the *qatl* or *qitl* form. The Segholate form *Qetel* tends to become *Qetel*, but sometimes one and the same noun may presuppose a *qatl* form, whilst the other is a *qitl* form. In the case of guttural R2 forms, they usually attract the vowel A (*Pattāh*) as in the R1 form *na‘ar* and when in the construct the auxiliary vowel is either *na‘rî* or *na‘rkā*. According to Muraoka, R2 forms with a guttural are probably R1, following the form of *na‘ar* and indistinguishable from it. The inflection of nouns with two primitive short vowels are *qatal*, *qital*, *qatil* and *qatul*. Of these it is the inflected form *qital* for *Qetel* nouns which concern us. Its inflection is similar to that of *Qatal*. The *e* (*Serê*) is dropped under the same conditions as *Qatal* nouns (*Daḥar* to *Diḥrê*) in the construct form. However, most of the words belonging to the *qital* pattern express some abnormality. In the case of *Ṣela‘ / Ṣela‘* in the construct state with a suffix they become *Ṣal‘î* and in the plural form *Ṣal‘ôt* respectively. Muraoka suggests the primitive form is probably *Ṣil‘*, analogous to the Arabic *ḍil‘* and the more common *dila‘*.¹¹¹⁴

In the synchronic method of mediaeval Hebrew grammar, Ibn Janāḥ includes *Qetel* and *Qetel* under one form, but considers *Qetel* analogous [*qiyâs*] to *Qetel*.¹¹¹⁵ What Muraoka calls R2, *sep̄er* (*qitl*) and *Ṣela‘* (Ex. 26:20) are treated as analogous to *Qetel*. Ibn Janāḥ also includes the distinction between *Ṣela‘* paroxytone and *Ṣelā‘* oxytone in his list of *Qetel/Qetel* nouns.¹¹¹⁶ This too is Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion of *Ṣela‘* (Psalms 38:18). His initial comparison of the form with the suffix *Ṣal‘î* (Psalms 35:15) confirms it as analogous to *Qetel* nouns (= R1), but belonging to the form *Qetel* (= R2). However, he goes further when he identifies the two forms *Ṣela‘ / Ṣela‘* as analogous to the forms *ḍil‘ / ḍila‘* in Arabic.¹¹¹⁷ By making this comparison, he dismisses the implicit claim that *Ṣela‘* ought to be *Ṣila‘** with a suffix and accepts that it is morphologically divergent,

¹¹¹⁴ (Joüon and Muraoka 1991, secs 96Ac, 96Ae, 96Af, 96Ah, 96Ba-c).

¹¹¹⁵ (*al-Lîn*, 388-9, *Luma‘* 107, 1-10 = *HaRiqmâ*, 126, 16-23).

¹¹¹⁶ (*Luma‘* 107, 1-10; 132, 6; 211, 13 = *HaRiqmâ*, 126, n. 5; 120, 20; 230, 20).

¹¹¹⁷ Ibn Janāḥ compares the meaning of Jer. 20:10 to the Arabic *ḍil‘* [*stumble*] (*‘Uṣûl*, 611, 26 = *HaṢôrāšîm*, 432).

majâz. His proof: both *Şela* ‘*Şela*’ when accompanied by a suffix have one form, *Şalô* (Ex. 25:12).

The morphological convergence of R1 and R2 in both the diachronic and synchronic analyses of modern and mediaeval grammarians shows that grammar is about classifying based on the most up to date knowledge. The development of better formal grammatical categories improves on early attempts to solve the form-meaning dichotomy. Illustrative of the developmental aspect of the form-meaning dichotomy is visible in Se‘adyah’s non-existent attempt to match the form to meaning for the verse *לאלמעד כאלמעד* [Furthermore, I am destined for sorrow] (Psalms 38:18)¹¹¹⁸ and as *ואג'תמעו עליי* [but they, when they approached me with deceit, they did not cease to rejoice] (Psalms 35:15).¹¹¹⁹

Despite the relative differences in matching form to meaning the sense of the phrase is nearly identical in Se‘adyah and Ibn Chiquitilla: David describes his weakness as destining him for disaster. His enemies read this as portending his imminent destruction. This agreement over meaning, supports the conclusion that grammatical form operates independently from meaning. In the next section we look at examples where *majâz* references divergent meaning, or figurative tropes.

Majâz as a Figurative Trope

The second meaning of *majâz* (short for *majâz ‘alâ al-ma‘nâ*) belongs to the field of rhetoric and is one half of the *ḥaqîqa-majâz* dichotomy.¹¹²⁰ Writing on the second meaning, al-‘Askarî states that: *ولا بد لكل استعارتين ومجازتين من حقيقة* [... *each figurative expression must have a literal equivalent*].¹¹²¹ This is the old-fashion grammarian’s

¹¹¹⁸ I.e., “stumble” (*Se‘adyah, Psalms*, 118; *Rashi, Psalms*, Heb. 824, Eng. 322). *Comp.* “lame” (*Maḥberet*, 318). Abraham Ibn Ezra cites Ibn Chiquitilla’s opinion, but prefers his own, “bedridden” *ad. loc.*

¹¹¹⁹ But see Se‘adyah’s *tafsîr* which explains it as stumble from sickness (*Se‘adyah, Psalms*, 109).

¹¹²⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla also uses the term *maṭal* to refer to metaphor. It is so frequent that its various meanings warrant a separate analysis. On this meaning of the term see (Heinrichs 1984b, 122).

¹¹²¹ (Kanazi 1988, 150; Heinrichs 1992, 274).

metaphor. It understands the process as attributive, searching for a common analogy in the description between topic and form. It derives its origin from mediaeval interpretations of Aristotle's understanding of metaphor as forming a dichotomy between literal and figurative language.¹¹²² In *Poetics* 1457b Aristotle writes that:

Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy.¹¹²³

Mediaeval reflections on this passage use *majâz* to describe deviations from a word's conventional true meaning, as its figurative meaning exists only in a counterfactual world.¹¹²⁴ In contrast, *ḥaqîqa* is true because it exists in the factual world.

Le sens propre représente les sens premiers alors que le sens figuré est une dérivation. Le premier est restrictif alors que le second est inclusif. La métaphore est louée pour sa proximité du sens propre, mais le sens propre n'est pas loué pour sa proximité du sens métaphorique. ... Le sens propre est naturel (*ṭaba'*), tandis que le sens figuré est affecté (*taṭabbu'*). Le sens figuré est celui qui n'est pas employé à l'encontre de l'usage linguistique. Le signe de sens propre est que sa signification corresponde à son signifiant sans rajout ni ellipse de manière à ce que le mot suive sa signification et que la signification suive le mot.¹¹²⁵

¹¹²² The attributive metaphor (J. Searle 1996, 86).

¹¹²³ (Barnes 1984, 2332). However, this is not necessarily what Aristotle himself had in mind. "*Must one say that ordinary usage has to be 'proper,' in the sense of primitive, original, native, in order for there to be a deviation and borrowing? It is but one step that leads to the eventual customary opposition between figurative and proper. Later rhetoric takes this step, but there is no evidence that Aristotle took it.*" (Ricœur 1977, 19).

¹¹²⁴ Moses Ibn Ezra lists a variety of tropes under *majâz*; metaphor, hyperbole, metonym, inversion, and ellipsis, and offers specific terminology. Many are also found in Ibn Chiquitilla, but often either lumped together under *majâz* or alternatively labelled.

¹¹²⁵ *Ḥadiqa* in (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 302). Also see his analysis from Se'adyah to Moses Ibn Ezra (*Ibid.* 273-86, 301-4, 332-41).

Fenton identifies an order in the relationship between *ḥaqîqa* and *majâz*. *Ḥaqîqa* is the conventional, *ṭaba* ‘[*natural*]’ meaning, whilst *majâz* language is an outgrowth, *taṭabbu* ‘[*resultant*]’ of it.¹¹²⁶ Between these two positions is a process by which the meaning of a word moves from its conventional meaning to its figurative meaning. This process is mediated by *bayâniyyûn* [*interpretation*] and is weighed against tradition, conventional usage, aesthetic preference, theology, philosophy, religious law, science or any other possible source of information. In contrast to this, modern analysis of metaphor does not involve *bayâniyyûn* to form a special class of language. As Donald Davidson observes:

There are no instructions for devising metaphor; there is no manual for determining what a metaphor “means” or “says”; there is no test for metaphor that does not call for taste.¹¹²⁷

The elusive search for rules by which metaphors are governed leads Donaldson to conclude none exist and that all descriptions of metaphor are distinct from the metaphor itself.¹¹²⁸ Pre-modern literary critics talk *about* the metaphor, but this is not the same as the metaphor, as something is lost when the figurative language is transformed into literal language. He calls that something the taste of the interpreter.

Following, Donaldson analysis, mediaeval biblical exegetes adopt the old-fashioned grammarian’s metaphor, but their ‘tastes’ are subject to their theological and philosophical assumptions. What falls under the Arabic term, *bayâniyyûn* - the process by which *ḥaqîqa* is explained as a *majâz* is the subject of historical literary criticism. In the

¹¹²⁶ An adequate translation based on communal usage (de Saussure et al. 1959, 113).

¹¹²⁷ (D. Davidson 1978, 31–47, n. 1).

¹¹²⁸ Carney describes Davidson as denying cognitive status to metaphors (Carney 1983, 257–67). This differs with that opinion of Black (M. Black 1955, 273–94; 1977, 431–347) and most other interpretations of metaphor. For example, Searle reaches a slightly different conclusion to that of Davidson. He views metaphor as having an additional meaning to the literal meaning of which he calls ‘speaker’s meaning.’ In his opinion meaning is conveyed by the conventional structures of the language. Thus “*speech acts are characteristically performed by uttering expressions in accordance with these sets of constitutive rules.*” (J. R. Searle 1969, 37). In this context the rules of metaphor require a different meaning to that of the literal meaning (J. Searle 1996, 83–112). Alternatively, Stern proposes a semantic definition of metaphor that avoids lexical ambiguity, but sacrifices considerable structural ambiguity (J. Stern 2000, 206; Camp 2005, 717).

case of Ibn Chiquitilla, his '*tastes*' are contingent on the beliefs of mediaeval rationalism. Working out what set of information provides that outlook is the necessary knowledge by which the movement from *ḥaqîqa* to *majâz* is completed. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in his discussion anthropomorphisms.

Anthropomorphism

Like many other mediaeval (and modern Biblical) scholars, Ibn Chiquitilla offers a conceptual understanding of the anthropomorphism's intent rather than a close reading of the its language. This is done by incorporating either rhetorical, theological or historical information into the text.¹¹²⁹ In this section we focus on philosophical/theological questions of anthropomorphism and show how use of *bayâniyyûn* [*explanation*] of the text's meaning ignores the relationship between the tenor and topic of the image,¹¹³⁰ in favour of its abstract rhetorical sense. This directional-shift in emphasis from supplying an adequate translation of the text to explaining the text, reflects Ibn Chiquitilla's rational outlook.¹¹³¹

Some rational ideas found in Ibn Chiquitilla are *mu'tazilite*,¹¹³² Neo-Platonic thought, Ptolemaic astronomy, and Aristotelian physics. These topics are the stock concerns of any rational thinker of the age and make the identification of Ibn Chiquitilla with any single doctrine hard to determine. Though not all topics can be covered here, we shall look at examples where rationalism intersects with rhetoric. We shall discuss the unity of God,

¹¹²⁹ (Kugel 1990, 4; Cooper 1990, 26–44). Excursus of these types are a familiar feature in Abraham Ibn Ezra's Biblical commentaries; a method, perhaps he adopts from Ibn Chiquitilla as one of the early Iberian commentators (Sirat 1985, 105; Sela 2003, 32:288–89; 326–27). Also Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (Dascalu 2015, 42–71; 2016b; 2019a).

¹¹³⁰ Or what Stern calls '*the reading*.' (J. Stern 1997, 216–19).

¹¹³¹ Mediaeval rationalists approach examples where a literal reading is counterfactual, as equivocal in meaning (Klein-Braslavy 1996, 302–20; M. Z. Cohen 1996, 15–57; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997; Ben-Shammai 2003, 33–50).

¹¹³² For a history of *mu'tazilite kalâm* in Muslim, Christian and Jewish sources, see (Sirat 1985, 1–113; Vajda 1973, 143–60; H. A. Wolfson 1976; 1979; Vajda and Fenton 1990, 5–34). Se'adyah's Rabbanite and Qarar'ite exegetes, see (Sklare 1996, 144; Sklare and Ben-Shammai 1997; Sklare 2017, 145–79; Polliack 1997; 2006, 67–93; Polliack and Nir 2016, 40–79; J. Stern 1997, 213–29; Zawadowska 2016a, 163–223; 2016b, 1–49).

denial of the reality of God's attributes, justice, the rational intellect, freewill, and the theory of emanations,¹¹³³ and ask what impact, if any, do these subjects have on the semantic meaning of the text.¹¹³⁴ In doing so we shall show that Ibn Chiquitilla ignores the tenor of figurative language in favour of its rhetorical sense.

Ibn Chiquitilla as a rationalist resolves the problem of Biblical anthropomorphism through abstraction. He denies the reality of God's attributes, following the *kalâmîc* model of incorporeality. This matches Se'adyah's view in chapter two of *Kitâb al-'Amânât*:¹¹³⁵ Se'adyah writes that:

Furthermore, they form it, also by way of figurative exegesis [*majâz*] 'the portion of the righteous' and their share as it states, "My lot, my share, and my portion" (Psalms 16:5). This is also by way of providence [*'ikṭiṣâṣ*] and grace [*tafḍîl*].

בל קד תג'עלה הו איצ'א עלי טריק אלמג'אז נציב אלצאלחין
והצתהם כקולהא ה' מנת חלקי וכסי (תהלים טז:ה) פהד'א
עלי סביל אלאכ'תצאץ ואלתפציץ¹¹³⁶

¹¹³³ (Dascalu 2019a, 62, nn. 132–3; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 314–18; Gimmaret D 2020; Husik and Harvey 2002, 33f, 41, 186, 189–90, 193; Sirat 1985, 57; Sela 2003, 32:289; Talmage 1968, 177–218; Tobi 1979, 140–61, n 2.; H. A. Wolfson 1976; Zucker 1955, 313–56; 1959, 3:154–57, 229–36; 1984). On the introduction of 'adl wal-tawḥîd [justice and unity of God] to Qu'rânic exegesis by 'Abd al-Jubbâr (937-1024) (Achtar 2012, 177) and Encyclopaedia Iranica (Schmidtke 2012). For their importation into Jewish thought (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 59, 83–100, 268–69; H. A. Wolfson 1946, 371–91; 1967, 544–73; 1976, 43–58; 68–70; 82–111; 1979). For a summary of Abraham Ibn Ezra's philosophical ideas (Sirat 1985, 104–12; Haas 2016, 122–61; 2020, 31–40). Ibn Gabirol (Loewe 1979; 1989; Sirat 1985, 68–81; Pessin 2003, 91–110; 2013).

¹¹³⁴ Examples of this can be seen in the way Ibn Chiquitilla uses ellipsis to avoid theological problems in Ex. 15:2 and Ps. 45:7. Reading the book of Psalms as historical leads to the interpretation of the particle L (*Lāmeḡ*) in various ways to avoid anachronism and the rejection of the *jamhûr*'s understanding of Ps. 66:18. On the influence of competing thought-systems of mediaeval Judaism on interpreting Talmudic material (D. Weiss 2017, 369–90). On whether mediaeval exegesis is really philosophy or a combination of the two, see (Straus 1963; Fradkin 1997, 103–23; J. Stern 1997, 213–29). For a favourable opinion of this type of exegesis as philosophical, see (Dascalu 2019b, 40–78).

¹¹³⁵ ('*Amânât*, chapter 2) Also see (Rawidowicz 1943; Altmann 1973; Sirat 1985, 26–27). In Maimonides (Shailat 1987, Ar. 320, Heb.341).

¹¹³⁶ ('*Amânât*, 107) and (Ratzaby 1998, 38; Qafih 1966, 74; Allony 1969, K-S II, 242, n. 1).

All three terms are given a rhetorical explanation, *naṣīb* [portion], “by way of a *majâz*”¹¹³⁷ befitting both Se‘adyah’s aesthetic approach to figurative language and his denial of the reality of God’s attributes. However, he ignores the tenor of the image as a matter of literary eloquence, treating it as a mode of expressing God’s providence [’*ikṭiṣâṣ*] and grace [’*tafḏîl*].¹¹³⁸

Ibn Chiquitilla too, adopts this argument, leaving the semantic meaning of the *lafẓ* untouched.¹¹³⁹ Instead the introduction of *mu‘tazilite* abstraction of Biblical anthropomorphism turns David into a mediaeval poet-philosopher who declares his belief in an incorporeal God in Psalm 16:4. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Now he (David) mentions unity [*tawḥîd*]
without partnership [*mušrikîn*] in God, he
responds with a prayer against them saying,
“Increase their sorrow quickly, those who
worship other (gods).” (Psalms 16:4). He states;
You increase the pain of those who rush to
worship foreign idols, whilst I will neither get
involved in their sacrifices nor utter their names
on my lips.

ולמא ד'כר תוהידה מן דון אלמשרכין באללה עאד ידעו
עליהם בקו' ירבו עצבותם אחר מהרו (תהלים טז:ד). יקול
כת'רת אלאם אלד'ין סאר'עוא אלי מעבודאת אכ'ר ואני לא
אמזג' מזאג' ד'באיחהא ולא אקסם באסמהא בשפתי.

¹¹³⁷ (’*Amânât*, 79-80). Eng. (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 78). This is a caricature of “orthodoxy. It is historically biased in favour of the rational tradition. Contemporary mediaeval Rabbinic Judaism displayed a range of contradictory opinions (Bernstein 1986, 65–70; Friedman 2007, 157–78; Lorberbaum 2009, 313–51; Friedberg 2013).

¹¹³⁸ ’*Ikṭiṣâṣ* in *kalâm* (Vajda and Fenton 1990, 4). For *tafḏîl*, see Ps. 36:6 *supra*.

¹¹³⁹ See Ps. 132:6 for his comments on verses 4-5, *supra*. *KôS* is derived from *taKôSSû* (Ex. 12:4) for the root K-S-S. Though *KôS* is not explicitly discussed by Ḥayyûj he lists *taKôssû* (contribute) (Ex. 12:4) under the same root K-S-S (*al-Lîn* 342 n. 97). Also see (*Maḥberet*, 218; Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*; *Šôrāšîm*, 166; *Jepheth b. Eli* 23; *Al-Jāmi‘*, Vol. XXI 117). Radaq calls the three terms synonyms (*keṭṭel lāšôn*), (*Radaq, ad. loc.*). Cf. Rashi (Psalms, Eng. 227, Heb. 816;). Ibn Chiquitilla rejects Ibn Janāḥ’s second meaning; a synecdoche *ḥizz* [grace] from the root K-W-S (’*Uṣûl* 312, 34 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 216) and *taKôssû* from K-S-S, (’*Uṣûl*, 325, 31 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 225). Tanḥûm Yerushalmi cites both explanations, using Ex. 12:4 (Eppenstein 1903a, 288–89). In Rabbinic sources “cup” is a synecdoche for “comfort” (*Genesis Rabbah* 88:5, cf. TJ *Pesaḥim* 69a = 10:1.) It was later incorporated into the *Targûm* (*Targûm, Psalms*, 46) and *Soḥer Tov* (Braude 1959, 199). Either way Rabbinic tradition and Iberian exegesis sees it as either indicative of God’s grace or future redemption.

He continues in the following verse:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 17v

Then he returns to contemplating what he stated earlier about the unity [*tawḥîd*] (of the Lord) in the verse, “*The Lord is my allotted, my share and my portion.*” (Psalms 16:5). Know that “*my portion*” is a light (*Qal* verb) from “*You shall contribute for the lamb*” (Ex. 12:4). It means [*ma ‘nâ*] ‘*the portion.*’

ועאד יפכר במא צדר בה מן ד'כר אלתוהיד בקו' ייי מנת
חלקי וכוסי (תהלים טז:ה). ואעלם אן וכוסי (תהלים טז:ה)
מכ'פף מן תכוסו על השה (שמות יב:ד). ומענאה אלנציב

The use of *mu ‘tazilite* terms to affirm God’s apophatic nature makes David’s figurative language a declaration of the correct *madḥab* [*doctrine*]; one indivisible incorporeal God, contrary to the erroneous beliefs of the idolators.¹¹⁴⁰ David is portrayed as a rational philosopher, contemplating God through Psalms. His association with following the right *madḥab* continues in Ibn Chiquitilla’s analysis of Psalm 16:7. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 17v

The phrase, “*At night my conscience admonishes me*” (Psalms 16:7) signifies [*ya ‘nî*] that he (David), whose direction was perfect and his path upright from God’s inspiration and a wise heart, ascribes his peace to Him.

וקו' אף לילות יסרוני כליותי (תהלים טז:ז) יעני אנה
אנמא כמל רשדה ואסתקאם תדבירה מן אלהאם אללה
לה ומן קלב חכים חמלה עלי מצאלחה.

The opinion [*ra’ y*] borrows (imaginatively) [*‘isti ‘âra*] the kidneys, as he (David) switches from one contradictory doctrine to another until one particular doctrine appears most likely to him. If God supports him, he (David) will incline

ואסתעאר אלראי ללכליות לאנה קד יכ'אלף מד'הב אלמר
פי שי אלי שי וצ'דה חתי ירג'ח ענדה אחד אלמד'אהב
פאד'א ופקה אללה מאל אלי אלאצלח לה כמא פעל
בקאיל הד'א אלקול ואד'א כ'ד'לה רג'ח אלאסוי עליה

¹¹⁴⁰ (*‘Amânât*, 88-90). Trans. Cf. (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 81–84). In al-Muqammiṣ (Vajda 1967, 49–73). Also accepted by Neo-Platonic exegetes and philosophers in Iberia. However, over stating their intellectual origins is not critical to comprehension, (H. A. Wolfson 1976, 83; Pessin 2003, 92–93; Vajda 1971, 310).

Tawḥîd in Dâ’ûd al-Muqqamiṣ and al-Qirqisânî (Ben-Shammai 1982).

to better himself, as he does when he says this verse (Psalms 16:5).¹¹⁴¹ But if He forsakes him, He will favour the vilest against him (David), as one sees of one who says of Him, “*The Lord has put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these prophets of yours; for the Lord has decreed disaster upon you*” (1 Kings 22:23).

It is impossible for any inner organ to express conflicting thought except for the kidneys, as they are a pair.

It may be that the two of them (the kidneys) are a repository of sexual-desire. But, because they (the kidneys) do not describe sexual-desire to sin, he assigns them figurative [*majâz*] action. Furthermore, one must advance a valid reason for this because one who directs his eyes towards His master and persists in His contemplation is assisted and guided towards His Will [*murâda*], as it states, “*He is on my right hand, I shall never be shaken.*” (Psalms 16:8).

כמא ערץ' פי מן קיל לה הנה נתן יי רוח שקר בפי כל
נביאך אלה ויי דבר עליך רעה (מלכים א כב:כג)

ולם יכן מא יערב פי אלאעצ'א אלבאטנה ען שיין
מכ'תלפין גיר אלכליות לאנהמא את'נתאן.

וקד יג'וז ד'לך לאנהמא מכאן אלשהוה פאד' למ תחמלה
שהוה עלי אלמעאצי ג'על אלפעל להמא מג'אזא ת'ם
אתא באלעלה אלמוג'בה לד'לך אנה מן יג'על רבה נצב
עיניה ומלאזם פכרה עונה ומוידה עלי מראדה והו
ק' כי מימיני בל אמוט (תהלים טז:ח).

In the above passage, the literary significance of kidneys, as the *locus probans* for internal conflict caused by *ra'y* [*subjective opinion*] is associated with David's search for doctrinal truth.¹¹⁴² David is afflicted by doubts before finding the right path [*maḏhab*] to 'ilhâm 'Allâh [*love of God*].¹¹⁴³ In the second part of the gloss, Ibn Chiquitilla explains the literary language of the metaphor [*'isti 'âra*,] in light of its counterfactual figurative meaning [*majâz*]. The relevant ascription is not connected to the physiological function of

¹¹⁴¹ David appears to suffer because of his theological doubts. On prophets and sin, including intellectual failings (Zucker 1965, 149–73).

¹¹⁴² (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 244; Tanenbaum 2002, 39). Also Ps. 7:10 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 9v.).

¹¹⁴³ 'Ilhâm allâh [*inspiration of God*], a type of sub-prophetic level of knowledge found in Se'adyah and Judah Ha-Levi that does not correspond to its Islamic counterpart (Lasker 2009, specifically n. 20; Dascalu 2019a, 358; Baneth 1977, 63; Ha-Levi and Hirschfeld 1931, 100; ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969, 93). On love of God (Vajda 1957).

the kidneys as the seat of sexual desire, but to the contextual theme of the Psalms shifting from doubt to certainty that the fulfilment of the Divine Will [*'irâda*] will be rewarded.¹¹⁴⁴

The kidney's association with doubt about the right path to fulfilling God's Will is not original to Ibn Chiquitilla. It is found in the Talmud and then further developed by Neo-Platonic Jewish thinkers. The kidneys, unlike other organs are a pair and therefore responsible for guiding the heart to choose between good or evil.¹¹⁴⁵ As with many cultures, the Talmud ascribes sexual function to them.¹¹⁴⁶ What matters is that their 'literal' meaning is associated with sexual desire and sin, whilst *majâz* is associated with philosophical opinion [*ray*'].¹¹⁴⁷

Ibn Chiquitilla's linking of the language of the metaphor with the overall theme of the Psalm's form appears on the surface to be an example of the interactive metaphor.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla writes in his gloss on Ps. 16:1, that *miḳtām* is a figurative-literary term for a precious poem, overcoming doubt.

He explains (Ibn Janâḥ) on the verse "*miḳtām* of David," (Ps. 16:1) as more precious than "*gold* (*keṭem*)."¹¹⁴⁴ It is a simile [*tašbîḥ*]; as the Arabs say '*their best poems are gilded*.'

פסר פי קו' מכתם לדוד (תהלים טז:א) [17 ב] מדהבה מן
כתם תשביה במא תקולה אלערב למ' תכיר אשעארה
מדהבאת.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 17v. (*'Uṣûl*, 505, 22-4 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 356). Ibn Gabirol uses it to mean "*song*" in line 34 of *Šîn 'anîm* (Loewe 1988, 115). Some translate it as a "*jewel*." This explanation is found in Menaḥem (*Maḥberet*, 224, 282) Al-Fâsî (*Al-Jâmi'*, XXI 135), Ibn Janâḥ (*'Uṣûl*, 335, 11 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 232), Abraham Ibn Ezra, Psalm 56:1. Ibn Bal'am cites both the opinions "*gold*" and "*melody*" in the name of Se'adyah and Ibn Janâḥ respectively, see (Evr.-Arab. I 4352 6v; Evr.-Arab. I 618, 6v-7r; Evr.-Arab. I 618, 9v). Both opinions appear in Evr.-Arab. I 1453, 1, which may have been written by Tanḥûm Yerushalmi. Moses Ibn Ezra cites this meaning in *Muḥâḍara*, (182 = 203). Others think it is the name of an instrument or melody (Neubauer 1890, sec. עדה). On *'irâda*, *supra*.

¹¹⁴⁵ Commenting on Eccl. 10:12, the Talmud links the right kidney with the good inclination and left with the bad, and the mouth and throat as its aegis for truth and deceit. TB Berakhoth 61a. C.f. (S. S. Kotték 1993, 45–47).

¹¹⁴⁶ (Eknayan 2016, 236–46; S. S. Kotték 1993, n. 441). For reference to male sexual dysfunction and the kidneys (Geller 2021, 21).

¹¹⁴⁷ In the mediaeval world, the Italian physician Shabbetai Donollo (913 - c. 982) adopts the kidneys as the seat of desire. In *Hakhmoni* he organises the human body as a microcosm of the macrocosm, the universe (Samuel S. Kotték 1977; Kohen 2007, 88–90). Others follow in his footsteps. Moses Ibn Ezra also describes the body's organs with this theme. The theme of the microcosm-macrocosm is discussed in (Altmann and Stern 2009, 27; Banchetti 2006; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 155, 184–89, 214, 244–47, 324–25; Husik and Harvey 2002, 60, 125; Samuel S. Kotték 1977; S. S. Kotték 1993, 44–53; Nasr 1964, 66–74; Loewe 1989, 46; Rawidowicz 1974, 252; Sirat 1985, 60, 71, 72, 76, 86, 108; M. Schwartz 2002, vol. II 658–60; Vajda 1949, 93–181). Abraham Ibn Ezra adopts the kidneys as the seat of desire in his glosses to the above Psalms. Ibn Ezra in his comments on Ps. 16:7 and Ps. 139:13-4 *ad. locum* (Vajda 1947, 70–72; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 184–89, 206, 214; S. S. Kotték 1993, 46). Judah Ha-Levi describes the physiological and intellectual function of the kidneys in *al-Kazâra*, IV:25, as the production of urine, semen, and the seat of desire (S. S. Kotték 1993, 44–53; Dvorjetski 2002, 119–29).

Perhaps this is because of the long literary tradition of assigning emotions to the organs of the body.¹¹⁴⁸ However, linking the kidneys with conscience reduces the figurative eloquence to an abstraction, which denudes the language of a tight link between tenor and image.

Elsewhere this tendency to glide over the tenor of the image is more explicit. The kidneys are associated with the seat of conscience, but no attempt is made to explain the form and meaning. In Psalm 7:10, Ibn Chiquitilla writes that the kidneys and heart are David's conscience.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 9r

<p>The phrase, “<i>Who probes the heart and kidneys</i>” (Psalms 7:10), as in ‘<i>You know the integrity of my conscience therefore You must answer me when I beseech You.</i>’</p>	<p>וק' ובוהן לבות וכליות (תהלים ז:י) אי אנך תעלם מן צדק צ'מירי מא תחק לי אלאג'אבה פי מא אדעו אליך ענה.</p>
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A common rationalisation of literal and figurative tropes pertaining to conscience is *ṣidq ḍamîr* [true conscience] in Hispano-Arabic Bible translations.¹¹⁴⁹ For example, *QeRēB* “*in them*” (Psalms 55:16) is translated as *ḍamîr* [pl. *ḍāma'îr*].¹¹⁵⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 68r

<p>The phrase, “<i>For where they gather, there is evil in them</i>” (Psalms 55:16) signifies [ya 'nī] something hidden within their consciences [ḍāma'îr] and combined with their intentions. And it is (derived) from, “<i>While the seed is still</i></p>	<p>וק' כי רעות במגורם בקרבם (תהלים נה:טז) יעני פי מכנון צ'מאיריהם ומג'תמע ניאתהם ומנה העוד הזרע במגורה (חגי ב:יט) על דגן ועל תירוש יתגוררו יסורו בי (הושע ז:יד).</p>
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¹¹⁴⁸ Elsewhere Ibn Chiquitilla follows Se'adyah and makes use of the body parts like “eyes” Ps. 32:8 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 37v-37r), “nose” Ps. 27:9 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 26r), “hands” Ps. 44:4 “inside” Ps. 77:3 see section on 'isti'āra, “face” Ps. 21:10 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 31v) as anthropopathisms. For examples in Se'adyah see (Rawidowicz 1974, 255–56; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 61, 237, 239, 325, 370). Examples of the literary meanings of “heart” in Ibn Ġiyyāt (Mittelman 1999, 93–97).

¹¹⁴⁹ *Ḍamîr* [conscience] (Kraemer 1986, 7:183; Leirvik 2017, 27–30). Examples in Ibn Chiquitilla of the heart as the seat of inner thought are found in Ps. 25:17, (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 33v) Ps. 36:2 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 41r) Ps. 51:12 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 65r).

¹¹⁵⁰ *Qeṛēḇ*, depending on the context may mean either “*in them*,” “*innards*” or “*entrails*”, (BDB, II Q-R-B, 899).

in the granary” (Hag. 2:19), (and) “*They gather over new grain and new wine. They are faithless to me.*” (Hos. 7:14).

The analogue of the topic-image is the hidden thoughts of the wicked represented by the inner organs.¹¹⁵¹ Ibn Chiquitilla’s translation of the verse is “*Let him demand death for them, for where they gather, there is evil in them.*”¹¹⁵² In neither of these examples does Ibn Chiquitilla properly engage with the tenor of the image rather he defines it as *majâz*, the growth of evil in them, derived from its *ḥaqîqa* for literary eloquence.

This image of the kidney as doubt contrasts that of *rāṣôn* (will, want, desire) (Psalms 40:9), which is the fulfilment of God’s desire. Ibn Chiquitilla interprets Psalm 40:9 as follows:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 71r, 53r

It states, “*To do Your Will (rāṣôn), my God, is my desire; Your teaching (Tôrâ) is in my bowels.*” (Psalms 40:9). He (David) grew in two ways which obtained what God desired. One of the (ways) came from his sound reason [‘*aql*] to approve of good and disapprove of evil.

The second (way), “*Your teaching (Tôrâ) is in my bowels,*” (Psalms 40:9) speaks about God’s book (*Tôrâ*), which includes it (intellect), as it knows what the intellect is incapable of knowing and fathoms what speculation cannot fathom.

וק' לעשות רצונך אלהי חפצתי ותורתך בתוך מעי
(תהלים מ:ט) כב'ר בה ען אלוג'הין אלד'י יבלג בה מא אלי
רצ'א רבה אחדמהא אלתי ינתג'הא עקלה אלצחיה מן
אסתחסאן אלחסן ואסתקבאה אלקביח.

ואלת'אני ק' ותורתך בתוך מעי (תהלים מ:ט) יערב ען
כתאב [א 53] אללה אלד'י אחתו'י עליה פעלמה מא למ
יעלמה עקלה וערפה מא למ יערפה פכרה.

¹¹⁵¹ Ibn Chiquitilla describes *QeRēB* in terms of intent to explain the meaning of *māĠûRām* (gather inside) Hag. 2:19. Ibn Ezra concurs with Ibn Chiquitilla, see his gloss on Hos. 7:14 (Simon 1989, 84, line 42).

¹¹⁵² “*Bring (yiššî)*” is from the root N-Š-H.

The meaning of “*Let Him incite death for them,*” (Ps. 55:16), as in ‘*for them [laha].*’ What their spirits demand, (death).

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 68r.

ומעני ישי מות עלימו (תהלים נה:טז) יכון להא ג'רי מא
יודון ענה ארואחהם.

Rāṣhôn alludes to the philosophical tradition of refinement of the intellect [‘*aql*] as fulfilling God’s Will. This is in contrast to the second half of the parallelism, which refers to the transcendental truth of revealed law, the *Tôrâ*.¹¹⁵³ The reoccurring theme of David obeying God’s Will appears in Psalm 131:1.¹¹⁵⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 117v

<p>It states, “<i>Nor my eyes look haughty</i>,” (Psalms 121:1) meaning his soul was raised up when he felt happiness. It increases by fulfilment of the Will [‘<i>irâda</i>] and commandments.¹¹⁵⁵</p>	<p>קו' ולא רמו עיני (תהלים קלא:א) יע' אן תטמח נפסה ענדמא¹¹⁵⁶ שער באלסעאדה אנהא פי אלזיאדה אלי בלוג אלאראדה פי אמור</p>
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The image of the metaphor, David’s eyes raised upward is given a philosophical sense. The incorporeal soul [*nafs*] feels happiness through the fulfilment of the Divine Will [‘*irâda*] and commandments. This theological approach leaves the actual tenor of the metaphor untouched.

¹¹⁵³ Given to all, it achieves grace through intellectual perseverance. Se‘adyah and Moses Ibn Ezra reject the ability of the philosopher to correctly discern the Divine Will without the aid of revelation (‘*Amânât*, 117). (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 94; Husik and Harvey 2002, 194). This question touches on a key concern for mediaeval theologians: whether the source of rational laws was knowable without revelation (J. Stern 1997). Se‘adyah distinguishes between ‘*aqliyyât*, rationally known laws, *sam‘iyyât* and *šar‘iyyât* those known through revelation (‘*Amânât*, 116-22). Also see (Jose Faur 1969, 299–304; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 134–35; Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 96-102 96, n. 4; Sklare 2017, 145–79). Also see (Heschel 1944, 391–408; Sirat 1985, 33). Moses Ibn Ezra identifies this as the opinion of the *Mutakallimûn* (*Muḥâdara*, 181 = 203). On rational knowledge as the highest rank of knowledge (Vajda 1946, 202–6; Louis Gardet and Anawati 1948, 431–33; Mittelman 1999, 103–9). Judah Ha-Levi in *al-Kazâra* writes that “*The philosopher, however, who is equipped with highest capacity, receives through it the advantages of disposition intelligence and active power, so that he wants nothing to make him perfect.*” (Hirschfeld 1905, pt. I:1). Moses Ibn Ezra and the passive Intellect of Humans (Husik and Harvey 2002, 186; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 186). Rationalism among Aristotelian Jewish thinkers; Abraham Ibn Da‘ûd, Maimonides and Hillel ben b. Samuel, see (Husik and Harvey 2002, xivi, xlix, 5–6, 40, 165–66, 194, 225, 276; Sirat 1985, 60–65). Also see Maimonides’ Treatise on Resurrection, (Shailat 1987, Ar. 330, Heb. 386-7). For an example of rationalisation of Biblical laws in Maimonidean thought (Elukin 2002, 621). On the role of intellect in Abraham Ibn Ezra’s thought *Yesod Morah* 7:4 and 8:1 (Joseph Cohen and Simon 2018a, 143, 158) and in Neo-Platonic thought (Husik and Harvey 2002, 5–6; Sirat 1985, 60–65).

¹¹⁵⁴ On ‘*irâda* [Divine Will] (Massignon 1999, 16; 2010). Also see (Loewe 1989, 181, n. 50; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 208; Pessin 2013, 53–87). Also, Ibn Janâh (Joshua Blau 1980, 4:99).

¹¹⁵⁵ A reference to fulfilment of Rabbinic precepts.

¹¹⁵⁶ A scribal insertion.

Another feature of Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation is the close association between 'adl [Divine Justice]¹¹⁵⁷ and tawhîd scattered throughout Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary though an in-depth excursus is hard to find. Most references are to generic justice.¹¹⁵⁸ In one gloss, Ibn Chiquitilla explains the anthropomorphic phrase, "God is a haven for the oppressed." (Psalms 9:10) in traditional Rabbinic terms - God as distributor of reward and punishment.¹¹⁵⁹ He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 12r

<p>He (David) explained ['abâna] the justice ['adl] of God's judgement against that enemy. He gives aid to the feeble and assistance to the oppressed (in) that (phrase), "God is a haven for the oppressed." (Psalms 9:10).</p>	<p>ואבאן ען עדל חכם אללה עלי ד'לך אלעדו ואנה מודי איצ'א אלעון ללצ'עיה ונ'צרה אלמט'לום ד'לך קו' ויהי י'י משגב לדך (תהלים ט:).</p>
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Ibn Chiquitilla's bayân [explanation] reworks the anthropomorphic imagery of God as a haven for the oppressed" into abstract notions of 'awn [aid] and nuṣra [assistance].¹¹⁶⁰

Similarly, in Psalm 36:6 Ibn Chiquitilla combines the natural bedfellows of kalâmîc denial of God's attributes and rhetoric to explain the manifestation of God's attributes in Psalm 36:6 as figurative language. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 91v-91r

¹¹⁵⁷ On the importance of 'adl and tawhîd [justice and unity] to mu'tazilites (Louis Gardet and Anawati 1948, 47, 152–2; Watt 1948, 69; Nādir 1956, 15, 293ff; Sirat 1985, 15–16; Achar 2012, 177; Tyan E 2020). Ps. 9:7 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 12v), Ps. 9:17 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 12v). Ps. 45:4 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 59r), Ps. 75:3 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 94r).

¹¹⁵⁸ In Ps. 58:2-3, 'adl introduces the honest and wise people in David's company The "distant company" (Ps. 56:1) is identified with the righteous. (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 74v-75r). Alternatively, 'adl in Ps. 18:45 refers to David himself (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 22r).

¹¹⁵⁹ The idea is expressed in generic conceptual terms and cannot be connected to specific Rabbinic ideas about judgement. For example, the association of financial status with Divine judgement is found in *Mishnah Kiddushin* 4:14. God as the judge of future wealth on Passover, TB *Rosh Hashanah* 16a. Also see *Pesiqta of Rabbi Kahana, Pisqa* 24, TB *Pesahim* 119a, TB *Sanhedrin* 103a for God as judge. The dual image of judgement (dîn) and mercy (raḥamîm) is found in *Genesis Rabbah* 8:4-5, 10:1; *Exodus Rabbah*, 15 :12; *Pesiqta of Rabbi Kahana* 16:4, 19:3 and in the *Targûm* (Maher 1998, 49–62). Also see (Marmorstein 1927, 43–53)

¹¹⁶⁰ Cf. (Rashi, *Psalms*, Eng. 201, Heb. 814; Dunash Ibn Labraṭ in Abraham Ibn Ezra, Ps. 9:10). For this idea in Se'adyah, Moses Ibn Ezra and Maimonides (H. A. Wolfson 1979, 204–14). Ibn Ezra disagrees with the theme of pain in *Dunash*, see Ibn Ezra, Ps. 9:10 *ad. loc.* Ibn Chiquitilla interprets Psalms 16:5-6 in this way *infra*.

The phrase, “*Your steadfastness unto the sky*” (Psalms 36:6) is by way of figurative language [*majâz*], as if {steadfastness (*’emûnâ*)} ascends from the earth until it reaches the heavens. It (the Psalm) cites four good attributes [*’awṣâf*]: *ḥeṣed*, *’emûnâ* (verse 6), *ṣedāqâ* and *mišpāt* (verse 7). The abode of *ḥeṣed* is the Heavens from which all munificence [*faḏl*] arrives. It also says, “*For Your munificence is above the heavens*” (Psalms 108:5) and it said, “*For Your munificence exceeds the heavens*” (Psalms 57:11): these expressions are about the Creator bestowing munificence until it reaches the upper Heavens. It also says elsewhere that the Heavens exceed “*For Your steadfastness is higher than the heavens*” (Psalms 108:5). In this manner too it states, “*Your steadfastness unto the sky;*” (Psalms 36:6), because steadfastness manifests itself among the people in the land. These (four) attributes [*’awṣâf*] (*’emûnâ*, *ḥeṣed*, *ṣedāqâ* and *mišpāt*) themselves are attributed to the righteous [*’afâḏîl*] of the people. He states about Abraham, peace be upon him, “*By doing what is just (ṣedāqâ)*” (Gen. 18:19); and about David, “*Executed true justice [mišpāt] among all his people*” (2 Sam. 8:15). And (about the righteous), “*He who strives to do good and kind deeds (ṣedāqâ and ḥeṣed)*” (Prov. 21:21); “*A kindly man benefits himself (ḥeṣed)*” (Prov. 11:17); “*But the righteous man is rewarded with life for his fidelity (’emûnâ and ḥeṣed)*” (Hab. 2:4) (and) “*A dependable man will receive many blessings (’emûnôt)*” (Prov. 28:20).

וקו' אמונתך עד שחקים (תהלים לו:ו) עלי סביל אלמג'אז
כאנה תרקי מן אלארץ' חתי תנתי אלי אלסמא.
וד'כר ד' אוצאף מן אלכ'יר והי חסד ואמונה וצדקה ומשפט
וג'על מקר אלחסד אלסמא כאן מן הנאך יצל ג'מיע אלפצ'ל
ואן כאן קד קיל איצ'א כי גדול מעל שמים חסדך (תהלים
קח:ה) וקאל כי גדול עד שמים חסדך (תהלים נז:יא) פתלך
עבארה עמא ינאל אלכ'לק אלמנה חתי ינתי אלי אלסמא
עלוא וקד קאל איצ'א פי מוצ'ע אכ'ר אנה יתג'אז אלסמא פי
קו' כי גדול מעל שמים חסדך (תהלים קח:ה). ובהד'א
אלוג'ה איצ'א קאל ואמונתך עד שחקים (תהלים לו:ו) לאן
אלאמנאה מנצועה פי אלארץ' בין אלנאס והד'ה אלאוצאף
באעיאנהא קד יוצף בהא אפאצ'יל אלנאס פקאל פי אברהם
על אלס' לעשות צדקה (בראשית יח:יט) [91 ב] ופי דוד
עושה משפט וצדקה ללכל עמו (שמואל ב ח:טו). וקאל
רודף צדקה וחסד (משלי כא:כא) גומל נפשו איש חסד
(משלי יא:יז) וצדיק באמונתו יחיה (חבקוק ב:ד). איש
אמונות רב ברכות (משלי כח:כ).

Ibn Chiquitilla focuses on four attributives: *'emûnâ*, *ḥeṣed*, *ṣedāqâ* and *mišpāt*. None are read against their literal meaning,¹¹⁶¹ but he is careful to describe them as apophatic *attributes* [*'awṣâf*] of the manifestation of God's munificence (Heb. *ḥeṣed* Ar. *faḍl*) in the upper spheres.¹¹⁶² In Psalm 108:5, *faḍl* exceeding the heavens represents the manifestation of God's munificence in the sub-lunar world, by way of *majâz*.¹¹⁶³ Munificence emanates downward to the 9th celestial sphere, where the righteous below are imbued with munificence on account of their good conduct.¹¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, the righteous Abraham, David and others, as recipients of *faḍl* load the language of the Psalm with a metaphysical significance.¹¹⁶⁵

Ibn Chiquitilla's metaphysical explanation of the descent of *faḍl* weaves contemporary metaphysics into his exegesis. In his interpretation of the Cloud Rider (*rôḳeḥ 'araboṭ*) (Psalms 68:5), he provides an extensive analysis of the *tašbîḥ*, comparison.¹¹⁶⁶ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 85v

And the meaning [ya 'nî] of “the clouds”	ויעני פי בערבות (תהלים סח:ה) ג'מיע אלאפלאך עלי טריק
(Psalms 68:5) is all the celestial spheres, by way	אלתשביה [85 ב] באלפלוואת לאתסאעהא ועלי אנהא
of comparison [tašbîḥ] with the nine-part	אעט'ם מקדארא פקד ישבה אלאעט'ם באלאצגר עלי
division of the spheres. It (the clouds) is the	אלסביל אלתקריב אד' למ יג'ד מא הו אעט'ם מנה. וקו' פי
mightiest power. The mightiest is compared	אללה תע' כאריה ישאג (הושע יא:י) כגבור יצא (ישעיהו
[yušabbîḥ] to the weakest in order, as nothing	מב:יג) וכמראה הקשת (יחזקאל א:כח) וגירה ויכון מת'ל קו'
exists which is mightier than Him. It states	לרוכב בשמי שמי קדם (תהלים סח:לד).

¹¹⁶¹ I.e., *ḥaqîqa*.

¹¹⁶² Gen. 18:19, 2 Sam. 8:15, Prov. 21:21 and Prov. 11:7. For the Hebrew translation of *faḍl* as *ḥeṣed* (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 93, n. 3). Divine Will or Voluntary Desire, which *faḍl* encounters in the freely chosen observance of commandments (Altmann 1981, 39 n. 42; Sirat 1985, 40, 152; Abramson 1965, 330–31).

¹¹⁶³ (*'Amânât*, 80, 82, 89, 96–9). Eng. (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 78, 81, 83, 84–87; Rawidowicz 1943; Nasr 1964, 9; Altmann 1973; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 97–98).

¹¹⁶⁴ Cf. Ps. 38:6, Ps. 57:11 and Ps. 108:5. He includes a 9th spheres in his gloss to Ps. 68:5 (Altmann and Stern 2009, 110–11; Vajda 1971, 312).

¹¹⁶⁵ *Fâḍîl* [(pl. *'afâḍîl*) as *ḥasîd* (righteous) (Lasker 2009, nn. 3–4). Se'adyah uses *tafḍîl* for the selection of prophets and leaders (*'Amânât*, 120) *Trans.* (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 100). It is found in Judah Ha-Levi's *al-Kazâra* (Ebstein 2013, 136–43).

¹¹⁶⁶ The *tašbîḥ* is marked by a K (*Kāp*) as in “lion” (Hos. 11:10), “warrior” (Is. 42:1) and “bow” (Ez. 1:28). Moses Ibn Ezra similarly explains “Judah is a lion's whelp; On prey, my son, have you grown. He crouches, lies down like a lion, Like the king of beasts—who dare rouse him?” Gen. 49:9 (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 304).

regarding God, may He be exalted, “*Roar like a lion*” (Hos. 11:10), “*goes forth like a warrior*” (Is. 42:13) (and) “*Like the appearance of the bow*” (Ez. 1:28) (and) others, and these are like the phrase, “*To Him who rides the ancient highest heavens*” (Psalms 68:34).

‘*Araboṭ*’ is a figurative representation of God’s *muqâdara* [omnipotence] and corresponds to all nine celestial spheres of the Aristotelian metaphysical universe.¹¹⁶⁷ In this system God’s power [*qadr*] moves all that lies below the nine-part division of the celestial spheres.¹¹⁶⁸ The first to ascribe this meaning to Psalm 68:6 is Se‘adyah. He identifies the images’ topic with God’s independence from time, *qadîm*.¹¹⁶⁹ The highest intellect has one being – power [*qudra*].¹¹⁷⁰ Ibn Janâḥ also identifies ‘*araboṭ*’ with the celestial spheres. He includes a grammatical analysis, which links the metaphysical meaning with its Arabic equivalent. He states in *al-Luma* ‘ that:

“*Him who rides the clouds*” (Psalms 68:5): the heavens, which are called that in their honour and exultation, as it also says of them: “*Heroes Heavens bread, each man ate*” (Psalms 78:25),¹¹⁷¹ intending the heavens. He attributes the bread to it, as it says, “*Giving them heavenly grain*” (Psalms 78:24) The Arabs call the seventh sphere *ĠuRFa* [room], this is similar to

לרוכב בערבות (תהלים סח:ה) אלסמאות סמית בד'לך
לג'ללתהא וארתפאעהא כמה קיל איצ'א ענהא לחם
אבירים אכל איש (תהלים עח:כה) יריד אלסמאות ונסב
אללחם אליהא כמה קיל ודגן שמים נתו למו (תהלים
עח:כד). ואלערב תסמי אלסמא אלסאבעה גרפה פהד'ה
מקארבה פי אלסמיה. ואשתקאק אלעבראניין ללסמאות
ערבות מן קולהם ואת בני התערבות (מלכים ב יד:ד) יריד

¹¹⁶⁷ On the challenge of science and Biblical exegesis in Abraham Ibn Ezra (Jospe 1993, 17–24).

¹¹⁶⁸ (Langermann 2020, 159–80). ‘*Alâ al-sabîl al-taqrîb* [in order] is used by al-Batālyawsi in *Kitâb al-Hadâ'iq* [The Properties of the Universal Soul], to indicate incorporeal intelligent substances (Altmann 1969, 46–47). On the incorporeality of the Universal Soul in Neo-Platonic thought (Pessin 2013, 140–47). Also Ps. 19.2. Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 22r. *Taqrîb* was also used to describe anthropomorphisms of time in Se‘adyah (Rawidowicz 1974, 246–69).

¹¹⁶⁹ (Se‘adyah Psalms, 165).

¹¹⁷⁰ (Altmann Alexander 1971, 119; Nasr 1964, 204).

¹¹⁷¹ Also, Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*

it (the Hebrew) name.¹¹⁷² The Hebrews derive [*'istiqâq*] the heaven, *'arabot*, from this verse “As well as the hostages (*Ta 'aRuḂôṭ*)” (2 Kings 14:4) that is to say the sons of the nobility, the honoured and the important. ... It states in it, the (Aramaic) Targum “And the sons of the important (*RaBRəBayā*)” (*Targûm Jonathan ben 'Uzzî'el*, 2 Kings 14:4).

אולאד אלאשראף ואלאג'לא ואלכברא. וקאל פיה
אלתרגום וית בני רברביא (תרגום יונתן ב יד:ד).¹¹⁷³

Ibn Janâḥ combines several techniques to arrive at the semantic meaning and intention of the anthropomorphism. He compares *'arabot* to examples of *'isti'âra* [Name Transfers]¹¹⁷⁴ for the heavens, spheres, bread (Psalms 78:25), and “*heavenly grain*” (Psalms 78:24). He then identifies a common semantic link between the Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic. He compares the Hebrew *'arabot* to the Arabic, *ḡurfa*; the seventh sphere, Saturn,¹¹⁷⁵ and a common Hebrew-Aramaic root 'R-B: *Ta 'aRuḂôṭ* (2 Kings 14:4) and *RaBRəBayā* (*important*) from Targûm Jonathan ben 'Uzzî'el to 2 Kings 14:4.¹¹⁷⁶ The Hebrew and Arabic cognates provide the semantic proof for Ibn Janâḥ reading into the biblical imagery a metaphysical explanation.

Ibn Janâḥ's comments belong to a larger scientific-interpretive debate which divides philosopher from biblical exegetes in the Middle Ages. For instance, the astronomer Abraham Bar Ḥiyya (d. ca. 1136)¹¹⁷⁷ endorses an eight-part division of the celestial

¹¹⁷² A laconic reference to the seven heavens in Rabbinic literature, (Ginzberg 2003, vol. I, 8). On the seventh planet in mediaeval sources, see (Sela 2003, 32:214–17). A list of the seven planets in Hebrew and Arabic appears in MS. Heb. f. 18, 11b, from (El-Hawary 1994, 143).

¹¹⁷³ (*Al-Luma'*, 547, 9-15 = *HaŠôrāšim*, 384).

¹¹⁷⁴ For this translation see section of on *'isti'âra*, *infra*.

¹¹⁷⁵ Their roots are Ġ-R-F (Ar.) and 'R-B (Heb.). In Arabic the same letter is used for ' and Ġ. It corresponds etymologically with ' , as can be seen from examples where the sound Ġ is preserved in Greek transcriptions of Hebrew names; Gaza and Gomorrah *etc.* Furthermore, the spirant sound of the Hebrew letter B, Ḃ (voiced labiodental fricative) is phonetically similar to F (voiceless labiodental fricative). The common name and straightforward cognate name in Arabic for the seventh heaven is *'arība*. Quite why Ibn Janâḥ reaches for the more complex answer is puzzling and requires future analysis.

¹¹⁷⁶ A potential link is the Arabic cognate *Rabûbîyya* - God's governorship over the spheres with a never-ending power (José Faur 1976, 110, n. 75). One would have expected Ibn Janâḥ to make this link if he identified *'aRaḂôṭ* with the “*Superior Sphere*.”

¹¹⁷⁷ For a biography, see (Rodríguez Arribas 2010).

spheres, as the ninth and tenth spheres of the philosophers and exegetes have no astronomical function.¹¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the problem for the astronomers (and astrologers) is that the eighth sphere (‘*arabot*’) moves from west to east at a rate of one degree in seventy years, whereas the Biblical image is of a daily occurrence. S. Sela writes that:

On the other hand, to ignore the slow motion of the fixed stars was tantamount to accepting a cosmos of eight spheres only, or making the ninth sphere completely irrelevant. For in these circumstances, eight spheres were sufficient to provide a general account of the celestial machinery: seven planets were moved by seven spheres, as Ibn Ezra explained in ISVST, and an eighth sphere accounted for the daily motion which propelled the fixed stars as well as the planets. But as soon as cosmologists, philosophers and astronomers became determined to take into account the extremely slow motion of the fixed stars, it became necessary to “save the phenomena” and adjust the old cosmological model to a new astronomical data.”¹¹⁷⁹

The solution, the introduction of a ninth sphere, or *circulus latissimus*, is the preferred options of the exegetes and philosophers. Sela writes that:

A vigorous stance ardently propounding the existence of the ninth sphere may be noticed not so much in an astronomical or astrological milieu as in a theological-exegetical one. The reason for this positive attitude may be readily grasped: not only that a complete description of the universe, regarded as the ultimate and all-encompassing physical product of divine blueprint, is highly desirable in a theological milieu, but also because special attention should be centered on the outermost layer of the cosmos, since it represents the border and link between the physical world and the divine domain.¹¹⁸⁰

¹¹⁷⁸ (Sela 2003, 32:225, n. 83).

¹¹⁷⁹ (Sela 2003, 32:224–25).

¹¹⁸⁰ (Sela 2003, 32:227–28).

Evidence for the astronomical-exegetical split is found in Ibn Gabirol's poem *Kether Malkhuth* (*Royal Crown*). He counts a ninth sphere (*motion*) and tenth sphere (*intellect*).¹¹⁸¹ According to Ibn Gabirol's metaphysical system, the ninth sphere is the all-encompassing sphere, *muḥîṭ*, which imparts motion to all the others within itself.¹¹⁸² This image is depicted by the word *rôḳēb* 'arabot : עֲרֵבוֹת : "In heaven's heights, in turn to bow their head To Him that drives the storm-clouds four-in-hand."¹¹⁸³ In the continuation of the passage, all the spheres of heaven are arranged in their watches, praising God's "engirdling might" (*la-ne'ezār biḡbûrôt*).¹¹⁸⁴ In section XXIV, the ninth sphere surrounds the mansions of the zodiac and is described without an allusion to Psalm 68:5.

Who shall search out those thoughts,	Thou keepest hid?	יִי מִי יַחְקוֹר תַּעֲלוֹמוֹתֶיךָ
Thou to a ninth sphere didst a rank accord	Above the zodiac's, when	בִּאֲצִילֶךָ עַל גַּלְגַּל הַמְּזוּלוֹת. גַּלְגַּל תִּשְׁעֵי בַמַּעֲרָכָה
Thou didst bid	It emanates and rise a noble	הַמִּקִּיף עַל כָּל הַגַּלְגָּלִים וּבְרוּאֵיהֶם.
Lord All spheres he locks within him, to include	Each one's created brood; ¹¹⁸⁵	סְגוּרִים בְּתוֹכּוֹ.

¹¹⁸¹ The addition of a tenth sphere is post-Aristotelian. It is located beyond the ninth spheres, among the Angels: the "sphere of the intellect" (*galgal ha-seḳel*). The 10th sphere is qualitatively different from the 9th sphere (and those below) in that it is incorporeal and has no astrological function (Loewe 1989, 115, 137). According to Loewe there is no known earlier source for his introduction of a 10th sphere (Loewe 1979, 189–92; 1989, 115). Langermann concurs with Loewe that in Ibn Gabirol's hybrid system the 10th sphere is a metaphysical entity, an intellect, which encloses the standard Ptolemaic system of nine astronomical spheres (Langermann 2004b, 200, n. 4). However, Langermann suggests at least some similarity with the astronomical treatise of Qâsim Ibn Muṭarrif of Cordoba (d. 931). Fenton identifies Moses Ibn Ezra's *falak al-'aql* with Ibn Gabirol's tenth sphere (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 67). Altmann also records Joseph Ibn Kaspi (b. 1280 – d. after 1345) adopting a ten sphere system (Altmann 1969, 65).

¹¹⁸² The all-encompassing sphere and diurnal sphere of motion, both of which are embodied in Ibn Gabirol's language (Loewe 1989, 109, 134, 155). Pessin prefers the term vitality in her translation of the above passage from Ibn Gabirol's *Kether Malkhuth* (Pessin 2013, 45, n. 45).

¹¹⁸³ (Loewe 1989, 137–38).

¹¹⁸⁴ A reference to Ps. 68:4 and Ps. 65:7.

¹¹⁸⁵ (A. Halkin 1982, 136). "O Lord, who shall search out Thy profundities? For thou hast set apart above the sphere of the constellations The sphere that is ninth in order, That encompasseth all the spheres and their creatures, Wherein they are closed up." (De Sola and Gaster 1987, 55).

The use of *‘arabot* is part of the philosophical-exegetical tradition and astronomical tradition is combined by Abraham Ibn Ezra, who swings between an eight-, nine- or ten-part division of the spheres.¹¹⁸⁶

Maimonides shares Ibn Chiquitilla’s metaphysical interpretation of the Cloud-Rider as God’s abstract power. He resolves the anthropomorphic problem of Psalm 68:5, as a philosopher-exegete, but includes two opinions. In *Mishneh Torah, Book of Knowledge* III, he endorses a ninth sphere. It includes the daily motion from east to west, encompassing all the other spheres as well-as the twelve constellations and the zodiac. A modified version of this appears in *The Guide to the Perplexed* 2:9, which includes a ninth sphere, but gives it a distinct status.¹¹⁸⁷ With the help of Biblical and Talmudic passages he separates the nine-sphere system from the eight spheres which contain the fixed stars, as the all-encompassing 9th sphere is without stars.¹¹⁸⁸ The image of the Cloud Rider in Deut. 33:26 is the First Intellect, *qudra* [power] that moves the spheres.¹¹⁸⁹ He states that:

<p><i>The rider of the heavens</i>, (Deut. 33:26) signifies [<i>ma ‘nāhu</i>]: He who makes the encompassing heaven revolve and who moves it in virtue of His power and His will. A similar interpretation</p>	<p>קולה רוכב שמים (דברים לג:כו) מענאה מדיר אלפלך אלמחית ומחרכה בקדרתה ואראדתה וכדלך קולה פי תמאם אלפסוק וגאותו שחקים (דברים לג:כו) אלד’י בגאותו</p>
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¹¹⁸⁶ (Sela 2003, 32:215, 227). Roth suggests a tenth sphere exists in his metaphysics based on his commentary on Ex. 3:15. He may have relied on either *Sepher Yesirah* or Ibn Gabirol as his source (Roth 2012, 145, n. 18).

¹¹⁸⁷ “You should not regard as blameworthy the dictum of some of the sages, may their memory be blessed: *There are two firmaments (TB Hagigah)*; for it is said: *Behold, unto the Lord they God belongth the heaven, and the heaven of heavens* (Deut. 10:14). For he who says this counts the whole globe of the stars – I mean the spheres in which there are stars – as one globe, and again counts the globe of the all-encompassing sphere in which there is no stars as the second globe. Consequently, he says, *There are two firmaments*,” *The Guide*, II, 9 (Pines 1963, vol. II, 9). Italics added by Sela (Sela 2003, 32:227, n 87).

¹¹⁸⁸ (Sela 2003, 32:226–27). Also “*the ninth sphere is the sphere that travels every day from east to west. It surrounds and circles them all.*” *Mishneh Torah*, Foundations of the Laws 3:1

¹¹⁸⁹ “*This is also the interpretation that Maimonides assumes in Guide 1:4, 9, and 11. In Guide 1:70 he explains that shamayim (heavens) in the expression ‘the rider of the heavens’ (Deut. 33:2, Deut. 33:6) is only one sphere, the sphere that encompasses the universe.*” (M. Schwartz 2002, vol. I, 182, n. 11). See (Klein-Braslavy 1978, 132–33; 2011, n. 26).

should be given to the rest of the verse: *And in His excellency on the skies* (Deut. 33:26), meaning that in virtue of His excellency He makes the skies revolve – bringing out the first of them which is araboṭh, as we made clear in our discussion of the word riding ...¹¹⁹⁰

אדאר אלשחקים אכ'רג' ד'לך אלאול אלד'י הו ערבות כמא
בינא בלפט' רכיבה¹¹⁹¹

However, his second opinion, (*The Guide* 2:10) dispenses with the 9th sphere and presents a novel four-globe scheme, a redistribution of the customary eight spheres in which there are stars.¹¹⁹²

Another application of the term *faḏl* [*munificence*] as an apophatic attribute for the interaction of God with the righteous on earth is (Psalms 17:1). This application of *faḏl* is about its presence in the righteous and is predicated on their being free of sin.¹¹⁹³ David is included in this description and in consequence descriptions of him either erring or sinning must be resolved in such a way as to preserve his righteous image. For example, in Psalm 17:1 Ibn Chiquitilla analyses the language and syntax of the verse in a way that frees David of any wrongdoing. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 19r

The meaning of, “*hear, O Lord just;*” (Psalms 17:1) is (the same) meaning as the latter part of the verse, “*uttered without guile*” (Psalms 17:1). That is to say, accept my praises in sincere conscience, and prayers, which are unblemished

ומעני קו' שמעה ייי צדק (תהלים יז:א) הו מעני קו' פי
אכ'ר אלפסוק בלא שפתי מרמה (תהלים יז:א). יריד אקבל
תסביחי ען צדק צ'מירי וצלאתי אלתי לא ישובהא גש פקו'
רנתי (תהלים יז:א) בדל מן צדק וקד יג'וז כון צדק בדלא מן

¹¹⁹⁰ (Pines 1963, vol. I, 175), *The Guide*. (M. Schwartz 2002, chap. 70; Munk 1964, chap. 70).

For analysis (H. A. Wolfson 1979, 113–20). Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Foundations of the Laws* 3:1 and of TB *Hagigah* 12b, cf. *Yalqūṭ Shim'oni, Ezekiel*, Rēmeṣ 339, *Yalqūṭ Shim'oni*, Kings 189 and 191, *Leviticus Rabbah*, 29:11 (Vilna ed), *Pirque of Rabbi Eliezer* 18 (19) *Soher Tov*, 9:3, 114:1, 111, 215, TB *Rosh Hashanah* 32a, TB *Menaḥoth* 39a. Cf. *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 2:32.

¹¹⁹¹ (Munk 1964, chap. 93).

¹¹⁹² “It is likewise possible that the arrangement of the universe should be as follows. The spheres are four; the elements moved by spheres are four, and the forces proceeding from the spheres into that which exists in general are four, as we have made clear.” (Pines 1963, vol. II, 10, 271; Sela 2003, 32:227). Maimonides also identifies Ps. 123:1 as a reference to God’s seat above the ninth sphere (Klein-Braslavy 1978, 132).

¹¹⁹³ See discussion of Ps. 66:18 under criticism of the conclusions of the *jamhūr* [masses].

by deceit. Therefore, it states “*my cry*” in place of “*just*.”¹¹⁹⁴ It is possible that “*just*” is in place of a verbal noun of “*hear*,” meaning ‘*hear justly*,’ as in accept my prayer, as in what He receives is truth, it is ‘*my cry, and my prayers*.’

אלמצדר אלמצ'מר פי שמעה יעני שמע צדק אי אקבל דעאי
אי מא קבולה חק והו רנתי ותפלתי.

David offers his prayers sincerely and without deceit. This is taken by Ibn Chiquitilla as evidence of David’s innocence. Moreover, Ibn Chiquitilla interprets verse 2 as David’s pleading on behalf of himself for an honest and fair judgement. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 198v-19r

The phrase, “*My judgement will come from You*” (Psalms 17:2) includes a prayer to only judge him (David) and pass judgement equitably whether he is a king or a (lowly) man. The purpose [*illa*] of this is to surround him with knowledge [*ilm*] of the munificence of His way [*faḍl al-ṭarîq*] and His noble road [*jamîl sirât*] as stated, “*Your eyes will see what is straight*.” (Psalms 17:2).

ויקתצ'י קו' מלפניך משפטי יצא (תהלים יז:ב) דֶּעֱא אלא
יחכם לה ואלא יסלם חכמה אלי סואה מלכא כאן או
אנסאנא ואלעלה פי ד'לך אחאטתה ע.למא' בפצל טריקתה
וג'מיל סירתה כקולה [19 א] עיניך תחזינה מישרים
(תהלים יז:ב).

David’s prayer acknowledges that comprehension [*ilm*] of God’s way of judging is knowledge of Divine munificence. Ibn Chiquitilla describes it as *faḍl al-ṭarîq* [the munificence of His way] and *jamîl sirât* [His noble road].

Use of *sirât* as good conduct for the word *ḍerġ* (lit. way) is found in Ibn Chiquitilla’s gloss on Psalm 2:12. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 3v-4r

¹¹⁹⁴ Three parallel terms.

One states “*And your way be lost*” (Psalms 2:12) ‘*Utterly lose your way.*’ I say the word “way” means [ya ‘nī] (good) conduct or order. Similarly, the phrase “*Of his wicked conduct*” (Ez. 3:18) (and) “*The conduct of all the earth*” (1 Kings 2:2).

וקיל פי ותאבדו דרך (תהלים ב:יב) תבדון דרסא. ואנא אקול אנה יעני בקו' דרך סירה ומרתבה. מת'ל [4 א] קו' מדרכו הרשעה (יחזקאל ג:יח) בדרך כל הארץ (מלכים א ב :ב).

Ibn Chiquitilla rejects a literal reading of the *ḏeṛeḳ*, to lose one's sense of direction, in favour of the abstract terms, *sīra* [conduct] and *martaba* [order].¹¹⁹⁵ He contrasts David's behaviour with those of the wicked who rebel against God in verse 3.¹¹⁹⁶ He writes that:

And he (David) states about their statement, “*Let us break the cords of their yoke, shake off*” (Psalms 2:3) meaning, ‘*The yoke of God and his anointed one*’; as in we loosen the chains upon us and we remove the fetters that bind us.¹¹⁹⁷

ויחכי ענהם [2 ב] קולהם ננתקה את מוסרותימו ונשליכה ממנו (תהלים ב:ג) יעני מוסרות יי ומשיחו אי נחל רבאטה מן אנפסנא ונכ'לע לואזמה ען מעתקדנא.¹¹⁹⁸

In the above passages the image of David as a righteous king is affirmed. However, at the end of Psalm 58 this image is tarnished, as David seems to imprecate Saul alongside his genuinely wicked henchmen.¹¹⁹⁹ He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 76v-76r

We shall ask (the question) here before we explain the Psalm following this. How can we

ונסל הנא קבל שרחנא הד'א אלמזמור אלתאלי להד'א כיף נסתג'יו דוד על אלם" אן נצף שאול פיה בהד'א

¹¹⁹⁵ *Kalāmīc* terms to indicate rank (H. A. Wolfson 1967, 539) and ‘*Ikḥwān al-Ṣafā*’ (Ebstein 2013, 136). Also (Lammer and Kretz 2015).

¹¹⁹⁶ Elsewhere these terms are used to describe following the correct doctrine; Ps. 10:5 (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 13r), Ps. 119:168. (Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 111v). Se‘adyah’s translation “*and lost their status*” (*Se‘adyah, Psalms*, 215).

¹¹⁹⁷ They rank below David, as the anointed messiah.

¹¹⁹⁸ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 2r-3v.

¹¹⁹⁹ We may presume that this is also the reason why the *jamhūr* [masses] are mistaken about David's sin in Ps 66:18 *supra*. For the image of David in Psalms as pious, see Ibn Chiquitilla's comments on Ps. 16:7 *infra*. On good behaviour and revelation (Muḥammis and Stroumsa 1989, 32).

permit David, peace be upon him, to describe Saul in such ugly [*qabīḥa*] terms and call down evil against him in the same exaggerated wicked manner? (After all) he (Saul) is anointed at God's command,¹²⁰⁰ who desired a leader [*walī*] over His nation.

We answer thus: He (David) is celebrating all this, though the Psalm is associated with Saul and other enemies. Thus, he is correct to include Saul to it (Psalms 59), as it says “*Save me from my enemies, O God; secure me against my assailants*” (Psalms 59:2).

אלאוצאף אלקביחה וידעו עליה בתלך אלאדעיה
אלבאלגה פי אלסו והו אלמלך אלממסוח באמר אללה
אלמרתצ'י וליא [76 ב] עלי אמתה.

ונג'יב ען ד'לך אנה מרפע ען כל ד'לך לכנה אלמזמור
משתרך לשאול ולגיריהם מן אעדאיה פאלד'י יצלח אן
יצ'אף אלי שאול מנה מת'ל קו' הצילני מאויבי אלהי
ממתקוממי תשגבני (תהלים נט:ב).

Following the view that reception of *faḍl* requires righteousness, Ibn Chiquitilla poses a question, how can a righteous leader [*walī*] like David act wickedly by seeming to curse Saul the anointed king of God?¹²⁰¹ Ibn Chiquitilla pursues an exegetical solution that restores David's righteous image in Psalm 59:2 by pointing out that David was correct to celebrate his victory over his enemies sent by Saul. This excludes Saul from direct imprecation, but accepts the historic part that Saul played in commanding the wicked men to watch David's house. This hair-splitting of the active-passive role of Saul and his henchmen restores the biographical image of King David as a righteous king posed of *faḍl*.¹²⁰²

Another interpretation of David as righteous is expressed through *majâz* in Psalm 18:29. Ibn Chiquitilla interprets the literary form of the tenor of the image in abstract terms, *fortune*. He writes that:

¹²⁰⁰ 'Amr 'allâh is used by Judah Ha-Levi to combine both God's command and word (Sirat 1985, 118). Also see *al-Kazâra* I:39-42; I:89, I:93, I:103, I:98 (Hirschfeld 1905). It has been linked to the '*Iḳwân al-Ṣafâ*' (Ebstein 2013, 133).

¹²⁰¹ 'ia uli allah y'eni dוד, [*oh God's walī, meaning David*] (Ps. 53:6) Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 67a. On *walī* as a sub-level of the prophetic level of leadership (Lasker 2009, nn. 3–4). Se'adyah uses *walī* to refer to his God's 'servant', without prophecy, ('*Amânât*, 118) Eng. Trans. (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 96).

¹²⁰² On the problem of prophetic immunity to sin and error in Islamic and Jewish literature and its connection to freewill, see (Zucker 1965, 149–73).

The figurative phrase [*majâz*] “*It is You who lights my lamp;*” (Psalms 18:29) (as in) ‘*The light which is mine.*’ Therefore, light is before You or beside You, meaning a turn of fortune, as it states “*I have prepared a lamp for My anointed one.*” (Psalms 132:17). Therefore, prior to this I was in darkness, until I was saved by You - the light, I possess it, a light, after having been in ‘darkness’, as it states, “*The Lord, My God, lights up my darkness.*” (Psalms 18:29).

ומג'אז קו' כי אתה תאיר נרי (תהלים יח:כט) אן אלנר
אלד'י לי אנמא צ'וה מן קבלך ומן ענדך יע' אלדולה
כמא קאל ערכתי נר למשיחי (תהלים קלב:יז) ואמא
קבל פקד כנת פי חשך חתי אפדת מנך אלאור פכאן לי
[21 ב] נר בעד כוני פי חשך כמא קאל יי אלהי יגיה
חשכי (תהלים יח:כט).

‘Light’ represents the proximity of God’s presence “beside” or “before” David.¹²⁰⁴ His ‘good fortune,’ is God’s support of David and his salvation from the hands of Saul’s henchmen (Psalms 18:1) who are equated with darkness in Psalm 18:29.

This use of an abstract motif to explain anthropomorphism is consistent with *kalâmîc* thought.¹²⁰⁵ Such descriptions rely on the attributes being apophatic, as they “transcend [*muta ‘âliyya*] reality.”¹²⁰⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla writes in Psalms 35:2-3 that:

The figurative language [*majâz*] in the phrase “*Take up shield and buckler and come to my defence, ready the spear and javelin*” (Psalms 35:2-3) for God transcends [*muta ‘âliyya*] comparison with these descriptions; spear, shield and buckler, which He fights my enemies with in

ואלמג'אז פי קו' החזק מגן וצנה וקומה בעזרתי והרק
חנית וסגר (תהלים לה:ב-ג) אד' כאן אללה מתעאליא ען
מת'ל הד'ה אלצפאת אן אלחנית ואלמגן ואלצנה אלתי
אתסלחהא פי חרב אעדאיי יצחבהא עונך ותאיידך פתכון
מנסובה אליך.

¹²⁰³ Also see (‘*Amânât*, 79).

¹²⁰⁴ Se‘adyah: adds in “light” to avoid anthropomorphism. Steiner writes that “the notion that God dwells in a finite place. That contradiction is normally resolved in the Tafsir by rendering שכן “his light dwelled” or שכן as “he caused his light to dwell.” He notes, “Where Saadia stresses that verses which refer to God as dwelling in the temple and other (finite) places refer to God’s *Shekhina* - a light created by Him.” (Steiner 1998a, 220, n. 19).

¹²⁰⁵ For a summary of the introduction of philosophy and science into exegesis (Klein-Braslavy 1996, 302–20; M. Z. Cohen 1996, 282–301; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997; Robinson 2012, 456 nn. 13; 458 19).

¹²⁰⁶ On anthropomorphism and *kalâm*, *supra*

¹²⁰⁷ Also see (H. A. Wolfson and Lieberman 1965, 473–74).

war; he associates them (weapons) with Your help and Your support; therefore, they are ascribed to You.

The meaning behind the image of God as a warrior loses its literary force as it is transformed into an abstract motif of God defending the righteous through His help and support.

Other Figurative Language

In the previous examples, the relationship between the words and their meaning was straightforward and required neither a grammatical or semantic explanation. The focus was identifying the appropriate abstract motif to explain the anthropomorphism. However, it is not restricted to anthropomorphic examples, as the primary concern is explaining the text rationally. Ibn Chiquitilla, therefore focuses on matching the *ḡaraḍ* [intent] of the word *ṬəṔāḤôṭ* with its literal meaning. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 50v

The meaning [*ma' nâ*] of “*new-borns* (*ṬəṔāḤôṭ*)” (Psalms 39:6) is derived [*muštaqqa*] from “*hand’s breadth around it* (*ṬəṔāḤ*)” (Ex. 25:25): a handful. And the intent [*ḡaraḍ*] is ‘*insignificant.*’ “*New-borns* (*ṬiPPûḤîm*)” (Lam. 2:20) is figurative [*majâz*] for their growth rate, little by little.

מעני **טפחות** (תהלים לט:ו) משתק מן טפח סביב (שמות כה:כח) והי קבצ'ה אליד ואלגרץ' בה אלקלה ועוללי טפוחים (איכה ב:כ) מג'אז פי תדרג'הם פי אלנמו ג'זא פג'זא.

Ibn Chiquitilla arrives at the *majâz*'s intent by starting with the grammatical relationship between the *ḥaqîqa al-lafz* and *ḥaqîqa al-ma' nâ*. *ṬəṔāḤôṭ* (Psalms 39:6) is derived,

muštaqqa,¹²⁰⁸ from the same root as Ṭ-P-H, *ṬeṬPaH* meaning a “handbreath” (Ex 25:25).¹²⁰⁹ Since a life cannot physically be measured, Ibn Chiquitilla reasons that the intent [*ḡaraḍ*] of the phrase must be counter-factual as in “a little.” He applies this reasoning to the formation of the *majâz* in Lam. 4:20; new-borns are described as *ṬiPPûHîm*, growing little by little.

The role of *ḡaraḍ* parallels the role of *ma‘nâ* and *bayyâninûn* in that it represents the “taste” given to the metaphor by the grammarian or exegete. Its role as the link between *ḥaqîqa* and *majâz* represents the literary intent.¹²¹⁰ Though usually absent in the language of Ibn Chiquitilla it is clearly at work in the next example where his comments are focussed on harmonising the ‘counter-factual’ with the rational. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 8r

Included in the description of “My eyes are	וג'מע פי וצפה עששה מכעס עיני עתקה בכל צוררי
wasted by vexation, worn out because of all my	(תהלים ו:ח) וצפין מכ'תלפֿין לאן קו' עששה (תהלים
foes” (Psalms 6:8) are two contradictory	ו:ח) יערב ען אלגֿוֹוֹר ואלמחק והו מג'אז מן אלד'בול
descriptions; “wasted” expresses the injustice	כמא קאל ועצמי עששו (תהלים לא:יא) והו משתק מן
and destruction and is a figurative expression	יאכלם עש (ישעיהו נ:ח) אלתי הי אלעת'ה אלתי תפני
[<i>majâz</i>] for wither, as it states, “My limbs waste	אלת'וב באד'א מא יפני אלד'בול אלג'סם.

¹²⁰⁸ *Muštaqqa*= *'istiḡâq*. Heinrichs offers two meanings - “branching off, as in a figurative expression”- found in al-Jâhîz or as a derivation of words as in *'Ishâq b. 'Ibrâhîm* (Heinrichs 1977, 30, 37, 62). Achar adds that al-Jâhîz also uses *'istiḡâq* to mean derivation of a figurative expression (Achar 2012, 66, 170).

¹²⁰⁹ The explanation is found in remarks on Lam. 2:20 in *Se'adyah*, Menaḥem, Ibn Ezra and Radaq (*Se'adyah*, *Psalms*, 199, *Maḥberet* 200, *'Uṣûl* 267, 10-15 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 182; Ibn Ezra and Radaq, *Ṣôrâšîm*, *ad locum*). Jepheth b. Eli “as lifetime” [*ḥeldî*] (*Jepheth b. Eli ad. loc.*). Targûm “few” (*Targûm*, *Psalms*, 84). Also see TB *Yomah* 38b and *Midrash*, *Lamentations* 1:51; *Rashi*, *Psalms*, Eng. 323 Heb. 824; Al-Fâsî, *Al-Jâmi'*, Vol. II 19-20 and (Rabbinowitz 1961, 134, n. 1)..

¹²¹⁰ Maimonides uses *ḡaraḍ* [intent or theme] alongside *ma‘nâ*, and *qaṣd* as literary eloquence (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 278–80, nn. 126–29). It is also found as a specific trope, metonymy (Mehren 1853, 246). Ibn Chiquitilla, is guilty of the same inconsistency in terminology. He uses *ḡaraḍ* eight times; at the end of a missing sentence it appears alongside *ma‘nâ* and *maqṣûd*, Evr.-Arab. 3583 I, 110r; similarly, in Pss. 38:6; 40:7; 63:2, he uses the term to mean intent (or theme), in Evr.-Arab. 3583 I, 46r, 71v and 80r; and finally, in a long discussion criticising Ibn Janâh's opinion in *'Uṣûl* he uses *ḡaraḍ* alongside *ma‘nâ*, Evr.-Arab. 3583 I, 50r. Elsewhere it lacks a technical sense. The term *qaṣd* also appears four times in Ibn Chiquitilla, but not as a technical term. The passive form *maqṣûd* appears alongside *ḡaraḍ* (see above) and once without a technical function. Similarly, use of *ḡaraḍ* and *maqṣûd* can be found in Abraham Maimonides, comm. on Gen. 25:29 *ואן לם יכן קצד אלנין* [*it is not the intent of the text*] (Sassoon and Wiesenberg 1959, 66–67) and *לם קצד ... אלמקצוד* in *The Guide*, Introduction (Munk 1964, vol. II, 17, 20). For more examples of the use of *ḡaraḍ* and *qaṣd* by Maimonides in the sense of meaning, implying intentionality see (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 231, 278–80, nn. 126, 324–326; 2011a, 13; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 270; Sadan 1991, n. 28; J. Stern 1997, 216–24).

away” (Psalms 31:11). It is derived [*muštaqqa*] from “*The moth shall consume them*” (Is. 50:9) which is the moth, that is absorbed by the cocoon when it (the cocoon) absorbs the withered body.

‘*Aš9Šâ* (*worn out*) is derived [*muštaqqa*] from the root for a moth (‘*āš*) (Is 50:9), ‘-š-š. Once more, Ibn Chiquitilla ties the intent behind the metaphor to its grammatical form. He draws upon extralinguistic knowledge of the moth’s life-cycle to make sense of the topic-image relationship; his wasted bones are compared to the withering of the moth’s cocoon.¹²¹¹

Extralinguistic knowledge of a moth’s life-cycle is simple, but essential, to understanding the conversational logic that links literal and figurative usage of ‘*Aš9Šâ*. The next example, which is more complex, incorporates medical knowledge about the cause of rheumatoid arthritis in 11th century Iberia. This knowledge and its syntactic form are what occupies Ibn Chiquitilla’s explanation of the anthropomorphic language in Psalm 121:5-6. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 112v

The meaning the phrase, “*The Lord is your protection (lit. shadow) at your right hand*” (Psalms 121:5); He is your guardian who protects you. As to the pronouncement by the One who rewards (God) in the phrase, “*The sun does not strike you*” is but the reward which protects from the heat of the sun (*i.e.*, shade).

But, “*nor the moon by night*” does not mean its shadow, because it mentions the sun during the daytime it pairs it with a mention of the moon at

ויעני בקו' יי צלך על יד ימינך (תהלים קכא:ה) אנה ואקיך
מן חית' תתק[י]ך ואנמא עבר ע[נה] אלפאצ'ל לקו' השמש
[112 ב] לא יככה (תהלים קכא:ו) פאלפצ'ל הו אלד'י יוקי מן
חר אלשמס.

ואמא קו' וירח בלילה (תהלים קכא:ו) פליס מן טריק אלצ'ל
לאן למא ד'כר אלשמס באלנהאר אזוג'ה בד'כר אלקמר
באלליל ואלמראד בה חואדת' אלנהאר ואלליל

¹²¹¹ He only notes the contradictory images of the ‘double faced’ metaphor in Ps. 6:8, ‘wasting’ and ‘worn out.’ A discussion of this problem is found *supra*.

night. It intends day-time and night-time events; therefore, the day-time events are connected to the sun, which is characterised as hot, (therefore) He made the shadow as protection from it. Then (the verse) describes the night-time events and connects them to the moon, but it does not include what He protects from, rheumatism, only that God protects. It (the moon) was borrowed [*'usta 'îra*] for a shadow, by way of analogy [*majâz*] and this description completes it with “*My help comes from the LORD.*”

פלמא אצ'אף חואדת' אלנהאר אלי אלשמס והי מוצופה
באלחר ג'על אלצ'ל ואקיא מנהא ת'ם וצף חואדת' אלליל
פצ'מהא אלי אלקמר ולם תדכ'ל פי מא יוקיה אלטל לכן מא
יוקיה אללה ואן אסתעיר לה צ'ל פעלי סביל מג'אז והד'א
אלוצף כלה למן עזרי¹²¹² מעם יי (תהלים קכא:ב)

Ibn Chiquitilla first explains the intent of the metaphor, God as protector from harm.¹²¹³ The terminology is not too different from the previous examples, except that he adds '*isti 'âra* [*imaginative ascription*] to describe the old grammarians' attributive metaphor.¹²¹⁴ The verse borrows the sun and moon's physical properties to explain the harmful effects of the sun and moon.¹²¹⁵ *Majâz* is the resultant analogy drawn between the sun and moon, in which protection takes the form of God's shadow.¹²¹⁶ But what does protection in this context mean? Rationally, the harmful effect of the moon is not its heat and yet it is juxtaposed with the sun without further clarification. Ibn Chiquitilla reads 'shadow' as intending protection against rheumatism, which he supplies from his extralinguistic knowledge about the effects of the moon's cold light.¹²¹⁷

Knowledge of the rational world is essential to Ibn Chiquitilla's formation of an analogy between the metaphor and reality. In one interesting examples of structural analysis of

¹²¹² Mss. עזרי.

¹²¹³ Once more the term *fâdîl* describes God's munificence, neutering the tenor of the anthropomorphism.

¹²¹⁴ See section on the '*isti 'âra*, *infra*.

¹²¹⁵ See (*Al-Luma* ', 294, 1-5 = *HaRiqmâ*, 307, 12-3).

¹²¹⁶ So too Se'adyah. He translates the verse “*By day the sun will not strike you, nor the moon by night*” (Ps. 121:6) and offers a short explanation of the anthropomorphism: “*God protects your body from all evil, and preserves your soul.*” (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 161).

¹²¹⁷ A widely held view was that the moon causes rheumatism in the first quarter of the month (Zucker 1984, 234, n. 124). An alternative explanation in *Siphre* Num. 353, (Deut. 33:2), believes the moon ripens fruit at night - the deleterious affect being that they are eaten by animals rather than humans and thus animals become deliriously drunk. Also *c.f.* Rashi *ad. loc.* and Rashbam (Mondschein 2010, 132, n. 18).

large body of text, Ibn Chiquitilla explains the intent of a series of figurative expressions found in Psalm 7:15. He states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 10r-10v

The meaning [*ma 'nā*]¹²¹⁸ of the phrase “*Behold, he conceives iniquity*” (Psalms 7:15) is analogous [*majâz*] to a woman giving birth, as in ‘*His conception is deceit*,’ as it mentions pregnancy, labour and birth. It is possible that it repeated mention of pregnancy and labour in the phrases “*pregnancy (hārâ)*,” “*pangs (’āmāl)*,” and “*gives birth to iniquity (yilûd ’āwēn)*” to emphasise the word “*deceit (šeqer)*” here, as these three words, I mean ‘*āwēn*, ‘*āmāl*, and ‘*šeqer*, correspond to three stages; conceive (*ḥēḇēl*), pregnancy (*ḥerāyôn*) and birth (*lêḏâ*), as it states, “*It was there your mother laboured with you, there she [bore you and conceived you]*.” (Song 8:5).

Now, *ḥēḇēl* is mentioned prior to the ‘*pregnancy (ḥerāyôn)*,’ but if it were after then the pregnancy it would be joined to the ‘*birth (lêḏâ)*’ and sufficient (just) to mention ‘*conceiving (ḥēḇēl)*,’ but, here, four descriptions of punishment are emphasised; *ḥabûl ’āwēn* – ‘*whetting the sword*,’ ‘*Āmāl* – ‘*drawing the bow*,’ *yālād šeqer* – ‘*a burning arrow*’ and *karîṭā bôr* – ‘*digging of a pit*.’ Thereafter, it states “*And will fall into the trap he made*” (Psalms 7:16) and is sealed with a praise of God declaring an attainment of (longed for) hope and reflection upon good fortune.

ומעני קו' הנה יחבל און (תהלים ז:טו) מג'אז מן אלטלק אי יהיה חבלו און פד'כר אלחמל ואלטלק ואלולאדה וקד כאן יג'תזי מרארא בד'כר אלחמל ואלולאדה פי קו' הרה עמל וילוד און לזיאתה הנא לפט'ה שקר פג'על ללת'לת' אלכלם אעני און ועמל ושקר ת'לת' מנאזל מן אלחבל ואלהריון ואללידה וקד קיל מנה שמה חבלתך אמך שמה (שיר השירים ח:ה).

ואנמא קדם ד'כר אלחבל עלי אלהריון ואן כאן פי אכ'רה למא כאן אלהריון מצ'אפא' אלי אללדה ויסתגנ'י פיה ען ד'כר אלח'בל. פתואזת הנא ד' אלאוצאף ללעקובה פכאן חבול און באד'א לטישת חרב והד'א עמל באד'א דריכת קשת ולדת שקר באד'א דליקת חץ וכרית בור באד'א ויפל בשחת יפעל (תהלים ז:טז). וכתם בחמד אללה אסתבשארא' בבלוג [10 ב] אלאמל ורויה אלמ'נא.

¹²¹⁸ *Ma 'nā* is interchangeable with *ḡaraḏ* (Kanazi 1988, 81–87).

Ibn Chiquitilla opens his analysis of the verse with a statement “*analogous [majâz] to a woman giving birth.*” *Majâz* is the resulted intent [*ma ‘nâ*] of the phrase “*conceive (yəḥaBBel)*” within the framework of the allegory of a woman conceiving.¹²¹⁹ Ibn Chiquitilla provides an extensive analysis of the allegory’s topic (from labour to birth) and image (deceit). Included in this is a structural analysis of text, linking each stage of labour with a description of deceit and its resultant punishment. The connections are presented in a table below.¹²²⁰

Synonyms for deceit equated to a stage of pregnancy in Verse 7:15	Synonyms of wicked corresponding to pregnancy	Four punishments that correspond to the synonyms for <i>šeqer</i> & falling into a pit.	Verse Of punishment
<i>‘āmāl</i>	<i>ḥəbəl (conceive)</i>	<i>‘āwəṇ-ḥabûl – whetted sword.</i>	Psalm 7:13
<i>yilûḏ ‘āwəṇ</i>	<i>ḥərāyôn (pregnancy)</i>	<i>‘āmāl – drawn bow</i>	Psalm 7:13
<i>Šeqer</i>	<i>lêḏâ (labour)</i>	<i>yālāḏ-šeqer – burning arrow</i>	Psalm 7:14
<i>Psalm 7:15 = failure of the words.</i>		<i>karîṭā bôr – digging a pit.</i>	Psalm 7:15

Ibn Chiquitilla uses the chronological order of the image in verse 15, from conception to birth, to define the ambiguous word *yəḥaBBel* “*conceive*” (Song. 8:5). The root *Ḥ-B-L* in

¹²¹⁹ The allegorical meaning was noted by Ibn Nağrîla (Ibn Djanah and Derenbourg 1880, LXXII). Although Ibn Chiquitilla does not use the term *‘isti ‘āra*, he calls the four stages of birth *‘awšâf [descriptions]*, suggesting a *tašbîh* based analogy. Ibn Janâḥ calls Ps. 7:15 an *‘isti ‘āra* by *majâz* (*‘Uṣûl*, 24-207, 1-2 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 140). Maimonides also identifies the figurative meaning of Y-L-D as the birth of an idea “*deceit*” (M. Schwartz 2002, 41).

¹²²⁰ A similar type of discussion is also found in Ps. 5, *infra*.

this form means either “conceive” or “labour pains.”¹²²¹ He argues that since the meaning of *Hārâ* (pregnant) is followed immediately by *‘āmāl* (travail) and *yālaḍ* (labour) it does not make sense for *yāḤaBBel* to also mean labour pains, especially when it precedes *Hārâ* (pregnant). Logically it must mean “conceive.” This linking of the logical sequence of events to the *ma‘nâ* establishes its usage as the semantic meaning in context, with *majâz* conveying the intention of the language as a metaphor.

Conclusion Majâz:

In the examples discussed *majâz* is a mode of expression that tackles divergence from more customary forms of communication. This is applied to both non-figurative and figurative language. In the former case the role of extralinguistic knowledge is either limited or absent when resolving divergence from either idealise grammar or syntax. Ibn Chiquitilla’s primary concern is a coherent explanation of the grammatical and syntactic features within the wider framework of Hebrew grammar. In this type of gloss *majâz* matches the role of *taqdîr* in the grammatical tradition, which accepts meaning as received from the speakers of a language. On the other hand, when *majâz* describes figurative language, it indicates divergence from the proper meaning of a word. In these circumstances, Ibn Chiquitilla follows al-‘Askârî’s use of *ġaraḍ* to express the figurative intent of the text, although usually, he uses *ma‘nâ*. Either he dismisses figurative language as literary eloquence or employs extralinguistic knowledge to forge an abstract sense of the counter-factual language of the metaphor without engaging in the tenor of the image.

¹²²¹ Cf. Menaḥem (*Maḥberet*, 166) and Ibn Ezra *ad.loc.* Radaq provides both explanations of the figurative language. Also, *Šôrāšîm*, 94, *Targûm* 36, n. 15. Rashi does not enter into the controversy over meaning, but in his commentary on Song of Songs 8:5 *ad. loc.* adopts the same reading as Ibn Chiquitilla. On the various meanings “conceive, be pregnant travail” or “give birth” (Rashi, *Psalms*, Eng. 195-97 n. 20-21). Jepheth b. Eli and Tanḥûm Yerushalmi offer both “conceive” and “pangs” respectively (Bargès J. J. L. 1861, 144; Joseph 2014, Ar. 83 Eng. 294).

Ibn Qurayš and Ibn Barûn prefer only “conceive” respectively (*al-Risâla*, 148; *al-Muwâzana*, Song of Songs 8:5, 42 = 80). Also see (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 155–57).

Introduction

The history of the term *ʾistiʿâra* [metaphor] in Qurʾânic exegesis hails from two intellectual traditions. The first, Heinrichs calls the “new” metaphor, originating in Aristotelian logic and adopted via Alfarabian exegesis.¹²²² The second, the “old” metaphor, hails from the poetic tradition.¹²²³ According to al-Šakkâkî (died 1229), metaphor is “*making something belong to something else*” or “*making something become something else*.” Heinrichs’ calls these “old” and “new” metaphors respectively. The “old” metaphor is demonstrated by a famous line from Labîd (d. 660/1/2), “*the hand of the north wind*” – “*Many a cold and windy morning I went forth / When its reins were in the hand of the north wind*.” The hand belongs to the north wind. The “new” metaphor, “*making something become something else*,” is for example using “*narcissus*” to mean “*eye*.” For those who adhere to the “new” metaphor the emphasis is on creating a new semantic meaning, whilst those who cling to the “old” metaphor focus on describing the intent of the author.¹²²⁴

Heinrichs continues with an historic observation about the acceptance of the “new” metaphor as *ʾistiʿâra*.

It is evident that this kind of definition [of *istiʿâra*] which is rather a juxtaposition of two autonomous definitions can only have been formulated at a time when the

¹²²² (Heinrichs 1977, 1–2; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 21, nn. 67; 52–57; D. L. Black 1990, 242).

¹²²³ (Heinrichs 1977; Abu Deeb 1979, 303–17; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 15–62).

¹²²⁴ Illustrative of the “new” metaphor is Seʿadyah’s explanation of “*hand*” in 2 Samuel 14:19 as intent or thought in the introduction of his commentary on Job (*Seʿadyah, Job*, 29).

“new” metaphor had been fully acknowledged, but not yet correlated with the “old” metaphor with sufficient clarity.¹²²⁵

The intellectual shift towards the “new” metaphor derives from the introduction of the Arabic logical tradition into the discussions of metaphor. The result is a dropping of the “old” metaphor. This transition was not smooth.¹²²⁶ The bumpy transition from “old” to “new” is paralleled in the Jewish tradition. As will be seen, Ibn Chiquitilla defends the “old” metaphor from the introduction of the “new” metaphor by Ibn Janâḥ. For continuity, we shall modify Heinrich’s terms to those of Mordechai Cohen in his recent study of metaphor among Jewish Biblical exegetes; replacing the “new” metaphor with either Name Transfer or occasionally Substitution and “old” metaphor with Imaginative Ascription.¹²²⁷

Evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla’s use of *isti’âra* as Imaginative Ascription is not just identifiable from terminology. Already examples of Imaginative Ascription appear in his glosses on Pss. 6:8; 7:15; 39:6; 121:5 of which only Psalm 121:5 uses the term *’isti’âra* in the passive form. Further analysis of examples identifies Ibn Chiquitilla as formally a supporter of Imaginative Ascription and an opponent of Name Transfer,¹²²⁸ when he attacks Name Transfer as “*irrational and nonsense*” in his gloss on Psalm 77:3.¹²²⁹ This is because he conceives of *’isti’âra* as the dynamic tension between two ideas in context and not the creation of a new semantic meaning. *’Isti’âra* belongs to the realm of literary eloquence, with its preponderance for counterfactual reality and not to the expansion of the semantic range of words.¹²³⁰ *’Isti’âra* is poetic embellishment and not a means for expanding the semantic content of a language.

¹²²⁵ (Heinrichs 1977, 1–2).

¹²²⁶ Abu Deeb claims that only with al-Jurjânî is there a ‘clearing up’ of the technical language for metaphor (Abu Deeb 1971). We already saw a similarly ‘messy’ transition for the meaning of *majâz*, *supra*.

¹²²⁷ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b; 2011a). This idea is already noted in Heinrichs: “*the transference of an object [or an action or a property] from its natural owner to a new owner or environment where it does not belong in our real world.*” (Heinrichs 1977, 9; 1984a, 184).

¹²²⁸ Admittedly this is just as true of Moses Ibn Ezra, Ibn Janâḥ or Ibn Bal‘am. For examples see below and (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 12; 2011a, 147–51; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 332–35).

¹²²⁹ *Infra*.

¹²³⁰ See the section on *majâz*, *supra*.

Ibn Chiquitilla's hostility towards Name Transfer arises because there is a tension between the semantic content of the text and its interpretation. For him an adequate translation of the text ought to either conform to the principles of philology or received meaning. Literary analysis should not be exploited to corrupt received meaning. This is because *ma'ânâ* is predetermined by the community whose linguistic conventions are its deciders, not the 'irrational' alterations of the poets.¹²³¹ *'Isti'âra* as a type of *majâz* forges a temporary truth value because it belongs to the counterfactual world. This approach allows Ibn Chiquitilla to constrict the basic semantic content of words to a narrow range of definitions, whilst providing an adequate translation of the text and its intent.¹²³² But this approach has problems to which we will return at the end of this chapter.

One question specific to *'isti'âra*, is why did Ibn Chiquitilla see Name Transfer as a threat? He is certainly aware of the poetic value of *badî'* [*rhetoric*] as an intellectual and cultural virtue cherished as the hallmark of all good poets. He knows it thrives on falseness and obscurity. Explaining his objection to Name Transfer as a cultural value, whilst still accepting it within the framework of non-sacred poetry is antithetical to established cultural and linguistic norms of his times. After all, Ibn Chiquitilla belongs to a tradition that thinks the Bible speaks in the language of men.¹²³³ Surely Name Transfer is part of human language, a position supported by Ibn Janâḥ. Imaginative Ascription can also pose a danger to traditional exegesis as it can be used to allegorise, philosophise or mystify away authoritative interpretation of the text.¹²³⁴ As an exegete devoted to

¹²³¹ One might compare this to the objections to 'Abû Tammâm's bizarre genitival metaphors as incomprehensible (Schippers 1978, 13–14).

¹²³² On 'minimalism' (Steiner 1998a, 213–58).

¹²³³ The Talmudic formula דברה תורה בלשון בני אדם "*The Bible speaks in the language of men*" (TB *Nedarim* 3a *etc.*) was first introduced as a way of explaining the presence of anthropomorphisms and other counterfactual expressions in the Bible by Se'adyah, Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq and Judah Ibn Qurayš. Also see, Abraham Ibn Ezra's on Gen. 1:26, Ex. 32:14 (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, vol. I, 18, II, 208), Ibn Qurayš, (Ibn Quraysh and Becker 1984, 18–1), Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq, *Maḥberet*, (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, *101). Radaq Gen. 11:5 and *The Guide to the Perplex*, I, 26 (Klein-Braslavy 1978, 24–27). For further references (M. Schwartz 2002, vol. I, Chapter 26, n. 2). Radaq Gen. 11:5 and *The Guide to the Perplex*, I, 26 (Klein-Braslavy 1978, 24–27). For further references (M. Schwartz 2002, vol. I, Chapter 26, n. 2).

¹²³⁴ One might have in mind the impact of allegorical interpretation of Christians in Ibn Ezra's introduction to the the Pentateuch and Maimonidean tradition among 12th century Languedoc Jews (G. Stern 2003a, 189–209; 2003b, 281–304; Dimitrovsky 1990, pt. 1:414, 344). Also, on allegorical interpretation (Talmage and Walfish 1999, 313–55).

Rabbinic tradition, protecting its interpretation against perceived semantic excess is clearly a preferable position for Ibn Chiquitilla. This desire to avoid semantic excess manifests in his adoption of a hostile position towards Name Transfer, as it allows him to draw a sharp distinction between received linguistic-semantic meaning and one-time literary usage.¹²³⁵ Such an answer confirms the predetermined origins of meaning, steeped in communal usage and not arrived at by linguistic-semantic investigation. Yet, concern for tradition applies equally to adherents of Name Transfer and Imaginative Ascription, therefore we cannot take Ibn Chiquitilla's hostility to Name Transfer at face value. We must identify why and how Ibn Chiquitilla avoids semantic expansion and decide whether he carries out Name Transfer under another guise. We start with his attack against Name Transfer and proceed with examples where he tries to avoid *'isti'âra*, but must concede it as the logical meaning without naming it.

Name Transfer

The introduction of Name Transfer into Jewish circles commences with Ibn Janâḥ, who borrows the meaning from the hermeneutic tradition of the 10th-century Islamic exegete Ibn Qutayba's *Ta'wîl Muškil al-Qur'ân*. The Arabs “*borrow (tasta'îrû) one word and then put it in the place of another word, provided the thing named by it (i.e., the first word) is related causally to the other one, or adjacent to it or similar [to it].*”¹²³⁶ The similarity of this definition with Ibn Janâḥ's *al-Luma'* chp. 27 (*Ha-Riqmâ* 28) is unmistakable. He writes that:

¹²³⁵ Although he is following a different hermeneutical tradition, the essence of this idea is encapsulated in Se'adyah (*'Amânât*, 219-20). An Eng. translation appears in (Ben-Shammai 2003, 34–35).

¹²³⁶ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 21, n. 69).

There are times when they (the Biblical authors) use a certain word and its meaning is (that of) another. And they permit this because of the close association of the two words in genus, species, quality or any other matter.

אנהם קד יאתון בלפט' מא ואלמראד בה גירה ואנמא יג'יוון
 [ד'לך מן אג'ל] אג'תמאע אללפט'תין פי אלג'נם או פי אלנוע
 או פי אלכ'פיה או פי גיר ד'לך מן אלאמור.¹²³⁷

In the above quote, the process of Name Transfer describes the borrowing of the Name (or object) from its usual or proper context and positioning it in a new one, juxtapositioning two autonomous definitions and identifying the point of similarity that provides the new meaning.¹²³⁸ In “*Zayd is a lion*,” the lion is borrowed from its usual meaning to signify bravery or ferocity. The result of the underlying comparison between the lion and bravery or ferocity makes the claim that the *lion* means *bravery*.¹²³⁹ This use of *'isti'âra* is a short-hand for a *tašbîh*-based analogy; the term X can be borrowed to refer to Y only if “X is like Y” physically and conceptually.¹²⁴⁰ For those who subscribe to Name Transfer, when a metaphor occurs a new semantic meaning is generated.¹²⁴¹

Reflective of this attitude, in the period immediately preceding Ibn Chiquitilla there is a tendency in Hebrew and Arabic grammar and lexicography towards maximal number of meanings. This generates a large number of Name Transfers, false polysemes or ever more specific meanings tied to *'aṣl al-luġa* [*basic sense of the language*]. In this early period, establishing the semantic meaning and the numerous specific meanings reigns supreme. Later, when Ibn Chiquitilla writes his commentaries in the mid-11th century,

¹²³⁷ (*Al-Luma* ' , 294, 1-5 = *HaRiqmâ*, 307, 12-3).

¹²³⁸ (Barnes 1984, 2332). However, this is not necessarily what Aristotle himself had in mind. “*Must one say that ordinary usage has to be ‘proper,’ in the sense of primitive, original, native, in order for there to be a deviation and borrowing? It is but one step that leads to the eventual customary opposition between figurative and proper. Later rhetoric takes this step, but there is no evidence that Aristotle took it.*” (Ricœur 1977, 19). Also (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 55–56; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 261 n. 268). On the similarity between Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Janâh (Perez 1986, 207–28; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 56; Simon 1991, 261–75).

¹²³⁹ (Abu Deeb 1979, 181–95).

¹²⁴⁰ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 56; Heinrichs 1977, 40–41; Wansborough 1980, 373–74).

¹²⁴¹ The difference between *'isti'âra* as *tašbîh* and *'isti'âra* as *tamfîl* is not well maintained by all exegetes.

there is a shift towards minimalism in which the basic sense of a word is explained as distinct from its figurative meaning.¹²⁴²

Additional confusion existed over what to include under the term *'isti'âra*. Ibn Qutayba's influence on Ibn Janâḥ is strong, but not exclusive. Ibn Qutayba's use of *'isti'âra* differs from Ibn Janâḥ's. The latter captures a wide range of figurative tropes which are not identical with the 'non-proper' use of words and excludes examples of proper usage- euphemism and irony- from *'isti'âra*, but does include metonym.¹²⁴³ In his chapter on substitution, Ibn Janâḥ expands the 'proper use' of words further to include both euphemism and metonym as well as contronym. He does not cite the term *'isti'âra*. Instead, he replaces it with a number of alternatives, which may conveniently be summarised as *badal* [*substitution*].¹²⁴⁴

And substituting an object for the function
[*mawḍa'*] of another which does not include it.
Now this is their opinion (on this), aside from
what we mentioned, one who wishes to seek more
can find out.

וקד יקע אלשי פי מוצע אלשי ואן לם יג'תמע מעה פי שי
וד'לך למד'הב להם [פי ד'לך] גיר מא ד'כרנא אד'א מא
טלב וג'ד.¹²⁴⁵

¹²⁴² Ibn Chiquitilla writes that "if we find its basic form [*'aṣl*], we must accept this." Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 5v. Steiner calls this "*the fallacy of Over-Specification*," although his approach strike at the heart of the semantic-pragmatic debate (Steiner 1998b, 213–58).

¹²⁴³ So too, Al-Rummânî, (died 994) in his book *al-Nukat*, adds metonym to his list, as the *'isti'âra* dynamic lacks meaning in the *'aṣl al-luġa* of the language's vocabulary.

¹²⁴⁴ Among others are *ma'nâ*, *mawḍa'*, *ta'wîl* and *yurîd ... makân* [*that is to say ... in place of*] (Perez 1986, 207–28).

¹²⁴⁵ (*Al-Luma'*, 294, 1-5 = *HaRiqmâ*, 307, 12-13; *'Uṣûl*, 69, 15 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 47).

This definition, which he calls *mawḍaʿ* [function]¹²⁴⁶ is more often associated with the term *badal* when used for grammatical and lexical substitution.¹²⁴⁷ Ibn Janāḥ's chapter extends well beyond examples of metaphor, suggesting *badal*'s purpose is the *semantic intention* of words and not an analysis of metaphor. Many examples cited by Ibn Janāḥ under *badal* have little to do with metaphor and pertain to a plethora of literary techniques, some of which include metaphor by Name Transfer.¹²⁴⁸ What binds Ibn Janāḥ's chapter about *badal* to *'isti'āra* is its search for the *intent* of the Biblical text, where some (and perhaps all) examples generate new lexical meanings.¹²⁴⁹ The imprecise terminology can be side-stepped if the focus is on the authors' intent and not the semantics of their argument. A comparison of Ibn Janāḥ and Ibn Chiquitilla need only note that *badal* is used by both authors, but is sometimes replaced with *ma'nā* by Ibn Chiquitilla.¹²⁵⁰

Abraham Ibn Ezra, in an attempt to impose exegetical constraints on the reassignment of semantic meaning to words used by the interpreter, insists a verse must first be taken literally before an appropriate mental image can be conjured up to explain its intent. For example, in the phrase, "*Circumcise the heart*" (Deut. 10:16), Ibn Ezra first presents the phrase literally and then imposes "*purification*" upon it as the 'correct explanation' by

¹²⁴⁶ Carter describes *mawḍaʿ* as used in early grammatical writings "to denote the right "place" for an action much in the same way that English uses such expressions as "this is no place for levity ... A more important use of *mawḍiʿ*, however, is in its extended meaning of "function." In Arabic grammar this idea is developed as far as it will go in treating the behaviour of words, for which we almost surely have to thank Sībawayhi. I need not illustrate here how Sībawayhi describes and analyses the functions of Arabic words, as this forms the subject of a later chapter, but it is worth looking at the same notion in the lawyers and other early writings in order to see how firmly based it is on ethical foundations." (Carter 2016a, 73–74). Carter goes on to say that "what makes it more than a mere coincidence that ethics, law and grammar should use *mawḍiʿ* and *manzila* in their abstract vocabulary, is the fact that so many identical terms are used in conjunction with them in all three fields. The obvious term to examine in this light is *qiyās*, for this is generally held to be the characteristic feature of both legal and grammatical reasoning in Islām. But it, too, is found in ethical contexts:" (Carter 2016a, 79)

¹²⁴⁷ This obfuscation of terminology is observed in parallel by Debora Black in her analysis of logic. She shows how the terms *badal* and *'isti'āra* in their earliest iterations both refer to Name Transfer (D. L. Black 1990, 243). Perez's analysis of Ibn Janāḥ chapter on *badal*, translates the Arabic term as, *ḥilûṭ* in Hebrew. He borrows this translation from Ibn Balʿam and Ibn Ezra's translation of the original Arabic, see (Perez 1986, n. 2; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 21, nn. 97; 55, 99, 80–81 and 196–97). So too al-Jāḥiẓ (Achtar 2012, 63, n. 43).

¹²⁴⁸ (Perez 1986, 216).

¹²⁴⁹ (Heinrichs 1977; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 21, nn.67; 52–57). On the terminological origins in the logical tradition (D. L. Black 1990, 242).

¹²⁵⁰ See Ps. 58:9 *supra*.

way of *māšāl* (symbolism).¹²⁵¹ Ibn Janâḥ explains the phrase through semantic substitution “*By way of ’isti’âra and majâz*”: the words “*circumcise*” and “*foreskin*” each have a new sense.¹²⁵² The results from a practical point of view are not huge, but Ibn Janâḥ’s use of substitution allows for the semantic maximalisation of a word or phrase’s meaning in contrast to the minimalistic position of Ibn Ezra.

Ibn Ezra’s two-step analysis of “*circumcise the heart*” is aimed at Ibn Janâḥ, and the more generous applications of *ta’wîl* by Se’adyah and Menaḥem who claim that the same words can have opposite meanings. He argues that words have fixed meanings, tied to their forms.¹²⁵³ Even so, the differences are slight. If we recall the confusion over what constitutes Name Transfer, then Ibn Ezra’s use of *lašôn kinnuy* (euphemism) *in situ* arrives at the same place. What seems to be taking place among Iberian exegetes at this final-stage of Arabised exegesis is a debate over what constitutes the semantic content of a word and what constitutes interpretation. Or in terms familiar to a modern pragmatic linguistic, the boundaries between categories of knowledge and extralinguistic knowledge. The dispute, if it can even be called that, is an issue of typology, which itself is inconsistent from author to author and even within a single author. Ibn Ezra’s emphasis on literalism is strategic rather than ideological, as he largely uses it to discredit the more extreme semantic conclusions of either Se’adyah, Menaḥem or Ibn Janâḥ.¹²⁵⁴ His intellectual forbearer in this debate appears to be Ibn Chiquitilla whom he replicates this in his own commentary, but even this is not rigidly adhered to.¹²⁵⁵

With this caution against placing too much stock either in the terms used or stated position of an individual exegete, on at least two occasions, Ibn Chiquitilla unequivocally attacks Name Transfer. The first is in his comments to Psalm 77:3. It is here that he

¹²⁵¹ (Joseph Cohen and Simon 2018a, 77) and commentary on Deut. *ad. loc.*

¹²⁵² (*Al-Luma’*, 315, 4-5 = *HaRiqmâ*, 330, 21). For an analysis (M. Z. Cohen 1996, 27–30; 2003b, 81). On the dictionary approach to exegesis in Se’adyah and Ibn Janâḥ (Simon 1965; Steiner 1998a, 215–65). On the use of these terms in tandem (Dascalu 2019a, 70 nn. 170–71). *’Ittisâ’* (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 64, n. 134; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 295).

¹²⁵³ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 43–46; 93–97). For Se’adyah Menaḥem and Ibn Janâḥ see (Steiner 1998a, 234–58; J. Martínez Delgado 2014b, 1–17).

¹²⁵⁴ See the section on *lafẓ-ma’nâ* (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 62).

¹²⁵⁵ For Moses Ibn Ezra’s acceptance of the poetic tradition of *’isti’âra* (M. Z. Cohen 1996, 15–57; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 270–71).

attacks Name Transfer as “*Irrational and nonsense*.” He thinks that the Biblical text does not require unsubstantiated meddling with its semantic meaning.

Initially, the target of Ibn Chiquitilla’s attack in Psalm 77:3 caused some confusion as to whom it referred. The anonymous reference could be to a lost work, either by Ibn Janâḥ or possibly Yiṣḥaqî. However, the frequent and consistent identification of Psalm 77:3 with Name Transfer in multiple sources, including an explicit identification by Ibn Bal’am, confirms its author’s identification as Ibn Janâḥ. Only through a close reading of Ibn Chiquitilla and later sources does it become clear that the criticism is aimed at Ibn Janah’s comments on Lam. 3:49 and Psalm 77:3.¹²⁵⁶ A review of the sources proves this, as well as the historic role of Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Janâḥ in the on-going debate over Name Transfer. In his dictionary *’Uṣûl* Ibn Janâḥ states that:

“*My eyes shall flow without cease, Without respite*” (Lam. 3:49) ... The proper meaning [*ḥaqîqa*] of this word (*niggərâ*) is flowing, melting and discharging. It is necessary and is its proper sense [*ḥaqîqa*] when using these words for moisture; and when using it for animals it means [*ma’nâ*] ‘*shedding of blood*’; and when using it for the flow of blood (from objects) by Name Transfer [*’isti’āra*] and figurative language [*majâz*].

עיני נגרה ולא תדמה (איכה ג:מט) ... חקיקה הד'ה
אללפס'ה אלסילאן ואלאסאלה ואלאג'רא. פמא צרף מנהא
פי אלרטובאת פהו עלי ואג'בה וחקה. ומה צרף מנה פי
אלחיואן פעלי מעני אסאלה דמה. ומא צרף מנה פי
אלג'מאדאת פעלי אלאסתעארה ומג'אז¹²⁵⁷

¹²⁵⁶ How did this example get both omitted and included as a Name Transfers identified with Ibn Janâḥ by later generations? One explanation is that Ibn Janâḥ’s text differs from the MSS on Psalm 77:3, writing *we-lô tîpûg* (*without respite*) in place of *we-lô tidmē*. Ibn Tibbon (or perhaps a later scribe) corrects the text from Psalm 77:3 to Lam. 3:49, (*HaṢôrāšîm*, 189), in which case Ibn Janâḥ is discussing replacing eyes with hands. However, this emendation is unlikely as the version with Psalm 77:3 is found in Ibn Ezra’s commentary, Psalms (*ad. loc.*) and Job 23:2 (Avery 1987, 68; Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004, Heb. 45, Sp. 177, n. 2). He offers the same explanation as in Ibn Janâḥ, Ibn Chiquitilla, Ibn Bal’am and the Anonymous Psalm Commentary, *infras*. In all likelihood Psalm 77:3 is not a case of varying Biblical text, but a case of how to interpret the language in Psalm 77:3 in light of the similar language in Lam. 3:49. Ibn Chiquitilla uses Ps. 77:3 and Lam. 3:49 in his poems *’aqdîšâ* (*I sanctify*) meaning shedding tears (H. Brody 1937, 3:85).

¹²⁵⁷ (*’Uṣûl*, 406, 20-4 = *HaṢôrāšîm*, 285).

Ibn Janâḥ splits *niggārâ* into three levels of meaning. The first, *ḥaqîqa* is its proper meaning: shedding tears. The second, *ma' nâ* is its contextual meaning: shedding the blood of an animal. The third, *'isti' āra*: the flow of blood from an inanimate object. Elsewhere, Ibn Janâḥ applies these multivalent meaning of *niggārâ* in terms of intend in his gloss on “*hand*” (Psalms 77:3). He writes that:

Meaning [yurâd] the wound, as in “*My hand flows without respite*” (Psalms 77:3).

ויראד¹²⁵⁸ בה אלג'רח מת'ל ידי לילה נגרה ולא תדמה

(תהלים עז:ג)¹²⁵⁹

Following on from the first source the only meaning of *niggārâ* applicable to Psalm 77:3 is the first meaning, since the subject of the verse is neither animal nor inanimate object, but a person. However, hands do not cry, whereas eyes do. Hands must function in place of eyes and refer to the crying at night from the wounds inflicted by the sword to his whole body. This makes hands a synecdoche.

Ibn Chiquitilla offers a long, but anonymous attack upon the substitution of hands with eyes. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 97r-98v

One that says (Ibn Janâḥ) the word “*My hand*” (Psalms 77:3): [“*my hand*” functions [mawḏa] in place] of the word “*my eye*.” “*His wound*” substituting another is not permitted. In my opinion, if that was permitted, we could replace one person with another person. Also, if that was permitted, the author of this statement stated that Absalom replaces Solomon in “*After Absalom he did not follow*” (1 Kings 2:28). All this is irrational and nonsense; many examples

וקיל אן קולה ידי (תהלים עז:ג) ליצ' [עה ידי מק] אם קו' עיני ווצ'ע ג'ארחא פי מוצ'ע [97 ב] אכ'רי גיר ג'איז ענדי ולו ג'אז ד'לך לג'אז וצ'ע שכ'ץ מכאן ת'אן ואן כאן קד אג'אזה איצ'א צאחב הד'א אלקול וקאל אן אשבלום מכאן שלמה פי קו' ואחרי אבשלום לא נטה (מלכים א ב:כח). וכל ד'לך הד'אן ובאטל[אן] ואצחאב כת'ירה אצ'אף אליהמא מן מת'לה מא לים גרצ'נא תביין פסאדהא לאכן מא ג'א מן ד'כר אבשלום ושלמה וד'לך ביין אלפסאד מן אלמעקול לאנה לו ג'אז אלאכ'באר בואחד ען ת'אן למ יצח כ'בר ג'מלה ולדכ'לת אלדאכ'לה פי וידבר יי אל משה תעאלי אללה פוצ'ע משה

¹²⁵⁸ (‘Uṣûl, 275, 18-20 = HaŠôrāšîm, 189).

¹²⁵⁹ (‘Uṣûl, 275 n. 47).

could be added, which are similar to them. We do not need to explain their wickedness except for what he comes to mention about Absalom and Solomon, for that wicked explanation is unintelligible because if it were possible to replace one predicate with another, then the predicate of the sentence would not make sense. (For example), replacing ‘*God commands Moses,*’ God may He be exalted, with God or vice-a-versa. There is no evidence for one or the other (substitution). He replaces one of them with the other, without any (exegetical) proof [*burhân*] for it. Likewise, in that case (Absalom and Solomon) he permits inserting another in its place. From the context, if Solomon was incapable (of kingship), then Adonijah would need to mention him (Solomon) alongside himself (as his supporter).¹²⁶⁰ Rather, this means because he (Joab) was with Adonijah, therefore he (Joab) chose rebellion, when God did not choose him (Adonijah), since He spurned the meat (offered by Adonijah in 1 Kings 1:9).¹²⁶¹ Now, if we include all candidates for the kingdom then he (Ibn Janâh) would have been correct to say he (Joab) inclined (to back) one of the legitimate (candidates) and not the other.¹²⁶² Now, the place Absalom is mentioned is the second (statement about) Joab (1 Kings 2:28),

מוצ'ע אללה ובאלעכס ולא שהאדה עלי אחד ולא לה פאנה
 כאן יוצ'ע אחדהמא מוצ'ע אלאכ'ר ולא קאם ברהאן עלי שי
 אנה כד'אך אד'א ג'אז אן ידכל' גירה מכאנה. ואמא מן ג'הה
 אלנץ פאן שלמה לם יכן כפוא אדוניה פיהתאג' אן יד'כרה
 מעה ואנמא כאן בכונה מע אדוניה מנאפקא מ'תארא למן
 לם יכ'תארה אללה אב'יא עמן ארתצ'אה אללחם. לו כאנא
 ג'מיעא מרשחין אלממלך פכאן [98 א] יצלה אן יקאל מאל
 מע אחד אלמס[ת]חק[ה] מן דון אלאכ'רי. ואמא מוצ'ע ד'כר
 אבשלום פהו ת'אנית יואב למא כון עון אלמכ'אלף עלי
 שלמה והו אדוניה ולו יכון פי עון אלמכ'אלף עלי דוד [והו]
 אבשלום פדל מן ד'לך אנה לם יכון ענדה מ'אלף עלי
 אלמ[לך] מת'ל אביה ואן אדניה כאן אחק בה מנה [שלמה]
 מא שא אללה ואלמלך ואלאמה

¹²⁶⁰ It is clear that Adonijah sees Solomon as his rival, so he does not call him in 1 Kings 1:10, 19.

¹²⁶¹ I.e., those people who supported Adonijah were listed alongside him, and those who supported Solomon were listed separately. Joab does not appear on that second list of non-Adonijah supporters. Also see 1 Kings 1:26.

¹²⁶² Ibn Chiquitilla rejects Ibn Janâh's reading of the text's replacement of Absalom with Solomon as an indication that Joab failed to support Solomon as a suitable candidate against Adonijah.

when he (Joab) backed the pretender Adonijah, against Solomon, but if he (Joab) wished to back the pretender Absalom (to the throne) against David,¹²⁶³ then he meant no (support) for the [pretender against the king],¹²⁶⁴ like his son (Absalom). Perhaps (Joab thought) Adonijah was worthier than him [Solomon], God bless the king and the nation.¹²⁶⁵

Whilst I respond “*my hands ebb away*” (Psalms 77:3) means [ya ‘nī] a strong continuous flow; one thing flowing into another, unceasingly and unabated. It is figurative language [majâz]. We find ‘flow’ for non-liquid entities, as ones says “*the fetters melted*” (Judg. 15:14) even though fetters are not soluble.

Similarly, “*Mow them down by the sword*” (Jer. 18:21). The (Arab) poets state: “*Our souls flow out along the edge of the sword blades, and do not flow out along any other than the sword blades.*”¹²⁶⁸ The intent [ma ‘nā] is like that (behind) “*that their might is gone*” (Deut. 32:36).

And it is possible “*hand*” is a circumstantial like “*A prayer to the God of life.*” (Psalms 42:9). Meaning [ya ‘nī] that ‘*I do not possess a hand,*’ meaning [ma ‘nā] strength whose pronoun, “*ebbs away*” (*niggārâ*) refers back to the cry

ואל[ד'י אקולה פי קול ידי]¹²⁶⁶ לילה נגרה (תהלים עז:ג)
אנה יעני סילאן אלקוה [וד'באב]א¹²⁶⁷ שיא פשיא בחית' לא
תוקף פי ד'לך ולא פתור [והו] מג'אז וקד וג'דנא אלסילאן
יקע עלי גיר סאיל קיל וימסו אסוריו (שופטים טו:יד) וליסת
אלאסורים ממא תד'וב

וקאל אן והגירם עלי ידי חרב (ירמיהו יח:כא) וקאל
אלשאער תסיל עלי חד אלסיוף נפוסנא וליס עלי גיר
אלסיוף תסיל פאלמענה אד'א' מעני כי אזלת יד (דברים
לב:לו)

וקד יג'וז כון ידי (תהלים עז:ג) ט'רפא מת'ל תפלה לאל חיי
(תהלים מב:ט) יעני מא כאנת לי יד יעני קוה יכון צ'מיר פי
נגרה (תהלים עז:ג) עאידה עלי אלצעקה אלמד'כורה פי
ואצעקה (תהלים עז:ב) [וענהא יקול]¹²⁶⁹ ולא תפוג

¹²⁶³ 2 Samuel 18-19:1-8.

¹²⁶⁴ I.e., David.

¹²⁶⁵ He rejects the claim that Joab did not throw his lot in with Adonijah.

¹²⁶⁶ Evr.-Arab. I 1409 26v.

¹²⁶⁷ Evr.-Arab. I 1409 26v.

¹²⁶⁸ 'Imrû al-Qays (El-Shamy 2012, 16; Arberry 1965, 30–31). Ibn Chiquitilla cites some of the same Arab verses as Moses Ibn Ezra. For a list of references to Arab poets in *al-Muḥâḍara*, see (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 409).

¹²⁶⁹ Evr.-Arab. I 1409 26v.

mentioned, “*I cry out*” (Psalms 77:2). Regarding it (*ebbs away*) it states “*Without respite*” (Psalms 77:3). It is the way of this metaphor [*’isti’âra*] and the cry, [as it] says “*Roaring pours forth as water*” (Job 3:24).

(תהלים עז:ג). וג'את הד'ה אלאסתעארה [98 ב' פי אלצעקה] כמא¹²⁷⁰ יקול ויתכו כמים שאגותי (איוב ג:כד).

Ibn Chiquitilla criticises Ibn Janâḥ’s exegetical method of Name Transfer in quite harsh terms; *haḍī’ân wabâṭilân* [irrational and nonsense]. Ibn Janâḥ’s interpretation in Psalm 77:3 replaces hand with eyes as if the verse said, “*In the day of my trouble I seek the Lord, my eyes (sub. hands) stream in the night without ceasing.*” Ibn Chiquitilla calls this *mawḍa’* [functions].¹²⁷¹ This, Ibn Chiquitilla demurs, lacks *burhân* [proof],¹²⁷² which discredits the conclusions of Ibn Janâḥ, but not necessarily his methodology. This is because *burhân* is dependent on a physical or conceptual similarity known to the speakers that connect the proper meaning and the figurative meaning.

Ibn Chiquitilla’s actual solution is Imaginative Ascription, in which hands is figurative for strength and belongs to the counterfactual world. His answer carefully recovers the syntax in a manner that accounts for the figurative counterfactual problem of ‘*melting hands.*’ He argues that *yaḍī* is an Imaginative Attribute [*majâz*]¹²⁷³ for ‘*strength,*’ as in ‘*Strength ebbs away nightly without repose.*’ However, dissatisfied with the syntax of this solution, he also offers an alternative in which the *ẓarf* [circumstantial] is marked by an extraneous Y [*Yôḍ*]; *yaḍ + î*, expressing a close temporal relationship between “*hands*” and “*ebb away.*”¹²⁷⁴ The syntax of the verse is elliptic, missing the subject of “*ebb away,*” which is the “*cry*” of the Psalmist in verse 2. It reads: ‘*While the strength (lit. hand) of the*

¹²⁷⁰ Evr.-Arab. I 1409 26v.

¹²⁷¹ (Heinrichs 1977, 10 n. 10). On its non-metaphorical use to mean switching letters (Allony 1969, 392–93; E. Goldenberg 1973, 79). Compare this to Se’adyah who responds though *taw’îl* in his *tafsîr* and *ṣarḥ* (Se’adyah, *Psalms*, 182). Perez argues that Se’adyah does not use substitution (Perez 1986, 213–15; Simon 2013, 261–62).

¹²⁷² Apodictic proof derived from a holy text or from observation (L Gardet 2020).

¹²⁷³ He is not consistent with his terms. In the second explanation he calls it an *’isti’âra*.

¹²⁷⁴ On *ẓarf* as a condensed text (Bohas, Guillaume, and Kouloughli 1990, 126). The particle *-b-* usually signifies the *ẓarf* denoting a place or time in the genitive case (Levin 1997, chap. IX, 342–5, n. 15). However, Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the *i’râb* [case declension] as indicative.

cry ebbs (niggārâ) away nightly without respite.’ Either way, the syntactic parsing of “hands” in both explanations is an Imaginative Attribute indicating a loss of strength.¹²⁷⁵

His indecisiveness, regarding the first solution, and thus necessitating a second, might be down to the novelty of his explanation though he supports it without distortion of the *ma‘nâ*. He knows it is achieved by sacrificing the more familiar meaning of *yaḏî* ‘my strength.’ The problem is a question of balancing between semantic content and literary sense and therefore deciding what triggers the contextual meaning. Implied in this argument is that words have known meaning that are predetermined and accepted by all.¹²⁷⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla therefore adopts a cautionary tone, which avoids a permanent meaning of eyes for hand, associated with Name Transfer in favour of ‘strength’.¹²⁷⁷

What follows from the above argument against Name Transfer is that it lacks *burhân* [proof] in the language of the speakers. Ibn Chiquitilla begins with an absurd example of God replacing Moses, but continues with stronger proof against Name Transfer when he rejects switching Solomon with Adonijah.¹²⁷⁸ This is found in *al-Luma*. Ibn Janâḥ writes that:

“For Joab had sided with Adonijah, though he had not sided with Absalom.” (1 Kings 2:28).
(Absalom) replaces Solomon. Joab was not culpable of sin as he did not follow Absalom's

כי יואב נטה אחרי אדניה ואחרי אבשלום לא נטה
(מלכים א ב:כח) מכאן שלמה. אד' למ י'דנב יואב
לאנחראפה ען אבשלום ואנמא אד'נב לאנחראפה ען
שלמה.¹²⁸⁰

¹²⁷⁵ Ibn Chiquitilla's use of the example is brought as proof of Imaginative Ascription.

¹²⁷⁶ Se'adyah's meaning behind *mašhûr*.

¹²⁷⁷ In Kanazi's analysis of 'Abû Hillâl Al-'Askarî, he lists four uses of 'isti'âra, which reflect the “transference of an expression from the place where it is originally used to the language to another place) (= transference of a term from the context in which the language normally uses it to another context) for a definite purpose.” The first is to express an idea more explicitly (*šarḥ al-ma‘nâ*) (Kanazi 1988, 149). This use of *ma‘nâ* expresses the intention of the speaker expressed in one manner, but not another, which when applied to metaphor is distinct from *ḥaqîqa*. Ibn Chiquitilla's usage of *ma‘nâ* forms part of the tension between *lafẓ* and *ma‘nâ*, which operates on the assumption that *lafẓ* and *ma‘nâ* are multifarious technical terms, whose meaning is definable only so long as it takes into account other terms used with it. This usage parallels to some extent the wide range of meanings for both these terms found in 'Abû Hillâl al-'Askarî, as Ibn Chiquitilla's shares with Abu Hillâl the interchangeability of *ḡaraḍ* and *ma‘nâ* (Kanazi 1988, 81–87).

¹²⁷⁸ Ibn Chiquitilla's citation of proper names as inadmissible contradicts Ibn Bal'am's claim that he concedes its usages for proper names, example 8 to Ps. 90:1 in Perez's article (Perez 1997a, 48).

¹²⁸⁰ (*Al-Luma*, 296, 8 = *HaRiqmâ*, 309, 22).

party, but he was culpable for abandoning
Solomon.¹²⁷⁹

According to Ibn Janāḥ, Joab viewed Adonijah as a worthier candidate for kingship than Solomon. In this interpretation, Joab's misjudgement of the politics of succession was not his support *for* Adonijah, but his failure to *support* Solomon. Hence the need to substitute Absalom for Solomon when Adonijah gather all the candidates to replace his aging father.

Ibn Chiquitilla rejects this interpretation of the events. He argues that 1 Kings 2:28 parallels the rebellions of Joab's life, Adonijah and Absalom, and contrasts the difference in his behaviour. His proof is an earlier reference to Adonijah's failure to call upon Solomon in 1 Kings 1:10, 19. This exclusion of Solomon on the grounds of capability, (so Joab thought) proves that Adonijah did see Solomon as a capable rival to him. As such Joab completely associated himself with Adonijah's rebellion. Furthermore, Adonijah's move to gather supporters in the first chapter of 1 King was not a gathering of all of the potential candidates for kingship, and so could not be misconstrued by Joab as anything but a rebellion. Were this so, according to Ibn Chiquitilla *all* potential candidates ought to have been present at Adonijah's gathering. The exclusion of Solomon, as a genuine candidate, shows that Joab was wrong in assessing him as inferior to Adonijah and he had not misread the nature of Adonijah's gathering. Consequently, there is no need to substitute Solomon for Absalom.¹²⁸¹

Ibn Chiquitilla's comment on Psalm 77:3 is not the only proof that the anonymous source discussed in Psalm 79:3 is Ibn Janah. Judah Ibn Bal'am's cites Ibn Janāḥ in his commentary on the verse. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 1453, 62r

“ <i>Ebbs away</i> .” (Psalms 77:3). Its basic (meaning)	נגרה (תהלים עז:ג) אצל הא אלסילאן יריד סילאן אלדמום
[<i>’aṣl</i>] is a flow, intending ‘ <i>shedding blood</i> ,’ as it	כק' עיני נגרה ולא תדמה ¹²⁸² (איכה ג:מט) אי לא תפתר

¹²⁷⁹ Cf. (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Metzger 1889, 289).

¹²⁸¹ Also Ibn Ezra (*Ṣaḥōt*, 228).

¹²⁸² MSS. תפוג. However, see above.

says, “*My eyes flow, they do not desist.*” (Lam. 3:49). It does not abate and this is its proper (meaning) [*haqqahu*]. Now *tiDMûM* since it derives from (the roots) D-M-H or D-M-M, meaning ‘*to be silent*’ is borrowed [*’isti’âra*] here for abating of strength. Similar to it “*ebbs away*” [and alludes] to it and includes it (abating of strength). ‘Abû al-Walîd opines that here “*my hands*” is in place of [*maqâm*] ‘*my eyes.*’ He [the Psalmist] borrows it (‘*my hand*’) for ‘*my eye,*’ as if it said ‘*and it (the hands) were flowing because of a sword.*’

וחקה ולאן תדמום לאן קד ג'א דמה ודמם פי מעני סכות ואסתעיר הנא לפתור אלקוה ומת'לה אי נגרה וא[ר]מזה וענה מנגדמה. וראי אבו אלוליד אן ידי (תהלים עז:ג) הנא מקאם עיני. וקד יסתעאה ללקטע כק' והגירם עלי ידי חרב

It is clear from Ibn Bal‘am’s analysis of Psalm 77:3 that Name Transfer applies to Lam. 3:49 and Psalm 77:3. Ibn Janâḥ (= ‘Abû al-Walîd) is the author of a synecdoche (Name Transfers) in which hands replaces eyes. The meaning, according to him, is that hands flow with blood, indicating a loss of strength through a wound. That Ibn Bal‘am’s thinking aligns with Ibn Janâḥ’s is clear from his analysis of the basic semantic content of *niggārâ* as shedding of blood.¹²⁸³ He derives the proper [*haqq*] morphology of *tiDMûM* from either D-M-H or D-M-M confirms the meaning flow.

Ibn Bal‘am is not the only source confirming Ibn Janâḥ as Ibn Chiquitilla protagonist. The Anonymous Psalm Commentary faithfully cites Ibn Chiquitilla’s objection and names Ibn Janâḥ as his target.¹²⁸⁴ It writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 1409 26v

<p>‘Abû al-Walîd permits the word here “<i>My hand</i>” (Psalms 77:3) as a synecdoche [<i>kinâya</i>] for all his body. It states “<i>ebbs away</i>” a synecdoche [<i>kinâya</i>] for tumult and anxiety. And it is</p>	<p>וקד אג'אז אבו אלוליד אן יכון קולה הנא ידי (תהלים עז:ג) כנאיה ען ג'מלה ג'סמה. וקול נגרה (תהלים עז:ג) כנאיה ען אלאצ'טראב ואלאנזעאג'. ואג'אז מעם ד'לך פי קול ידי אן יכון בדל מן עיני וקד נקד עליה אבן ג'קטילה</p>
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¹²⁸³ ‘Aṣl replaces *haqq* as the semantic meaning, see Ibn Chiquitilla, Ps. 3:7, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 5v.

¹²⁸⁴ Most of the text was published by Finkel with further sections published by Perez, see (Finkel 1927a; Perez 2002b, 241–87). However, the above cited manuscript was unavailable to Finkel behind the iron curtain.

permitted likewise for the word “my hands” to be substituted with “My eyes.” (Psalms 77:5). Ibn Chiquitilla disagrees with him ...

In slightly different language, the Anonymous Psalm Commentary confirms Ibn Janâḥ as substituting eyes for hands. “*Ebbs away*” and “*My hands*” are *kinâya* [*synecdoche*] for the tumult and anxiety caused by wounds to the whole body.

This citation of Ibn Chiquitilla’s criticism of Name Transfer in Psalm 77:3 belongs to a substantive debate among Iberians. It is adopted by Abraham Ibn Ezra, who rejects Name Transfers, because figurative meaning depends on literal meaning in which meaning is fixed by the collective understanding of the community of speakers, ‘*ahl al-luġa*, or “*speakers’ lexicon*.”¹²⁸⁵ Ibn Ezra, writing in Hebrew for European Jews, preserves the nub of the original debate found in Iberian at the end of *Ṣaḥôṭ*.¹²⁸⁶ There he calls for the burning of the book by an unnamed prater. By preserving Ibn Janâḥ’s anonymity he deflects criticism from this important figure in the European circles he mingled in.¹²⁸⁷

The above example presents Ibn Chiquitilla as an unequivocal opponent of Name Transfer. Additional proof is harder to gauge, as his gloss on the phrase “*words of enmity*

¹²⁸⁵ (Ben-Shammai 2003, 37).

¹²⁸⁶ *Ṣaḥôṭ* (M. S. Goodman 2016a, 228).

¹²⁸⁷ Debate arose as to whom Ibn Ezra is referring. Maaravi Perez offers Ibn Janâḥ as the author, but casts doubt upon this, also offering a lesser-known figure Yiṣḥaqî as an equally plausible alternative. His argument rests upon the unlikelihood that Ibn Ezra would have called for the burning of the books of such a senior figure as Ibn Janâḥ. Perez raises this doubt because of inaccuracy in the language of Ibn Ezra, who claims his unnamed prater substitutes “*hands*” for “*eyes*.” (Bacher 1889, 29; Poznański 1912, 48, 58 n. 8; Perez 1986, 207–28). He writes in *Ṣaḥôṭ* that:

In the day: A great sage wrote an important book, only there are mistakes: he says “*my hands*” is in place of “*my eyes*.” However, it is unacceptable for a learned man to speak thus, even in non-sacred conversation, let alone holy books.

ביום - חכם גדול חבר ספר נכבד, רק יש בו טעויות שאמר: כי ידי מקום עיני וזה לא יתכן לדבר איש דעת כדבר הזה, אפילו בשיחת חולין ואף כי בספרי הקדש.

(M. S. Goodman 2016a, 228). However, Uriel Simon rejects both these arguments as evidence for any author aside from Ibn Janâḥ. He points out that many different authors receive such approbations to burn their books: Dunash, Ibn Janâḥ, Se’adyah and Yiṣḥaqî. Simon dismisses these calls as Ibn Ezra’s biting humour, (Simon 1990a). For examples of this in Yehudi Ibn Sheshat̃ (Alfonso 2008, 14). He argues that Ibn Ezra’s opposition to substitution, much like that of Ibn Chiquitilla derives from the dangers it poses to unsubstantiated meaning - it lacks *burhân*, semantic proof. The consistent interpretation in the generations that follow Ibn Janâḥ, all of whom relied on him, rules out the more obscure author Yiṣḥaqî. (Simon 1991, 325–34; 2013, 134–83; 264–74; 275–306).

(*dibre šin 'â*)” (Ps. 109:3) is preserved only in part. In combination with later exegetes, it is possible to both identify his opponent as Ibn Janâḥ and reconstruct his argument missing from the manuscript. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 107v

It states, “*And words (dibre) of enmity, they encircle me,*” (Psalms 109:3) that is to say ‘*and because words*¹²⁸⁸ *of enmity (wə- 'al dāḥar) encircled me.*’ As in because of their enmity they did not ... this. *Dāḥar* means [*ma 'nā*] ‘*because of ('al dāḥar)*’ and it is (like) the phrase, “*This is because (wə-zə ha-dāḥar) Joshua had the circumcision performed*” (Jos. 5:4), as in ‘*because of this matter Joshua had the circumcision performed,*’ although, it omits ‘*because (wə- 'al)*, as it is compensated for by “*which ('ašer)*.”

And if I compare the predicate phrase [*lafza*] its self, I mean, “*This is the matter which you shall do*” (Ex. 29:1), then it continues with the reason for the prohibition, for one who is attentive to it, it is the following phrase, “*For they were uncircumcised, not having been circumcised on the way.*” (Josh. 5:7). However, it compensates by citing their children’s circumcision prior to this in the verse, “*All the people who had come out of Egypt, all the males (of military age)*” (Josh. 5:4); to connect it to the sons mentioned and it provides the cause for their circumcision, which precedes its reference to them with the phrase, ‘*this is the reason (zə ha-dāḥar)*.’ It

וקו' ודברי שנאה סבבוני (תהלים קט:ג) יריד בה ועל דבר שנאה סבבוני אי מן אג'ל עדאותהם לא י' [...] ד'לך וקד ג'א דבר במעני על דבר והו קו' וזה הדבר אשר מל יהושע (יהושע ה:ד) אי ועל זה הדבר מל יהושע פלמא חד'ף ועל אדכ'ל אשר עוצ'ה.

ואן אשבה לפט'ה אלמפעול בעינה אעני וזה הדבר אשר תעשה להם (שמות כט:א) לבקא אלמעני מחרום למן תאמלה והו מא ג'א פי אכ'ר אלקול כי ערלים היו לא מלו אותם בדרך (יהושע ה:ז) אלא אנה אעתרין' ד'כר אבנא פי] הם אלמכ'תונין קבל הד'א בקו' כל העם היוצא ממצרים הזכרים (יהושע ה:ד) אלי אן וצל אלי ד'כר אלאבנא פד'כר אלעלה פי כ'תאנתהם אלתי קדם אלאשארה אלי] הם בקול זה הדבר פקאל כי ערלים היו וקד קאל מן לא חסן אלתאויל אנה

¹²⁸⁸ The Hebrew is singular. This distinction is lost in translation.

says, *'for they were uncircumcised.'* Someone said an incorrect interpretation [*ta'wīl*] ...

Ibn Chiquitilla explains Psalm 109:3 through cataphoric ellipsis. The phrase “*words of enmity (wā-dībre šin'â)*,” joins verse 2 and 3 in a *cause-and-effect* relationship, with the *lafẓ – dībre*’s concealing an ellipsis – *'because words of enmity [surrounds me] (wā- 'al dābar)*.¹²⁸⁹ The interpretation imagines David surrounded by malicious enemies speaking words of enmity. Out of this discussion of the flow of the text a defence of a similar syntactic tension in “*This is the reason (wā-zē ha-dābar ašer)*” (Jos. 5:4) is explained. Josh. 5:4 omits the preposition “*on ('al)*,” which Ibn Chiquitilla argues is compensated for by “*which ('ašer)*.” Utilising this contextual interpretation of the particle *'ašer*, he argues that Jos. 5:4 is cataphoric; it omits the *cause* necessitating Joshua’s circumcision of the Israelites, only to mention it later in Jos. 5:7, as Ibn Chiquitilla states, “*Now, for one who pays close attention to it, it is the following phrase.*” The point made by him, along with comparisons to Psalm 109:4 and Ex. 29:1 establishes that Joshua 5:4 does not require lexical substitution to make sense of the narrative, only a good contextual translation. Defining the meaning of *'ašer* as *'al* is somehow supposed to circumvent the necessity for substitution by appealing to the logic of human speech. Unfortunately, the manuscript breaks off just as Ibn Chiquitilla offers his criticism of an alternative explanation that uses lexical substitution.¹²⁹⁰

¹²⁸⁹ See note above. Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.* who offers an alternative syntactic structure.

¹²⁹⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla is not the originator of the cataphoric opinion, as it is found in Jerome who translates the verse as, “*Haec autem causa est secundae circumcisionis*” (*Now, this is the cause of the second circumcision*) (Mutius 1983, fols 7b, 8–10, nn. 34–35). He and others may have known this explanation of Jerome’s, as Ibn Chiquitilla is known to have borrowed Christian explanations in several places in his commentary (J. Martínez Delgado and Saidi 2007).

And “*Were drawn swords;*” (Ps. 55:22) its sharp (edge), “*The wicked draw their swords*” (Ps. 37:14). I found this verse in the translations of Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qūṭī: ‘*Softer than butter are his words and his heart is like a sword. His words pass like smooth olive oil. They are sharp like the arrows of death.*’

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 69r. On Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qūṭī (Urvoy 1994, 122).

ופתיחות (תהלים נה:כב) חדאד מנה חרב פתחו רשעים (תהלים לז:יד). וג'דת הד'א אלפסוק פי שרה חפץ' בן אלבר אלקוטי [א] אלין מן אלסמן כלאם פיה ואלקלב מנה כאלחרב פיה אלפאטה תפות לין אלזית והי חדאד מת'ל סהאם אלמות.

Despite the term *ta'wîl* [interpretation], the break in the text and the anonymity of his comments point to Ibn Janâḥ's interpretation of Josh. 5:4 as anaphorical. Ibn Janâḥ writes that:

"This is the reason why Joshua had the circumcision performed" (Jos. 5:4) in place of *'these are the men.'*

וזה הדבר אשר מל יהושע (יהושע ה:ד) מכאן ואלה האנשים¹²⁹¹

The *"reason"* is replaced by *'these are the men,'* establishing the logical relationship between cause and effect. It seems highly likely that the missing text in Ibn Chiquitilla is directed at this opinion.

The writings of Ibn Bal'am, Tanḥûm and Ibn Ezra reproduce the above debates between Ibn Janâḥ and Ibn Chiquitilla.¹²⁹² Ibn Bal'am writes that:

"This is the reason why Joshua had the circumcision performed." (Jos. 5:4) 'Abû Walîd said it is approximately [*taqdîr*] *'these are the men who Joshua circumcised.'*

וזה הדבר אשר מל יהושע (יהושע ה:ד), קאל אבו אלוליד
אן אלתקדיר פיה ואלה האנשים אשר מל יהושע .

I say its meaning includes the reason for His command to circumcise for it is as if he said *'because of this matter Joshua had the circumcision performed,'* because the people exiting Egypt were circumcised. However, those born in the desert were uncircumcised due to their journeys, not out of their own freewill, but from God, may He be exalted, who forgave their failure to circumcise until the reason ceased to

ואנא אקול אן מענאה ד'כר אלסבב אלד'י לה אמר
באלכ'תאן פכאנה קאל ועל זה הדבר מל יהושע לאן אלקום
אלכ'ארג'ין מן מצר כאנוא מל'תונין ואמא אלמולדון פי
אלמדבר פלם יכ'תנוא מן אג'ל אן ספרהם כאן עלי גיר
אכ'תיארהם בל אלי אללה תעאלי פעד'רהם עלי תרך
אלכ'תאן חתי זאל אלסבב פרג'עוא עליה ומת'ל הד'א
אלאסתעמאל קיל פי ירבעם וזה הדבר אשר הרים יד במלך

¹²⁹¹ (*Al-Luma'*, 298, 22-3 = *HaRiqmâ*, 312, 20).

¹²⁹² Ibn Bal'am was not opposed to Name Transfer, provided it did not distort the apparent [*zâhir*] meaning of the text without proof [*dalîl*]. See Is. 21:4, (*Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah*, 109).

exist whereupon they returned to it. This is similar to the usage said of Jeroboam, “*The circumstances under (wə-‘al dāḇar) which he raised his hand against the king were as follows*” (1 Kings 11:27). It is the same meaning, because he (Solomon) was travelling in that place.

Now, the one who says that the meaning is “*A second circumcision of the Israelites.*” (Jos 5:2), refers to incomplete exposure and discarding of the corona the first time.¹²⁹³ There is no reason to believe this, as it is incorrect, because whenever it is possible to circumcise it is possible (to completely expose the corona) therefore there is no reason to delay it, meaning, especially, when the transmitted tradition includes its (removal) for completion of circumcision, as it states “*(One who is) circumcised but does not remove the corona is as if he did not circumcise*” (Mishnah Shabbath 19:6).

A Midrash (TB Yevamoth 71b) states that “*Exposing the corona was given to Moses in Egypt, not Abraham.*” Implied is that exposing the corona was omitted and rectified by Joshua, the proof, we see is because circumcision without exposing the corona is possible, logically it is not prerequisite (to expose) the corona. Understand!

(מלכים א יא:כז) והו פי הד'א אלמעני עלי מא סאפרה פי מוצ'עה.¹²⁹³

ואמא קול מן קאל אן מעני ושוב מל את בני ישראל (יהושע ה:ב) אן יעוד ויתם פי אלפריעה אלמטרוכה אולא פגיר לאזם לנא אעתקאדה בל לים בצחיח פאן מן אמכנה אלכ'תאן אמכנתה אלפריעה וליס לתאכ'ירהא מעני לא סימא אן אלנקל תצ'מן אנהא מן תמאם אלמילה לקולהם מל ולא פרע את המילה כאלו לא מל (משנה שבת יט:ו).

וקד קיל פי בעי' אלדרש אן אלפריעה אנא נתנה למשה במצרים לא לאברהם ואסתכ'רג' מן הד'א אן אלפריעה כאנת אלתי נקצת והי אלתי אסתדרכהא יהושע ואלשאהד יורינא פי מן כ'תן דון פריעה אן אנכשאף ראס אלעצ'ו ממכן פיה פעלי הד'א פכאן גיר מצ'טר אלי פריעה פאפהם.

¹²⁹³ (Ibn Bal'am and Poznański 2013, 11).

¹²⁹⁴ TB Yevamoth 71b.

Ibn Bal‘am (and later Tanḥûm) modify Ibn Janâḥ’s language, replacing *makân* with *taqdîr*.¹²⁹⁵ Ibn Bal‘am fleshes out Ibn Janâḥ’s explanation drawn from rabbinic sources.¹²⁹⁶ This difference between Ibn Bal‘am and Ibn Chiquitilla is attitudinal, with Ibn Chiquitilla unwilling to import the rabbinic exegetical solution. This places the whole debate around substitution in Joshua within a much broader context, but at its heart the issue remains what is the logical meaning and sequence to the story? The anaphoric-cataphoric debate becomes about explaining the text in a manner that is coherent with the wider narrative and the meaning of the words in context.¹²⁹⁷

Anaphoric	Cataphoric:
Ibn Janâḥ, Ibn Bal‘am, Tanhum Yerushalmi	Ibn Chiquitilla

Despite the tone of the debate, adoption of Name Transfer clearly relies on the same cooperative principle of Gricean pragmatism, in so far as the listener must *already* understand the “*specific circumstances*” that lead to substitution such as either narcissus for eye or hand for eyes. Ibn Ezra too reflects this underlying problem, although he is not sympathetic to Ibn Janâḥ. Instead, he criticises Ibn Janâḥ for the use of Name Transfer, as it is non-existent in profane language and all the more so in sacred language. The polemic tone of his attack reveals his view as that *all* meaning is created from a share lexicon. The creative falseness of poets has no place in the Bible, which must be unequivocal in

¹²⁹⁵ This is consistent with its usage in Ps 77:3 for Name Transfer. Also see Tanḥûm Yerushalmi on Jos.5:4 (Mutius 1983, fols 7b, 8–10 nn. 34–35) and Ibn Ezra, *ad. loc.* Two possibilities arise, ‘*and these are the men*’ or ‘*and the people*’ (Bacher 1889, 29, n. 1). Ibn Ezra cites “*and the people*,” in his short commentary on Ex. 21:8 and *Ṣaḥôṭ* (M. S. Goodman 2016a, 228; Perez 1986, 220, 49).

¹²⁹⁶ He shows how this opinion matches a discussion found in TB *Yevamoth* 71b. Although he reverses the order of the argument found in *Yevamoth*, Ibn Bal‘am accepts Rab’s exegetical question and answer as to why Joshua was told to prepare knives. He interprets the scenario in Jos. 5:2 as a repair of the initial incomplete circumcision done in the desert. Rab’s question is not directly about the semantic meaning, but it does not contradict it. It tries to flesh-out a coherent narrative consistent with the linguistic-semantic content of the story that fills in the gaps; one that Ibn Bal‘am accepts because it matches the semantic content of the verse.

¹²⁹⁷ (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 59). On the subjugation of *ta’wil* to ‘*aql*’ (Rawidowicz 1974, 250; Sklare 2017, 156). Summary of ‘*aql*’ in Islamic philosophy (Tritton 1971) and in Biblical exegesis (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 35, 45, 105–6, 129–84).

meaning. This is patently untrue, as Ibn Ezra knew, so how do he and Ibn Chiquitilla respond to examples of falseness in the biblical text like euphemism?

Earlier it was noted that the inclusion of euphemism under Name Transfer was not universally observed.¹²⁹⁸ Ibn Janâḥ, however, includes an example of euphemism in his discussion of *badal*. This links it with the creation of new semantic meaning. For example, he calls *BeReḲ* a *kinâya* [euphemism] for a curse in *ʿUṣûl*.¹²⁹⁹ He writes that:

“Curse God and die!” (Job 2:9); a euphemism for a curse. ¹³⁰⁰ ברכ אלהים ומת (איוב ב:ט) כנאיה [ען] אלסב.

For Ibn Janâḥ *kinâya* creates a new meaning which transfers semantic content that is understood by the speakers of the language to a new context. Does Ibn Chiquitilla either accept Name Transfer for euphemism or disguise it under another term? The issue arises in a criticism of Seʿadyah’s *tafsîr* on Psalm 10:2.¹³⁰¹ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 13r

The Fayûmî said that the phrase “*In the schemes they (the wicked) devise*” (Psalms 10:2) means [yaʿnî] that ‘*the poor are caught in the schemes which the wicked devise.*’ I think that all the pronouns refer to the wicked, and it is a curse upon them. There are two explanations of the phrase “*The wicked crows about his unbridled lusts.*” (Psalms 10:3). The first explanation means ‘*which the wicked crows etc.,*’ as in - which the wicked praises himself for obtaining

קאל אלפיומי אן קו' במזמות זו חשבו (תהלים י:ב) אנה יעני יתפשו העניים במזמות זו חשבו הרשעים. ואנא אקול אן כלי אלצ'מירין עאיד עלי אלרשעים והו דעא עליהם. ולנא פי קו' כי הלל רשע על תאות נפשו (תהלים י:ג) וג'האן מן אלתאויל. אלאול אן יעני בה אשר הלל רשע וגו' אי אלד'י מדה אלט'אלם עלי בלוג שהותה ואלגאצב פקד ד'ם אללה וכרהה פכאנה קאל אשר הלל רשע על תאות נפשו ובצע ברכ יי ונאצו וברך מן לגה ברכ אלהים (איוב ב:ט). ואלת'אני אן יכון ברכ אסמא ללהדיה ואלרשוה אי מ'ן מדה אלט'אלם ואלמרתג'ב פי אלהדיה פקד כרה אללה ומת'לה

¹²⁹⁸ (Perez 1986, 221). Cf. (Poznański 1895, 52).

¹²⁹⁹ *Alt. synecdoche* (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 262).

¹³⁰⁰ (*ʿUṣûl*, 114, 20 = *Hašôrâšîm*, 79). Also (*Al-Lumaʿ*, 296, 12 = *HaRiqmâ*, 310, 7-8). Also, Job 1:11 see *Hašôrâšîm et. al.* For other examples of *ʿaḏḏâda* (Bacher 1882b, 79).

¹³⁰¹ (*Seʿadyah*, Job, 31). Cf. Ibn Ezra’s use of *lašôn kinnûy* (euphemise). In this type of relationship only one set of relationships is present, the pattern formulated by the Psalmist (Abu Deeb 1979, 234–35).

his desires - for one who exploits, scorns God and hates Him, as if he said, ‘*in which the wicked crows about his unbridled lusts and curses and scorns the Lord.*’ *BeReK* is from the *lexeme* [luḡa] “Curse God” (Job 2:9). The second explanation is that *BeReK* is a noun – gifts or bribes, as in one who praises wickedness and pursues gifts is therefore scorned by God. It is identical to “*Promise [BeReK] and not fulfil?*” (Num. 23:20). Its basic form follows the morphology of “*For the Word [DiBeR] is not in them*” (Jer. 5:13) and “*Indeed, the offerings [QiTeR]*” (Jer. 44:21).

וברך ולא אשיבנה (במדבר כג:כ) ואצלה אן יכון עלי זנה
והדבר אין בהם (ירמיהו ה:יג) הלא את הקטר (ירמיהו
מד:כא).

BeReK can mean either bless or curse. Deciding the appropriate meaning for Psalms 10:2 derives from the internal logic of the narrative. What Se‘adyah and Ibn Chiquitilla think is communicated by the words leads them to define both the meaning of *BeReK* and the subject of “*they devise*” (Psalm 10:2). Both answers are presented as the verse’s *ta’wil* [interpretation], supporting a narrative origin for their interpretations.¹³⁰² The first opinion, Se‘adyah’s, reflects the usual meaning “*gifts (BeReK)*.” The sentence is a maxim whose subject, “*they may be caught (yittāpēsū)*” in verse two refers to the poor and the machinations of the wicked who grasps at gifts.¹³⁰³ Ibn Chiquitilla views this explanation

¹³⁰² This is even true for *BeReK* as both meanings belong to its basic semantic content (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 268–72; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 43–46; 93–97). See Ps. 127:4 *infra*.

¹³⁰³ “*Who (Zū)*” is the subjective (Martínez Delgado 2012, 215, n. 50).

According to Se‘adyah the verb “*crow (hillel)*” is intransitive, meaning the wicked crows having obtained what he desires. In the parallel second hemi-stich the “*grab (boṣea)*” refers to the wicked, who curses God. *Se‘adyah* translates Ps. 10:2 as follows:

Because the wicked in his arrogance hounds the poor, may he be caught in the schemes which they devise for him, because the wicked crows about his unbridled lusts, the man grasping at gifts, he scorns God.

אד'א ידחק אלט'אלם באקתדארה אלצ'עייף פיצ'בטה בהמם קד
פכרהא לה. וקד אמתדה אלט'אלם בבלוגה שהותה, ואד' בארך לה
ממא טמע בה רפץ' טאעת אללה.

(*Se‘adyah, Psalms*, 67; ‘*Amanât*, 154). On the inclusion of *Qad* (Perez 1991b, 13 n. 12).

as plausible, but favours an imprecation of the poor by the wicked.¹³⁰⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla's answer defines *BeReK* as "curse." He cites the euphemism in Job 2:9 as his proof text. The intent of the verse is, 'may the wicked be caught in the traps which they contrive. For the wicked praises his unbridled lusts, pronouncing a curse, may scorn God.'¹³⁰⁵ According to Ibn Chiquitilla, does this mean *BeReK*, as a euphemism for "curse" is Name Transfer? If so, can we explain this as a result of a direct appeal to the *luġa* [lexicon] of its speakers;¹³⁰⁶ the continuous tradition handed down from Rabbinic texts.¹³⁰⁷ Substantively there is no difference between his explanation to that of Ibn Janâḥ, even as he avoids the term 'isti'āra. From their perspective, the moment of Name Transfer shift to an earlier point in time.

Elsewhere, Ibn Chiquitilla tries to work around Ibn Janâḥ's adoption of Name Transfer as he explains the intent of the metaphor of Psalm 76:9. The argument is over the meaning of *šāqəṭā*, which is tied to the explanation of the topic and image of various figurative expressions found in Job. Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

¹³⁰⁴ Delgado suggests that a possible source for Ibn Chiquitilla's reading is the Ferrara Bible Jerome; "*Capiantur in sceleribus quae cogitauerunt.*" (J. Martínez Delgado 2012). Also, Vulgate, Clementina; "*Dum superbit impius, incenditur pauper: comprehenduntur in consiliis quibus cogitant. Quoniam laudatur peccator in desideriis animae suae, et iniquus benedicitur.*" The source cannot be Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qūṭī's translation as the subject of "*they destroyed (halakū)*" is the poor wicked person, see (Urvoy 1994, 30). It is also not the Septuagint.

¹³⁰⁵ This explanation (as well as the first) is given a philological-contextual analysis of the morphology. Ḥayyūj, (*Al-Lîn*, 390-391) and Ibn Janâḥ (*Al-Luma'*, 140, 12 = *HaRiqmâ*, 164, 10) identify it as the *Pi'el Səġôlate* pausal noun form with two "basic forms ('aşlan)," *Pe'al* and *Pe'eL*. The accent with a *Rəbī'ā Məġāreš* is equivalent to the non-pausal form with a *Zaqep̄* under the *Reš* and a *Tip̄hâ* under the *Šerê* (Hakham 1987, vol. I, 24 n. 1a). For the meaning in Job 1:5, Se'adyah translates it as "*consider*" i.e., curse (Qafih 1973, 38). An explicit example of the meaning curse is intended in the translation of Job 1:5 and Job 9:2 (Bacher 1908, 9 n. 1). So too Ḥayyūj (*al-Nutaf*, 68, 141-2). Ibn Ezra cites this meaning as well in 1 Kings 21:13 and Ps. 10:3 as well as 1 Kings 22:10, see Job 1:5 (Avery 1987, 17; Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004, 9–10). However, he rejects both Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Janâḥ's identification of the morphological form *BeReK* as a noun (Ps. 10:3 and Num. 23:20) as well as the meaning curse in favour of an elliptical reading, praise. The philological problem raised is already found in *Maḥberet*, Introduction (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, 13) and Ibn Bal'am's Psalms, Evr.-Arab. I 4352, 5r. Ibn Ezra's conclusion was already noted by Rashi, Numbers 23:20 (Rosenbaum et al. 1934) and Psalms *ad loc.* (Rashi, Psalms, Heb. 814, Eng. 209 n. 213). It is accepted by Radaq *ad loc.* as a verbal form, to praise the robber.

¹³⁰⁶ (Ben-Shammai 2003, 37).

¹³⁰⁷ Also, TB *Bava Kamma* 94a, in which the well-known semantic connection between B-R-K as bless and curse is implied. A more explicit meaning curse is unquestioningly accepted for Job 1:5, TJ *Yomah* 45b/8:6. This explanation appears in Braude's translation of *Pəsīqta Rabbāṭī* 10:13 as "*despoils*" (Braude 1959, vol. I, 191), but is omitted by Ulmer (Ulmer 2017, 267 n. 49). *Soḥer Tov*, Ps. 10:3 offers both bless and curse (Braude 1959, vol. I, 153).

Now it states “*When the land was numb with fright*” (Psalms 76:9). One says it (the earth) became agitated¹³⁰⁸ and is related to “*When the land was calmed by the south wind*” (Job 37:17), because it first mentions the north wind in the verse, “*Until the wind comes and clears them (of clouds).*” (Job 37:21) (and) “*By the north wind the golden rays emerge*” (Job 37:22).¹³⁰⁹ And we explained it in its place (*i.e.*, commentary): we said, that is to say, this verse (Job 37:22) is the attribute of the north wind of the sky; the coolness calms them. And it also mentions the south wind; its motion is the blowing in the verse, “*Whose clothes are hot*” (Job 37:17).

It is possible that the verse (Job 37:22) and also the verse “*The land was numb with fright*” (Ps :76:9) mean what is heard from Heaven Your heavenly pronouncement - the heavens upon Your creations which fear You and accepted it. Following their dispute, they feared Him: after their agitation they quieted down, and following their commotion became calm. So too for, “*When the land was numbed by the south wind*” (Job 37:17); means the time when it (the wind) moves with the sun from its place in the extreme south to its former place in the north (corner), this is after the cold period.

ואמא קו' ארץ יראה ושקטה (תהלים עו:ט) קיל פיה
תהרג'ת וקרן בה בהשקית ארץ מדרום (איוב לו:יז) לאנה
ד'כר אולא ריח אלשמאל פי קו' רוח עברה ותטהרם (איוב
לו:כא) מצפון זהב יאתה (איוב לו:כב) וקד פסרנאה פי
מוצ'עה וקלנא אנה יריד בהד'א אלקול צפא אלג'ו ברוח
אלשמאל ואן אלקר ילהבהא פד'כר ריח אלג'נוב איצ'א אן
בתחרכהא יכון אלדפי בקולה [97 ב] אשר בגדיך חמים
(איוב לו:יז)

ויג'וז איצ'א הד'א אלקול ויג'וז פי קו' ארץ יראה ושקטה
(תהלים עו:ט) איצ'א אן יכון מענאה למא אסמעת מן
אלסמא אחכאמך אלסמאוויה אלי כ'לקך אתקוך
פאמתת'לוהא ת'ם אתפקוא עליהא בעד אכ'תלאפהם
פתודעוא בעד אצ'טראבה[ם] ותהדנוא את'ר אהתיאג'הם
וכד'לך פי קולה בהשקית ארץ מדרום (איוב לו:יז) יעני
אלזמאן אלד'י תנקל פי אלשמס מן א'כ'ר אלג'נוב אלי אול
אלשמאל והו אכ'ר זמאן אלקר.

¹³⁰⁸ The Arabic translation of Job attributed to Ibn Chiquitilla reads *hâjat* for *taharajat*. This could be an error, for *hârajat* (Bacher 1908, 48). There are no translations for the other verses.

¹³⁰⁹ *I.e.*, the warmth of the north wind.

Ibn Chiquitilla tries to avoid two opposite semantic meanings for *šāqṭā* (*agitated* and *calm*).¹³¹⁰ Instead, he offers an interpretation of the imagery which draws upon descriptive knowledge and astronomy. Citing his lost commentary on Job, he offers a description of Job 37:22; the cooling effect of the north and south winds. From this he interprets the topic-image of Psalm 77:9 (and Job 37:17), as the numbing effect of the south wind in the winter, when the sun is below the earth.¹³¹¹ The *ma'na* [*sense*] is the descriptive meaning of the figurative expression, the chilling effect of God's heavenly decree, which though agitating the Psalmist, renders him immobile.

This explanation obviates the use of Name Transfer by Ibn Janāḥ, who identifies opposite meanings for the root *Š-Q-Ṭ*.¹³¹² He writes that:

The meaning of these two words is 'tranquillity, rest and calm and pacification.' This word is used with the opposite meaning, I mean, for tumult, agitation and movement, as it says "*The earth was agitated with fright*" (Psalms 76:9) [as in tumultuous and disordered]. And it says,

מעני הד'ה אלאפאט' הדו ושכון ותשכין. וקד אסתעמלת
הד'ה אללגה פי צ'ד הד'ה אלמעני אעני אלאצ'טראב
ואלאט'ארה ואלתחרך קיל ארץ יראה ושקטה (תהלים
עו:ט) [אי אצ'טרבת ואהתרת] וקיל אשר בגדיך חמים
בהשקט ארץ מדרום (איוב לו:יז) אי ענד תשויר אלריאה
אלג'נוביה אלעאלם יעני ענד הבובהא¹³¹³

¹³¹⁰ The connection is the shared root *Š-Q-Ṭ* in Job 37:17 and Ps. 76:9. Abraham Ibn Ezra adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's interpretation in his remarks to Job 37:17 (Avery 1987, 107 n. 1; Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004, Heb. 74, Sp. 281). Also see Ibn Ezra Eccl. 1:6 where he confirms that the sun is what causes the movement of the winds. He may well be citing Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion there too. Similarly, Ibn Ġiyyāt and Ibn Janāḥ' (Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004, Heb. 11-12, Sp. 18; Rabinovitz and Ibn Janāḥ 1936, 136; Zafrani and André Caquot 1989, Ar. 53, Fr. 88). Also c.f. TB, 'Eruvim 56a, TB Bava Bathra 25b.

¹³¹⁰ The actually winds to which Ibn Chiquitilla refers are harder to identify. In the northern zone of the Red Sea, the prevailing wind blows along the axis of the sea from the north the whole year round, and in the southern half of the sea in reverse direction (Boivin and Fuller 2009, 118). The south wind, known as *sirocco*, or locally in the Levant as *Simûn* is a hot and humid wind that blows southeast to southwest from North Africa across the Mediterranean and can destroy a whole year's worth of crops (Braudel 1966, vol. I, 244).

¹³¹¹ Ibn Chiquitilla is referring to the movement of the sphere of the sun, which is in the north, above the earth in summer, and below it in the winter. In Anaximander's universe the sun is in the north in summer and the south in the winter on a tilted axis. "La lune paraît s'obscurcir tous les mois lorsqu'elle se rapproche du soleil, parce que celui-ci ne l'éclaire que d'un côté; quand elle s'éclipse, c'est qu'elle tombe dans l'ombre de la terre qui se trouve alors entre les deux astres; le soleil au contraire est éclipsé par l'interposition de la lune." (Tannery 2018, 79)

¹³¹² Compare this to the descriptive solution found in *Pirque da-Rabbi Eliezer* (Pérez Fernández 1984, 83).

¹³¹³ ('Uṣûl, 746, 17-21 = *Hašōrāšim*, 511).

“Why do your clothes become hot When the land
is agitated by the south wind?” (Job 37:17), as
in agitating the south wind of the world,
meaning at the time of their blowing.

Earlier, in our discussion of euphemism (Psalms 10:2), we saw there is a continuous semantic tradition that includes Name Transfer. We argued that since it was part of the *’ahl-luḡa* Ibn Chiquitilla passively accepts it. An example of this is cited by the Anonymous Psalm Commentary, who implies that Ibn Chiquitilla endorses a substitution, *mawḏa* in his remarks on Psalm 77:7. It states that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3734, 1r

Ibn Chiquitilla said: “*Their fantasies (maskîyyôṭ) are extravagant.*” (Psalms 73:7): *‘the thoughts of the heart exceed them,’* as in (the wicked) their thoughts have exceeded and are beyond the thoughts of the people. He (Ibn Chiquitilla) said: *‘fantasies (maskîyyôṭ)’* comes in place of *‘thoughts (maḥšābôṭ),’* because of “*Fantasies (šeqwî)*” (Job 38:36). And (*maskîyyôṭ*) is a synecdoche [*na ‘t*] of the heart. Now that is one of two views.¹³¹⁴

קאל אבן ג'קט' עברו משכיות לבב (תהלים עג:ז) תג'אזוא
אפכאר אלקלוב אי אפכארהם תפות אפכאר אלנאס ותעלו
עליהא קאל פוצל¹³¹⁵ משכיות מכאן מחשבות לאן שכו
(איוב לח:לו) ונעת ללקלב. וד'לך לאחד וג'הין ...¹³¹⁶

The Anonymous Psalm Commentary states that Ibn Chiquitilla read *maskîyyôṭ* (*fantasies*) as a synecdoche for *maskîyyôṭ maḥšābôṭ ləbāb* (*fantastic thoughts of the heart*). What is the basis for Ibn Chiquitilla's adoption of a partial substitution in this example, when he so vehemently rejects it elsewhere? There is no way to be certain exactly what Ibn

¹³¹⁴ The other view cited is a comparison with the Aramaic meaning “see.” The Anonymous Ps. Commentary then cites the second opinion found in Ibn Ezra that replaces it with “see,” before rounding up with the opinion of Se'adyah, who interprets the Psalm metaphorically (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 174 n. 1).

¹³¹⁴ Mss. פוצ'ל.

¹³¹⁵ Mss. פוצ'ל.

¹³¹⁶ Another use of this term is found in Ibn Chiquitilla to Ps. 32:7, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 37r.

Chiquitilla said, as The Anonymous Psalm Commentary summarises rather than quotes the opinions of its predecessors. One option is that Rabbinic tradition guides Ibn Chiquitilla.¹³¹⁷ He might have adopted Ibn Janâḥ's view that "*Fantasies of the heart* (*maskîyyôṭ leḥāḇ*)," is connected to "*Fantasises* (*šēḵwî*)" (Job 38:36); a synecdoche with the missing word "*heart* (*leḥāḇ*)." In both Talmuds and the Aramaic translation of Job *šēḵwî* is a metonym for a rooster. The underlying analogue is the rooster's ability to distinguish between day and night, *i.e.*, inner thoughts. This would explain why Job 38:36 was cited by the Anonymous Psalm Commentary as part of Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss. Implicit to this inclusion is his acceptance of the meaning of *šēḵwî* as determined by the 'ahl al-luḡa,¹³¹⁸ and through a common root *maskîyyôṭ* meaning *maḥšāḇôṭ*. If this supposition is correct, then Ibn Chiquitilla may occasionally accept Name Transfers if it is part of tradition.

In Psalm 24:4 the written Biblical text provides Ibn Chiquitilla with support for a *mawḏa* ' . Despite an implied difficulty, one cannot swear on God's existence.¹³¹⁹ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 33r

<p>The <i>Kāfīḇ</i> (written text) of, "Who has not taken a false oath by His life (<i>naṣṣô</i>)," (Psalms 24:4) whilst the <i>Qāre</i> (read text) is "my life (<i>naṣṣî</i>)."</p> <p>The written text is more accurate than the read text to retain consistency with the phrase in the</p>	<p>וכתיב אשר לא נשא לשוא נפשו (תהלים כד: ד) וקרי נפשי וקד כאנת אללגה אלמכתובה אחק באלקראה לאטראד אלקול עלי אלאכבאר וכאן יעוד אלצ'מיר עלי יי ונפשו פי מוצ'ע שמו.</p>
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¹³¹⁷ Ibn Janâḥ's summarises the derivation of the meaning ('Uṣûl, 719, 16 = *Hašôrāšîm*, 511). *Se'adyah* "adorned," (*Se'adyah*, *Psalms*, 175, *Se'adyah*, *tafsîr*, *ad loc.*, *Se'adyah*, *Job*, 190), Jepheth b. Eli, (Bargès J. J. L. 1861, 143). Ibn Ezra, in his Ps.'s commentary, which the continuation of the above passage cites, includes Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion without comment. He concludes that *maskîyyôṭ* means imagery, *i.e.*, inner thoughts. Alternatively, he suggests the meaning "*forms, engravings*" which is found in his remarks to Job 38:36. He also offers another meaning "*see*" from 'Onqelôṣ, Gen. 31:49 (Avery 1987, 115; Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004, 295 nn. 3–4). All these opinions are cited by The Anonymous Commentary on Psalms and by Moses Ibn Ezra (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 329–30; Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1906, 967). The Anonymous Translation of Job, attributed erroneously by Bacher to Ibn Chiquitilla translates *šēḵwî* as *muṣawwar* [*innovator*] (Bacher 1908, 49). Cf. Rashi *ad loc.* for a similar explanation.

¹³¹⁸ TB *Rosh Hashanah* 26a, TJ *Berakhoth* 63b/9:1 and *Targûm*, *Job ad. loc.* From this derivation the morning benediction *hanôṭen lašēḵwî binâ* (who gives the crow understanding) (Goldschmidt 1971, 2).

¹³¹⁹ A reference to this as a textual emendation appears in *al-Kazarâ* alongside Lam. 4:18 (Baneth 1977, 115; ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969, 164).

third person. The pronoun referring, to *'the Lord and His life (naṣṣô)*' in place of [mawḏa] *'His name.'*

Ibn Chiquitilla's opening statement that he prefers the written text over the read text is about stylistic integrity – everything in the same person.¹³²⁰ God extols those who are pure and righteous and do not tarnish Him by swearing falsely. This poses a practical problem, as the text does not use the usual formula for swearing upon God's *šam (name)* as in Ex. 20:7, but on God's *neṣṣēš* – a term usually associated with His essence, life force or existence. Since it is impossible to swear on God's existence, Ibn Chiquitilla interprets *neṣṣēš* as a substitution for the usual oath upon *šamô (His Name)*.¹³²¹ Nothing in Rabbinic sources raises this problem, suggesting it did not pose a problem for them, but neither is there a reference to substitution. Only with Se'adyah does the theological problem arise.¹³²² We must conclude that Ibn Chiquitilla's tacit acceptance of substitution is the product of two factors, logical conversation and the fact that no member of the Israelite community could utter a blasphemous oath. *Neṣṣēš* must therefore mean *šam (name)*. And so, Ibn Chiquitilla does accept some Name Transfers, but without using the term *'isti 'āra*.¹³²³

¹³²⁰ Two readings of the text exist the *Kəṭīb*, *naṣṣô (His life)* and the *Qəre - naṣṣî (my life)*. Ibn Chiquitilla prefers the reading found in the *Kəṭīb*, as it retains consistency with the third person suffix of verse 3. Ps. 24:4 is quoted with Lam. 4:18 as an example of textual emendation found in *al-Ḳazarâ*, but the reason is not explained (Baneth 1977, 115; ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969, 164).

¹³²¹ As when God swears by His own name in Jer. 46:18. I thank Elisha Ancselovits for this suggestion.

¹³²² The interpretation of "soul" as "name" is found in Se'adyah translation of the verse - *'ism (Se'adyah, Psalms, 92)*, and Bahya Ibn Paḳūda in his Biblical commentary on Lev. *Bəḥuqōṭay* 26:14.

¹³²³ TB *Niddah* 30b asks what type of oath does he take? It replies "*Be righteous, and be never wicked.*" The implication is that the soul of one who swears falsely will be consumed by God. This explanation is also found in *Genesis Rabbah* 59:4-5 which prefers the *Kəṭīb*. In one opinion the pure soul is identified with Abraham and the self-destructive soul with Nimrod. *Exodus Rabbah* 4:1 elsewhere the pair is Moses and the Egyptian taskmaster he slayed. This is one of the two solutions proposed by Radaq *ad. loc.* Rashi tries to combine name and soul into one idea in his commentary on Psalms. He cites Jer. 51:14 as proof (*Rashi, Psalms*, Heb. 820 Eng. 267). In his commentary on Jer. 51:14 he translates it as "*self.*" Targūm *Jonathan ben 'Uzzî'el* replaces "*himself*" with "*his word.*" in a similar verse found in Jer. 51:14 and Amos 6:8, but the oath taker is God.

Evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's limited acceptance of Name Transfer by terms other than *'isti'âra* is made by Tanḥûm in his commentary on Psalms 119:28-29 alongside Ibn Janâḥ. He states:

Evr.-Arab. I 4554, 172v¹³²⁴

He expounds, “*My soul weeps (naṣṣî)*” (Psalms 119:28) as in melts, as if it said ‘*I pour out my soul or my soul melts,*’ as in “*my heart melts*” as in “*Every heart shall sink*” (Ez. 21:12), “*And the heart of the troops sank in utter dismay*” (Jos. 7:5), as if it said, themselves (*naṣṣām*). As the Arab poets say, “*Our souls flow out along the edge of the sword blades, and does not flow out along any other than the sword blades.*” The flow is a metaphor for the soul. Ibn Chiquitilla said that “*my soul*” is in place of ‘*my eyes.*’ This agrees with Ibn Janâḥ, for it is permitted to substitute a word with a word, as we explained the doctrine only permits it for metaphor. However, this is unnecessary.

פשרה דלפה נפשי (תהלים קיט:כח) דאבת כאנה קאל נשפכה נפשי או ממסס נפשי מת'ל נמס כל לב (יחזקאל כא:יב) וימס לבב העם ויהי למים (יהושע ז:ה) וכמא קאל או נפשם וכמא קאל שאער אלערב וקאל תסיל על חד אלסיוף נפוסנא וליס עלי גיר אלסיוף תסיל פאסתעארה אלסילאן ללנפוס. וקאל בן ג'קטילה אן נפשי (תהלים קיט:כח) מן מכאן עיני וואפקה עלי ד'לך אבן ג'נאח לאן אבדל לפט'ה בלפט'ה ג'איז ענדה עלי מא בינא מן מד'הב לכן מן חית' אלאסתעארה ג'איזה פלא צ'רורה לד'לך.

Tanḥûm's clarity in distinguishing the difference between the two theories of metaphor; Imaginative Ascription and Name Transfer is unequivocal.¹³²⁵ He cites the same explanation and prooftexts as Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss on Psalm 77:3; the soul figuratively suffering and a verse from 'Imrû al-Qays. However, he claims Ibn Chiquitilla accepts the Name Transfer for metaphoric language. This certainly agrees with the rejected examples, like Absalom for Solomon and Moses for God, where the issue is one of conversational logic. But how does he account for Ibn Chiquitilla's rejection of the metaphoric use of hand for eyes? Most likely, Tanḥûm reads the distinction between figurative and non-

¹³²⁴ On the identity of the manuscript (Wechsler and Tanḥûm ben Joseph of Jerusalem 2010, 6 n. 18).

¹³²⁵ (Dascalu 2019a, 70–74).

figurative examples in Ibn Chiquitilla as a tacit acceptance of the argument behind Name Transfer. Tanḥûm seems to understand Ibn Chiquitilla's discussion of *'abdal lafẓ* [*substitution of a word*] for non-metaphor as an example of polysemy, which assiduously avoids the loaded term *'isti'âra*. His conclusion appears to be accurate and substantiated by our investigation of *'double-faced'* metaphors.¹³²⁶ Based on Tanḥûm we can conclude that Ibn Chiquitilla does not object to Name Transfer, but its unsubstantiated use as *'isti'âra*, when it does not conform to semantic tradition.

¹³²⁶ *Supra*. Tanḥûm Yerushalmi knew Ibn Chiquitilla directly. He cites him in his Ps. commentary, *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* [Book on Masculine and Feminine Nouns], *supra*, Introduction. In addition, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi directly quotes Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion on Ps. 63:3. We compare the texts below.

And “*Great (Rabbâ)*” (Ps. 62:3) is a verbal noun in place of an attribute as it says “*That I should (now) fear the great multitude*” (Job 31:34). Its attributive for a verbal noun. Now, because it qualifies it, therefore it is masculine – the great multitude and “*A great multitude*” (Dan. 11:11). Similarly, great depth (*tâhôm*) as depth (*tâhôm*) is also masculine as in the phrase; “*Deep to deep*” (*tâhôm*) (Ps. 42:8) referring to both springs and deeps.

Tanhûm: Evr.-Arab. I 3735, 22r

קאל ר' משה בן ג'קטלה אנה
מצדד ינוב ען אלצפה כמא קיל
כי אערוץ המון רבה (יואל
לא:לד) תהום רבה (בראישת
ז:יא) מת'ל רב פיוון תקד[י]רה
אל אמוט מעם רב.

Tanhûm Yerushalmi directly quotes Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation for the morpho-syntax of "*Great*" (*Rabbâ*) (Ps. 62:3), before moving onto his own explanation of "*Deep*" (*tahôm*). Perez identifies this passage as belonging to Ibn Bal'am in his criticism of Ibn Chiquitilla (Perez 1997a, 46, Example 4). However, it may belong to Tanhûm. For example, Ps. 61:1, *infra*. Also (Tsoref 2016, 73–91). He is not particularly sympathetic to Ibn Chiquitilla's examination of Ps. headings, as demonstrated by his preference for Ibn Bal'am. Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion also appears in *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ*. He writes that:

"*Deep to deep*" (*tahôm*) (Ps. 42:8), masculine. תהום אל תהום קורא מד'כר ואלמאנת' תהו[ם] רבה.
Feminine, "*Great deep*" (Ps. 62:3).
(Maman and Ben-Porat 2014, Ar. 295, Heb. 303)

Ibn Chiquitilla's adoption of the Arabic poetic model of *'isti'âra* turns it into a single dynamic process linking the old environment, the topic, with the new environment, the image through an underlying analogy - *tamfîl*.¹³²⁷ Heinrichs describe it as a comparison of two sets of elements. He writes that:

In other words: at the basis of this image there is an analogy (*tamfîl*) ... An analogy – in the terminology used here – is a comparison between two sets of elements (rather than two single elements) or – grammatically speaking – between two sentences. Thus, any analysis of an analogy or an analogy-based image that proceeds by taking up and classifying single elements without regard to the whole set cannot do justice to the phenomenon analysed, and that is why, in dealing with this type of image, both the “old” and the later conceptions of *isti'ârah* are unsatisfactory. For in addition to the general image-creating process of projecting the analogue onto the topic there are two further conditions: that the central element of the topic be retained, ... and that elements of the analogue that do not have any counterparts in the topic be received into the resulting image ... And it is precisely these two elements that are featured by the “old” theory of *isti'ârah*. ... In fact, the oldest treatises on the literary theory – which still subscribe to the idea of *isti'ârah* being an act of object-borrowing – contain no cross-references whatsoever between *isti'ârah* and *tašbîh* (comparison, and, more particularly, simile).¹³²⁸

Ibn Chiquitilla as a follower of *tamfîl* based *'isti'âra* identifies a ‘set of elements’ by which to link the counterfactual image and topic without transforming the semantic meaning of the words of the sentences. For example, he writes on Psalm 116:11 that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3735, 42r

Following this analogy, it states “*Which do not betray all its days*” (Is. 58:11), which was

ועל הד'א אלוג'ה קיל אשר לא יכזבו מימיו (ישעיהו נח:יא). וקד אסתעיר למן לחקה לאחק למ יט'ן בה מן

¹³²⁷ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 58 n. 106).

¹³²⁸ (Heinrichs 1984a, 81–82; 1977, 9–11).

borrowed for one who is persecuted by him (the traitor). He (the traitor) did not expect destruction. “*All men are false*” (Psalms 116:11); (it was also borrowed) for someone who has been warned (by a liar), about something that he (the liar) did not believe, which he warned about, “*Do not deceive your maidservant*” (2 Kings 4:16).

אלתלאף כל האדם כוזב (תהלים קטז:יא) ולמֶן
אֶ־נִדְרַר בְּמֵא לֹם יֵטֵן בֶּה אֱלֹדִי אֲנִדְרָה אֶל תְּכֹזֵב
בְּשִׁפְחָתְךָ (מלכים ב ד:טז).

In this example Ibn Chiquitilla examines the use of K-Z-B in the ‘literal’ examples of Psalm 116:11 and 2 Kings 4:16, as a means of explaining the semantic borrowing of K-Z-B in the metaphoric context of Is. 58:11. In Is 58:11, K-Z-B describes God’s unceasing support for the prophet. The *tamtīl* based *wajh* [analogy]¹³²⁹ compares liars to a “*Flowing stream*” (Is. 58:11), whose falsehoods are impossible to identify.¹³³⁰

In Is. 58:11 the intent of the topic and images are tied to counterfactual knowledge about the world. In Psalm 32:4, on the other hand, a derivation of intent is developed as the topic-image by Ibn Chiquitilla in his gloss on “*fat*.” He distinguishes between the semantic meaning of the text and what is communicated by the image, ‘fatness’ indicating wealth.¹³³¹ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 36v

One can say “*My moisture was turned (lāšaddī),*” (Psalms 32:4) ‘*my fat*’ or ‘*my corpulence,*’ borrowed from “*Cream of fat*” (Num. 11:8).

וקיל פי קו' נהפך לשדי (תהלים לב:ד) דסמי וכ'צבי
אסתעארה מן אלשד השמן (במדבר יא:ח).

How are we to understand the connection between two uses of the same word, *fat*, in which their linguistic-semantic content does not differ? Only by importing illocutionary

¹³²⁹ Short for *wajh al-tamtīl* is intended here. On *tamtīl*, *infra*.

¹³³⁰ So too Ibn Ezra, but he omits the literary link (Haas 2020, 265). He does not comment on K-Z-B in Ps. 5:7.

¹³³¹ The association of fatness with wealth is well documented in the Bible and various cultures. For example Deut. 32:15, and among Africans, ancient Greeks and Amazonians (Welch et al. 2009; Ferris and Crowther 2011).

knowledge does the intent of the *tamṭil* based analogy between topic and image reveal itself. It borrows the attribute of wealth in the phrase “*Cream of fat*” (Num. 11:8) from its original environment of sacrifice, and places it in a newly imagined one; the deliquescing fat is an analogue for the *maskil*’s (*wise*) loss of vitality. In this new context, the image of suffering functions as a didactic tool to encourage forgiveness of sin. Ibn Chiquitilla’s language is enthymemic.

Behind Ibn Chiquitilla’s remarks on the parable in Psalm 32:4 is a long debate over the root and significance of the analogy. In the period prior to Judah Ḥayyūj’s description of the trilateral root system, Menaḥem and Dunash Ibn Labraṭ debated both the meaning and root of *lašaddî* and its significance. Menaḥem lists it under the root Š-D, ‘*devastate*,’ or perhaps ‘*breast*.’¹³³² He states:

<p>First (meaning) ... “<i>from the wicked who destroy me</i>” (Psalms 17:9), “<i>My breast waned</i>,” (Psalms 32:4) and “<i>The deviousness of the treacherous destroys them</i>” (Prov. 11:3).</p>	<p>האחת ... מפני רשעים זו שדוני (תהלים יז:ט) נהפך לשדי (תהלים לב:ד) וסלף בוגדים ושדם (משלי יא:ג).¹³³³</p>
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Dunash Ibn Labraṭ rejects this analysis in favour of the root L-Š-D. He writes that:

<p>Make <i>LaŠaDDî</i> (Psalms 32:4) like <i>ŠôD</i>, though the L (<i>Lameḏ</i>) is part of the root.</p>	<p>לשדי שת כשוד, והלמד ביסוד¹³³⁴</p>
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Based on this analysis, Dunash Ibn Labraṭ’s translates the word, as “*moisture*,” with the contextual meaning vigour, as in “*my vigour waned*.” In the generation following Dunash

¹³³² Note, Menaḥem follows the *kaṭîḥ* on Prov. 11:3. On his occasional preference for the *kaṭîḥ*, see (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1996, 100–101).

¹³³³ (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, *361, Sp. 14).

¹³³⁴ (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1980, *6, Sp. 8).

Ibn Labraṭ, the disciples of Menaḥem defended his exclusion of the L (*Lameḏ*) from the root. According to Gaash, the author of this responsa was Judah Ḥayyūj.¹³³⁵ He states:

You criticise him (Menaḥem) for putting “*lāŠaDDī*” (Psalms 32:4) alongside “*ŠaDûD*,” (Jer. 4:30) in his composition (*Maḥberet*). And you maintain that the L (*Lameḏ*) is part of the root, without more explanation and proof other than the force of your hand. You state that “*moist oil (lāŠaD ha-šâmen)*” (Num. 11:8) is like the ‘moisture (Heb. *lah*) of oil.’ And that if someone says that the L (*Lameḏ*) of *lāšaddî* is paralogical, its interpretation will not be possible, since it would resemble *ha-šâmen* of “*his portion is moist (šâmen ḥelqô)*,” (Hab. 1:16), that being so there is a great difference in punctuation between *šâmen* and *šâmen* (i.e., *šâmen* an adjective).

I maintain that the L (*Lameḏ*) is additional, although I would not equate that *ha-šâmen* (Num. 11:8) with *šâmen ḥelqô*, (Hab. 1:16), because I know very well that they differ in punctuation and meaning. Its meaning, ‘*its flavour was that of the rich cream (ŠaD)*.’ The cream (*ŠaD*) is floating on top of the (rich) cream (Heb. *šâmen*) with a paroxytone accent as in “*šâmen*” (Psalms 109:24), the same as “*šâmen*” (Is. 10:27). As in *ḥep̄eṣ-ḥâp̄eṣ*, *šep̄el-šâp̄el* and *dēḇeq-dâḇeq*.

It must be further answered that *Haṭpāk* (*change*) is not found with a B (*Bet*), but with a L

והשיבות עליו בהחבירו נהפך לשדי (תהלים לב:ד) עם את שדוד מה תעשי (ירמיה ד:ל), ותאמר כי הלמד יסוד, בלא פתרון וראיה כי אם בחזק יד. ותאמ[ר] לשד השמן (במדבר יא:ח) כלח השמן. וכל האומר בלמד לשדי כי הוא מוסף, לא יתכן פתרו[נו] מפני אשר ידמה השמן אלי שמן חלקו (חבקוק א:טז), ובין שמן ושמן מבדל גדול בנקידה.

והנה אומר כי הלמד מוסף, רק כי לא אדמה זה השמן אלי שמן חלקו (חבקוק א:טז), כי ידעתי כי בניהם מבדל בנקידה ובפתרון, ויהי פתרונו והיה טעמו אשר לשד השמן. ויהיה השד סמוך אלי שמן וטענו מלעיל, כמו: ובשרי כחש משמן (תהלים קט:כד). וכמהו: וחובל עול מפני שמן (ישעיהו י:כז) כחפץ מן חפץ, ושפל, משפל, ודבק מן דבק.

ועוד יש להשיב כי לא מצאנו הפך בבית כי אם בלמד: ויהפך לדם ואוריהם (תהלים פח:מד). וכמהו: והפכתי

¹³³⁵ (Gaash 2019, 299).

(*Lameḏ*): *lāḏam* (Psalms 78:44) as well as “*lāsāsôn*” (Jer: 31:13). It is rarely found without either L (*Lameḏ*) or B (*Bēṭ*), as in (Psalms 114:8) with the sense of ‘*aḡam mâyîm*, as indicated (Psalms 114:8). *Haḇāk* is never found accompanied by a B (*Bēṭ*).

אבלם לששון (ירמיהו לא:יג). וכמהו נמצא מעט מזער בלא למד ובלא בית, כמו: ההופכי הצור אגם (תהלים קיד:ח) נמצא הפך נופל על בית כלל.¹³³⁶

According to Ḥayyûj, Dunash Ibn Labraṭ erred in his analysis of *lāṢaDDî*’s root on both a morphological and semantic grounds. The difference being *šâmen* (Hab. 1:16), is oxytone and means ‘moist,’ whereas *lāṢaDDî* is paroxytone and matches the meaning of Jer. 4:30, ‘devastated.’ Thus, Ḥayyûj interprets Psalm 32:4 to meaning ‘my breast.’ Implied is that he does think Num. 11:6 ‘rich fat’ sharing the same sense as moisture found in Dunash, see Ibn Janâḥ *infra*. Dunash Ibn Labraṭ’s student, Yehudi Ibn Sheshat in turn responds to Ḥayyûj’s criticism. He writes that:

lāṢaDDî (Psalms 32:4). Replied against Menaḥem to quote in the same section “my vigour waned” (Psalms 32:4) as “and you devastated” (Jer. 4:30). He said the L (*Lameḏ*) was part of the underlying form of the word and its interpretation is ‘moisture’ and likewise like “rich cream (*lāṢaD ha-šâmen*)” (Num. 11:8). Its interpretation is like the ‘moisture of fat.’ You foolishly said “Menaḥem said,” and are a cause for laughter by all the Andalusians for asserting that *lāṢaD ha-šâmen* is like “lament upon the breasts (*ṢaDayîm*),” (Is. 32:12). You interpreted this expression as, ‘the taste of them was like the fat of breast.’ You added to an explanation ‘*ašer*,’ but the expression is

לשדי והשיב על מנחם בהביאו בחלק אחד נהפך לשדי (תהלים לב:ד) עם ואת שדוד (ירמיה ד:ל). ואמר כי הלמ"ד מיסוד המלה ופתרונו עם לחי, וכמוהו והיה טעמו כטעם לשד השמן (במדבר יא:ח), ופתרונו כטעם לחי השמן.

ואתם בסכלותכם אמרתם אמר מנחם ותהיו שחוק לכל הספרדים באמרכם לשד השמן כמו על שדים סופדים (ישעיהו לב:יב). ופתרתם אתו: והיה טעמו כטעם אשר לשד משדים הופסתם לפתרון אתם אשר, ולא יצא הדבר כשר כי לו היה לשד משדים אמר כטעם שד השמן בלי תוספת למ"ד בקמיצת שמן, ולא אמר לשד השמן כאשר אמרתם כי אין

¹³³⁶ (Benavente Robles and Sáenz-Badillos 1986, *48, Sp. 76).

incorrect, because if *ŠaD* is from *ŠaDayîm*, (then) say ‘*kə-ṭa‘am ŠaD ha-šâmen*’ without the L (*Lameḏ*), vocalised as *šâmen* and without saying *laŠaD ha-šâmen* as you said, for the language does not usually say either *zərô‘a ha-šâmen* or *zərô‘a ha-šâmen*. Nor does it say *zərô‘a razôn*, but either *zərô‘a šâmenâ* or *zərô‘a razâ*.

Neither does it say *zərô‘a razôn*, nor *šâmen* like the one punctuated in the passage similar to this, *šâmen* (2 Kings 4:2), and not as the one who moans inside says in his reflection, “*Where will I carry my shame*” (2 Sam. 13:13). Its meaning is, ‘*I will hide my shame*,’ and the word of one of the poets who, like him, was a fool, is fulfilled in his soul: “*A word escaped from his lips destroys the wicked, and also cuts off his head like a sword, and the foolish man does not know his enemy and his adversary, when he harms himself.*”

Ibn Sheshat’s defence of his master is two-fold; he attacks the irregular *annexation* with a L (*Lameḏ*) as unnecessary, whilst pointing out that *šâmen* is not an adjectival construct form based on it being paroxytone. His proof is 2 Kings 4:2. In the generation following Ḥayyûj and Jonah Ibn Janâḥ discusses Dunash’s explanations for *lašaddî* (Psalms 32:4) under the root Š-D-D. He states:

In my opinion, also from the same underlying form with another meaning is “*la-ŠaDDî*” (Psalms 32:4), “*like the taste of the rich cream*

דרך הלשון לומד זרוע השמן ולא זרוע שמן כי אם זרוע שמינה וזרוע רזה.

ולא יאמר זרוע רזון ולא שת שמן, בפתיחה קטנה כמוהו נקוד הפסוק אשר הוא כמו: **ולא שת *שמן** (מלכים ב ד:ב). ולא כאשר אמר בפירושו המקונן על נפשו **אנה אוליך את חרפתי** (שמואל ב יג:יג) צלמו יסתיר את ערותי וקיים בנפשו מאמר אחד השרים כאשר כמוהו מן הנבערים "מחתת האויל מבטא שפתיו וגם גוזר כמו חרב לראשו ולא ידע לאיש בער משנאו וצרו בהרעותו לנפשו":¹³³⁷

ומן הד'א אלאצל ענדי פי מעני אכ'ר **נהפך לשדי** (תהלים לב:ד). **כטעם לשד השמן** (במדבר יא:ח). **ושוד מלכים**

¹³³⁷ (Sheshet and Varela Moreno 1981, Heb. 15, Sp. 29).

(*lā-ŠaD ha-šāmēn*)” (Num. 11:8), “*Suckle at royal breasts (ŠôD)*,” (Is. 60:16), “*oil has vanished (ŠôD)*” (Is. 16:4), “*from her breast (ŠôD) consolation to the full* (Is. 66:11).

Some say (*i.e.*, Dunash) that *ŠaD* and *ŠôD* are like, “*BaR*” (Psalms 2:12), “*kā-BôR*” (Psalms 18:21) (*i.e.*, K-B-R). Their analogue includes the L (*Lamēd*) in its (the form), I mean “*lā-ŠaD*” (Num. 11:8) (and) “*Lā-ŠaDDî*” (Psalms 32:4). Now, (*the L*) of *lā-ŠaD* is the annexed form. It is approximately, ‘*kā-ṭa ‘am ‘ ašer lā-ŠaD ha-šāmēn.*’ Translate [*tarjama*] it as, “*like the taste which is the choicest of fat.*” The (L (*Lamēd*)) of ‘*lā-ŠaDDî*’ is paragogical as it is paragogical in “*lā-kôl*” (Deut. 24:) and “*lā-kôl*” (Ezra 1:5), as I explained in *Kitāb al-Luma’* (Luma’, 216 = *Ha-Riqmā*, 235, n. 1), as ‘*lā-ŠaDDî*’ (Psalms 32:4) is the nominate of the word ‘*nēpāk.*’

Now, the explanation [*tafsîr*] of the words (*ŠaD* and *ŠaDDî*) are ‘*moisture*’ and ‘*fat.*’ The meaning [*ma ‘nâ*] of “*my vigour waned as in the summer drought. Selah.*” (*Ibid.*). The moisture changes to dryness and desiccation, as in the summer drought and desiccation, meaning the affliction of dry heat, as in summer weather. There it states, “*For night and day, Your hand lay heavy on me; my vigour waned, as in the summer drought. Selah.*” (Psalms 32:4). Say your disease became unbearable night and day, until the moisture changed to dryness, the affliction of dry heat, as in the dry weather of summer. The Arabs call moisture bounty and say ‘*the night became moist (with much*

תינקי (ישעיהו ס:טז). כלה שוד (ישעיהו טז:ד). משוד תנחומיה (ישעיהו סו:יא).

וקיל שד ושוד כמא קיל נשקו בר (תהלים ב:יב). כבור ידי (תהלים יח:כא). ואמא וג'ה דכול אללאם פיהמא אעני פי לשד השמן (במדבר יא:ח). נהפך לשדי (תהלים לב:ד) פאנה פי לשד השמן ללאצ'אפה. ואלתקדיר כטעם אשר לשד השמן. ותרג'מה כאלטעם אלד'י לטיבה אלדשך והו פי לשדי זאיד כזיאדתה פי ולא יעבר עליו לכל דבר (דברים כד:ה). לכל העיר האלהים את רוחו (עזרא א:ה) עלי מא ביינת פי כתאב אללמע לאן לשדי (תהלים לב:ד) פאעל בקולה נהפך.

ואמא תפסיר הד'ה אלאלפאט' פרטובה ודסומה. ומעני נהפך לשדי בחרבוני קיץ סלה (תהלים לב:ד) ואסתחאלת רטובתי אלי אליבס ואלג'פאף פי מת'ל יבוסה אלפיט' וג'פאפה יעני פי עלה חארה יאבסה כמזאג' אלקיט'. ד'לך קולה כי יומם ולילה וג' (תהלים לב:ד) יקול אן אפתך תשתד עלי נהארא ולילא חתי אסתחאלת רטובתי אלי אליבס עלה חראה יאבסה מת'ל יבוסה אלפיט'. ואלערב תשמי אלגדי אלסדי ויקולון סדית אללילה אד'א נזל פיהא אלגדי. פאללפט'אן מתקארבאן אעני לפט' לשדי ולפט' אלסדי וכד'לך אלמענין:

dew)¹³³⁸ for the moisture descends from it.

These words are synonyms, meaning the words *lā-ŠaDDî* and *al-Sadâ*.

Another explained (al-Fâsî) *lā-ŠaDDî* as “*moisture (ŠaD) of kings*” (Num. 11:8), as we have explained it, but included the L (*Lameḏ*), as part of its underlying form [*ʾašl*] and they are from the specific form “*Suckle at royal breasts (ŠôD)*,” (Is. 60:16) is better in my opinion. In my opinion *lā-ŠaDDî* may be related to the Aramaic, which called, “*side of the Tabernacle*” (Num. 3:39), “*ŠiDDa*” (*ʾOnqelos ad. loc.*) – the side switches as in the summer drought and desiccation. And “*ŠaD*” (Num. 11:6) the desiccation his might. In these circumstances the L (*Lameḏ*) is also paragogical.

Also, from this underlying form [*ʾašl*] is *ŠaDDay* (Ge. 17:1). In my opinion its explanation [*tafsîr*] is strong and honourable. It is like, “*And Shaddai be your treasure*” (Job 22:25), as in your king is great and mighty. From this meaning, “*ŠiDDâh* and *ŠiDôl*” (Ecc. 2:9), mighty (sing.) and mighty (pl.) and noble and nobles. Now the Y (*Yôḏ*) in *ŠaDDay* is for exaggeration (*i.e.*, an exaggerated participle), intensification or emphasis.

It is possible *lā-ŠaDDî* has a weak third radical following the matter of *DaWWây* (Lam 1:22).

וקד פשר גירי פי לשדי ופי לשד השמן (במדבר יא:ח)
מת'ל תפסירנא וג'על אללאם פימהמא אצ'ל. וכונהמא מן
לגה ושוד מלכים תינקי (ישעיה ס:טז) אולי ענדי. וג'איז
ענדי פי לשדי אן יכון מג'אנסא ללסריאני אלד'י יקול פי ירך
המשכן (במדבר ג:כט). שידא דמשכנא אי אן ג'נבי יתקלב
פי מ'תל יבוסה אלקיט' וג'פאפה. וד'לך לשד השמן (במדבר
יא:ח) וג'פאף ג'סימה. ואללאם עלי הד'א זאידה איצ'א:

ומן הד'א אלאצל איצ'א אל שדי (בראשית יז:א) ותפסירה
ענדי עזיז ג'ליל. ומת'ל והיה שדי בצריך (איוב כב:כה) אי
ויכון מאלך ג'סימה עט'ימה: ומן הד'א אלמעני שדה ושדות
(קהלת ב:ט) עזיזה ועזאיז כרימה וכראים. ואמה אלי פי
שדי פללמבאלגה ואלתכת'יר או ללתעט'ים.

ויג'וז אן יכון שדי מעתל אללאם עלי מת'אל ולבי דוי (איכה
א:כב).¹³³⁹

Ibn Janâḥ offers three explanations for the morphology and syntactically structure of *ŠaDDî*. Only the first two concern us. The first is Dunash's explanation. The second

¹³³⁸ (Lane 1863, 1335).

¹³³⁹ (*ʾUṣûl*, 704-5 = *Hašôrâšîm*, 498-9).

matches al-Fâsi's explanation and citation in the Targûm.¹³⁴⁰ Ibn Janâḥ rejects its inclusion of L (*Lameḏ*) as the root in favour of Ḥayyûj. Ibn Ezra responds to this with his own analysis which combines Dunash and Al-Fâsi's explanation of the underlying root [*ʿaṣl*] and metaphor. He also cites anonymously Ḥayyûj and Ibn Janâḥ's remarks in his gloss on Number 11:8. He states:

Moisture: Some say (*I.e.*, Ḥayyûj and Ibn Janâḥ) that the L (*Lameḏ*) is superfluous. The word *ha-šāmeṇ* should have been oxytone because (*šāmeṇ*) is an adjective. However, the correct opinion in my opinion is that the L (*Lameḏ*) of *Ləšād* is the root as in “*ləšaddî* (*my moisture*)” (Psalms 32:4). *My moisture* in contrast to droughts in summer, is that the moisture is the purest part of oil which floats on top of all the oil. In this case, the word *ha-šāmeṇ* is paroytone in accordance with its meaning.

לשדי ויש אומרים, כי הלמ"ד נוסף כלמ"ד ... יהיה ראוי להיות השמן מלרע בעבור שהוא תאר השם. ונכון בעיני שהלמ"ד לשד שורש, כמו נהפך לשדי (תהלים לב:ד) והוא הפך בחרבוני קיץ, והיא הלחה הנכבדת העולה למעלה מכל שמן, ויהיה השמן מלעיל כמשמעו.¹³⁴¹

Returning to the application of reason to explain the counterfactual description, in Psalm 7:6, Ibn Chiquitilla anchors the meaning of the phrase's syntax to its rational meaning.¹³⁴² He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 49v

The phrase “*Let him trample me (lit. my life) to the ground.*” (Ps. 7:6). Now life cannot (literally) be trampled. Instead, it means ‘*let him trample the ground with my life,*’ as in whenever I feel the pain of being underfoot and trampled.

וקו' וירמס לארץ חיי (תהלים ז:ו) ואלחיים לים ממא ינאלהא אלדרס לכנה אראד וירמס לארץ בחיי אי מהמא אחס באלם אלוטי ואלדרס. וקד יג'וז אן יכון חיי ט'רפא. מת'לה פי תפלה לאל חיי (תהלים מב:ט) יעני מדה חיאתי.

¹³⁴⁰ (Al-Fâsi and Skoss 1936, vol. XXI, 652).

¹³⁴¹ (A. Ibn Ezra and Weizer 1977, 143–44). Also see, (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1996, 105–6).

¹³⁴² In Josh. 5:4, Ibn Bal'am calls this type of ambiguity '*isti' māl* [*usage*] (Ibn Bal'am and Poznański 2013).

It is possible that ‘*my life*’ is circumstantial [zarfa]. It is identical to, “*A prayer to the God of my lifetime*” (Psalms 42:9), meaning [ya ‘nī] ‘*during my lifetime.*’

In both of these explanations of the *taqdîr*, Ibn Chiquitilla’s understanding of “*life*” is contingent on logic. In the first explanation it is the physical pain felt when a living being is trampled on. The text is read elliptically; inserting the preposition *Beṭ* (*with*) before “*my life (ḥayyāy)*” as if to say, ‘*he trampled the ground **with** my life.*’ The second solution reads the additional Y (*Yôḏ*) as marking the *zarfa* [circumstantial] - ‘*he tramples the land, during my lifetime.*’¹³⁴³ The difference between these two explanations is expressed by their syntactic arrangement, but ultimately flow from a counterfactual origin.

However, more often Ibn Chiquitilla’s proceeds directly to semantic analysis, as in Psalm 56:9. Ibn Chiquitilla concentrates on the shared semantic meaning of the anthropomorphism and the set of elements that make up its topic and image. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 70v

And “*Your flask (nôḏekā)*” (Psalms 56:9): a metaphor, which intends a homonym [muĵânasa] “*my wandering (nôḏī)*”; as if they (tears) were carefully stored in the flask, for He did not lose any (drop), and (His care) is also proven by their profusion and abundance.

ונאדך (תהלים נו:ט) אסתעארה נוֹי בהא מג'אנסה נודי
לתכון כאנהא מחפוט'ה פי ועא פלא יצ'יע מע אי שי וידל
איצ'א עלי פיצ'הא וגזארתהא.

Ibn Chiquitilla identifies this image of the “*flask*” as an allegory for suffering. He provides the analogous element forming the metaphor without expanding the semantic

¹³⁴³ He offers textual support from Ps. 42:9.

meaning of *nôdekā* (flask).¹³⁴⁴ The suffering endured by wandering is diligently recorded for future reward in the flask.¹³⁴⁵ Each tear represents David's trials and tribulations, his numerous flights from dangers and is specifically connected to his imprisonment in Gath.¹³⁴⁶

The problem with this explanation is that in the first half of the verse, God's counting of the Psalmist's wanderings, *nôdî* (my wanderings) also represents the Psalmist's suffering. *Nôdî* and *nôdekā* must shift their meaning to suffering to retain the allegory's topical unity. Ibn Chiquitilla like all pre-modern rhetoricians ignores this problem. Instead, he draws attention to the semantic word play, *nôdekā a mujânasa nôdî*, as it implies some sort of shared semantic meaning.

The inadequacy of Ibn Chiquitilla's interpretation of metaphor was referred to by Heinrichs (above) as afflicting both Imaginative Ascription and Name Transfers when a metaphor contains more than one element. Such metaphors are comprised of an initial

¹³⁴⁴ The connection between "flask" and "wanderings" is paronomasia as the Hebrew words sound identical, *nôd*. On the use of *mujânasa* [homonym] in Moses Ibn Ezra (*Muḥâḍara*, 238-239 = 257) and (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 339, 360). Paronomasia is also used in Arabic poetry (Schippers 1978, 252).

¹³⁴⁵ The allusion in the *flask* to *suffering* is found in Samuel ben Ḥophni's commentary on Gen. 28:11 "It [the journey described in Ps. 56:9] is a punishment and examination of sinners." So too Ibn Ezra and Radaq *ad. loc.*

¹³⁴⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla writes in his opening remarks to Psalm 56 that:

He explains "*Yônaṭ 'Elem Reḥôqîm*" (Ps. 56:1) as a dove of the distance palace. This is incomprehensible and meaningless. And what I see in it is that the doves represent the songs, which are melancholic melodies, and with a sense of separation. It is about the time David was captured in Gath. He was separated from his family and yearning to return to them, so he called the dove which he released, 'dove of his distant friends.'

פסר פי יונת אלם רחוקים (תהלים נו:א) חמאמה קצר אלבעדין
והד'א מא לא יעקל ולא יודי מעני ואלדי ארי פיה אן אלחמאמא
מן אלגאני קד אסתעמלת פי שגי אלחאן ופי מעני אלפראק
וקד כאן דוד פי וקת אלתקבץ עליה פי גת מפארקא לאהלה
ומתשוקא אליהם פסמי אלחמאמה אלתי אבתאחהא חמאמה אלפה
אלבעאד.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 69r. The rejected opinion is found in Ibn Janâḥ [קצר אלבעדין] [as about the Dove of the distance palace.]. (*ʿUṣûl*, 50, 32-33 = *Haṣṣôrâšîm*, 33). The dove as a symbol of freedom is a common trope in Arabic poetry. The Arab poet 'Abû Katîfâ makes use of the image of the dove as a representation of himself among the pillared palaces of Damascus; 'on whose parapets the tame dove coos.' (Rückert 1969, II:230). Similarly, the Psalmist he longs for freedom and the tame dove is the symbol of his artificial life (Cheyne 1888, 154). The trope of the trapped dove is found in the *piyyût* (poem) "בורא עד אנה יונתך במצודה תוך" (Creator, until how long shall thy dove remain in the toils of the fowler's snare?) used by North African communities on the Fast of the 9th of Ab. The poet's name, Benjamin, of which nothing is known appears as an acrostic. It was composed after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. A reference to the Inquisition appears in the line יועצים עליה עצות היא אנושה זרים העובדים אלילים שלושה אם ובן ורוח כי אין להם בושה גדול "ממכאובי." "They counsel against her and she languishes, the strangers who worship three idols, father, son and spirit, for they have no shame and great is my suffering." (Leeser 1837). This verse is censored in many prayer words. A recording in the Portuguese tradition can be heard here <https://www.shearithisrael.org/content/bore-ad-ana>

tašbīh based analogy, which forms the basis of second *tamṭīl* based analogy.¹³⁴⁷ For example, Psalms 127:3-4 is an allegory describing God's provision; "*Sons are the provision of the Lord; the fruit of the womb; His reward.*" Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 116r

It states "*Like arrows in the hand of a warrior*" (Psalms 127:4). It borrows [*'isti 'āra*] them (the sons) for his quiver as it states, "*Who fills his quiver with them.*" It states, "*Not be put to shame,*" which refers back to their heroic father, as in "*The wicked flee though no one gives chase.*" (Prov. 28:1). And "*They contend*" refers back to the sons. It is possible to switch it (the subject of the pronoun) with them, the father, or apply both (pronouns) to the sons.

Consequently, the pronoun of "*Not be put to shame*" switches to the sons along with the pronoun of "*They contend*" to the sons, for it means [*ya 'nī*]; the sons cleaved their enemies at the gate after which their fathers are happy when they observe the competence of their sons as it says, "*My son, and gladden my heart*" (Prov. 27:11). Perhaps, the application of the (verbs') subjects to the sons is incorrect, as they are engrossed in their thanks (for victory) against their enemies and their opponents.

ולמא קאל כחצים ביד גבור (תהלים קכז:ד) אסתעאר להם ג'עבה פקאל אשר מלא את אשפתו מהם (תהלים קכז:ד). וקו' ולא יבושו (תהלים קכז:ה). עאיד עלי אלגבור אלואלד להם מת'ל נסו ואין רדף רשע (משלי כח:א). וידברו (תהלים קכז:ה) ראג'ע עלי אלואלד. ויג'וז צרפה מא מעא אלי אלאבא וצרפהמא מעא [116 א] אלי אלאבנא ואמא צרף צ'מיר יבשו אלי אלאבנא מע כון צ'מיר ידברו ללאבנא פיעני אד'א פלג' אלאבנא אעדאיהם סר אלאבא במא ירונה מן צלאח אבנאיהם כמא קאל חכם בני ושמח לבי וג' (משלי כז:יא) וכון ואלצ'מירין ללאבנא מתג'ה לאנהם יסתאת'רון בפצ'להם עלי מנאויהם ומנאזעיהם.

The sons in verse 4 are compared to arrows. Ibn Chiquitilla calls this an *'isti 'āra*, but side-steps the problems of the relationship between the wider allegory and arrows.¹³⁴⁸ Instead he focuses on the set of elements which make up the *tašbīh*. The sons are

¹³⁴⁷ They form either a mini-allegory or epic similes as in Ps. 32:4 and Ps. 56:9 (Watson 1984, 260).

¹³⁴⁸ The implicit Name Transfer.

imagined as the arrows in an archer's quiver. However, the Biblical text is ambiguous as to who is the subject verb of "*be ashamed*." Ibn Chiquitilla offers two explanations of the syntax.

The first explanation forms an analogue between sons born to men in youth who are like arrows in the hands of their warrior fathers. The text intends - happy are the men who fill their quiver with them, they (the warrior fathers) have nothing to be ashamed of, for they (the sons) contend with their enemies at the gate. The difficulty with this explanation is that "*warrior*" is a singular noun with a plural verb unless read as a collective noun.¹³⁴⁹

Ibn Chiquitilla's response to the syntactic problem is to change the subject of verse 5.

"*They have nothing to be ashamed of*" refers to the sons and not the father, as they contend with his enemies at the gate. The fathers (presumably too old to fight) are ashamed they are not at the gates with their sons to thank God for their victory.¹³⁵⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla's comments offers an analogy, linking the topic and image of both parts of the allegory's *tašbīh* and *tamṭīl* in keeping with the rhetorical tradition to which he adheres.

Ornamentalism

Early Iberian writers, including Ibn Chiquitilla, use the terms *tašbīh* and *tamṭīl*, but are not careful to search for a single topic and image that lends coherence to the allegory. This limitation of their methods reflects a view that word choice is ancillary to poetic formulation¹³⁵¹ and prevents them from coining a special term for the literal sense of a *māšāl*.¹³⁵² Mordechai Z. Cohen writes that:

¹³⁴⁹ A comparative proof text from Prov. 28:1 omits the subject of a plural verb, "*the wicked*." Ibn Janāḥ identifies this as the *pluralis intensivus* (Téné and Maman 2016, 112). Also see (*Al-Luma'*, 376, 10 = *HaRiqmā*, 390, 13). For the origins of Ibn Janāḥ's scheme in Arabic grammar (Becker 1998a, vol. X, sec. 283-285).

¹³⁵⁰ In the second explanation "*Not be put to shame*" is plural, as in Se'adyah's *Tafsīr*. Therefore, it must refer to the sons (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 264).

¹³⁵¹ The influence of Ibn Chiquitilla on Ibn Ezra is discussed by (Poznański 1895, 55–58). We use this as the basis for our comparison, as well as additional comparisons presented throughout this study.

¹³⁵² (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 258).

Although Ibn Ezra insists that a *mashal* retain its literal sense (and is thus semantically distinct from a literal expression of the *ta'am*), he does not attach any expressive meaning to its specific formulation.¹³⁵³

Evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla's lack of a term for specific language formulation identifies him with what Cohen calls the ornamental approach. This means he ignores the tenor of figurative language in the Bible. For example, the metonymies "*Arrogant foot*" and "*Wicked hand*" (Psalms 36:12)¹³⁵⁴ are explained by Ibn Chiquitilla as follows:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 91v

The phrase, "*Let not an arrogant foot come on me*" (Psalms 36:12) means [ya 'nī] '*Do not allow the attack of the wicked to trample me*' and (the) "*hand*": '*The wickedness will not shake me.*'

They are metonymies.¹³⁵⁵

¹³⁵³ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 259).

¹³⁵⁴ (M. Z. Cohen 1997; 2003b). A more detailed analysis of the associated qualities with specific body parts is presented separately, both for anthropomorphic and anthropomorphic examples.

¹³⁵⁵ Another example of metonym is found with the more usual the term *kannayâ*. It states:

The verse "*and enemies of God*, (Ps. 37:20)" meaning the fat of the lambs consumed by smoke, as they are consumed. Now the subject of the first "*consumed (Kālû)*" is "*like meadow grass*," while the second "*consumed (Kālû)*" refers to "*enemies of God*," as in '*and the enemies of God were consumed, liked meadow grass which is consumed in smoke.*'

"*Meadow grass*" alludes [*kannayâ*] to the fat as it is the choicest part of (the lamb), just as fat (*Heleḇ*) is the best thing and the choicest part of it. It alludes [*kannayâ*] to the best of the land (in the verse) "*eat you shall live off the fat of the land*" (Gen. 45:18) (which is) similar to "*from each things its best portion (lit. its fats) the part thereof that is to be consecrated*" (Num. 18:29).

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44r

וקו' אל תבאוני רגל גאווה (תהלים לו:יב) יעני לא תטאני
קדם אלצ'ולה ויד (תהלים לו:יב) אלט'לם לא תזעזעני והמא
אסתעארתאן.

וקו' כיקר כרים (תהלים לו:כ) יעני שחום אלחמלאן אלתי פנית
באלדכאן מת'להא פנוא. פכלו (תהלים לו:כ) אול צ'מירה ליקר
כרים וכלו (תהלים לו:כ) אלתי'אני צ'מירה עאיד עלי אויבי יי
(תהלים לו:כ) פתקדירה ואויבי יי כלו כיקר כרים אשר כלו
בעשן. וכני' כיקר כרים ען אלשחם אד' הו אפצ'ל מא פיהא כמא
יכני בחלב איצ'א ען כ'ירה אלשי ואפצ'ל מא פיה ויכני ען כ'יר
אלארץ' ואכלו את חלב הארץ (בראשית מה:יח) מת'ל מכל חלבו
את מקדשו ממנו (במדבר יח:כט).

The topic of the metaphor, hand and foot, are used to create the images of a violent attack. Ibn Chiquitilla identifies the set of elements that links the topic to the analogy in each example, without a term to express the reason for the word choice.¹³⁵⁶

A comparison with Abraham Ibn Ezra's remarks on Psalm 36:12 is illustrative of this ornamental approach among Iberian exegetes. He writes that:

“*Let not,*” intends (*ta’am*) ‘*Let not an arrogant foot come on me.*’ And the meaning (*ta’am*) is by way of “*Lie with her*” (Deut. 28:30), as if it said let not the proud join me in the house of God. “*Hand*”: it mentions hand and foot. The intent (*ta’am*) is ‘*Do not let the hand of the wicked drive me way from the fatness of Your house to another place.*’

אל - הטעם אל תבואני רגל אנשי גאווה. והטעם על דרך
ישכבנה (דברים כח:ל), כאילו אמר שלא יתחברו עמו בבית
השם. ויד - הזכיר הרגל והיד. וטעם אל תנידני מדשן ביתך
– למקום אחר.

Both authors offer an abstract interpretation of the metaphor's intent that concentrates on the interaction between the analogy's topic and image without engaging directly with the word choice comprising the image. By contrast Radaq asks why the text includes both hand and foot:

It mentions foot and hand, as they (the enemies) came by foot and fought with their hands. וזכר הרגל והיד, כי היו באים ברגלם ונלחמים בידם.

Cohen identifies David Qimḥî's (1160–1235) method of exegesis with the interactive metaphor, which links the image (or vehicle) with the topic (or tenor) and then demonstrates how that image appears in the words. According to Cohen, the first to recognise this function of metaphor was Qimḥî, more commonly known by his acronym

¹³⁵⁶ Cf. Radaq (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 261–62).

Radaq. He introduces the term *melishâ* to describe the ‘poetic fabrication,’ which pushes the pragmatic approach beyond the *ḥaqîqa-majâz* dichotomy of Iberian authors.¹³⁵⁷ This push towards a closer reading of the text demonstrates the essential nature of words to communication and is a rejection of the ornamental approach of earlier Iberian authors.

It is the absence of a link between tenor and vehicle which limits Ibn Chiquitilla, making him an ornamentalist. He does not talk about how the speaker communicates something essential through the specific words chosen in the text, but conceptualise it in abstract terms of intent.¹³⁵⁸ An example of this is illustrated by a comparison of what Ibn Chiquitilla, Ibn Ezra and Radaq discuss in their comments on Psalm 32:3.

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 36v

Ibn Chiquitilla

Ibn Ezra

The significance of, “As long as I said nothing, my limbs wasted away,” (Psalms 32:3) when I refrained from speaking then my bones wore away. (It) is because of what happens to me that I wish to shout out the extent of my anger.

It states, “*My limbs waste away*” (Psalms 32:3) meaning [*ma ‘nâ*] ‘my limbs rot,’ as it says “*Rot entered into my bones*” (Hab. 3:16)

ומעני כי החרשתי בלו עצמי (תהלים לב:ג) אדא' אמסכת מן אלכלאם [36 ב] סאכל' עט'אמי במא כאן לי אן אציה מנה מדה נהארי.

פקו' בלו עצמי (תהלים לב:ג) במעני רקבו עצמי כמה קאל יבוא רקב בעצמי (חבקוק ג:טז) ורקב עצמות קנאה (משלי יד:ל).

If (Psalms 32:3): If I am silent, which is to say I do not speak the tongues of mankind, my bones will rot with my roaring, like a lion raising his voice.¹³⁵⁹

¹³⁵⁷ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, chap. 6; 1997, 279–92). Also (M. Z. Cohen 2003a, 417–58). Polliack and Nir have also tried to identify an interactive metaphor in the Karaite exegesis (Polliack and Nir 2016, 40–79). Moreover, there is evidence Joseph Qara too understood this relationship.

¹³⁵⁸ See our earlier comparison between Ibn Chiquitilla and the Rabbis to Num. 28:4, in which the former limits his analysis to a translation of the text and an abstract summary of its intent.

¹³⁵⁹ So too Ibn Ezra (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 305 n. 81).

and “*Passion is rot to the bones*” (Prov. 14:30).

It states, “ <i>through my</i>	וקו' בשאגתי (תהלים לב:ג)
<i>moaning</i> ” (Psalms 32:3) as	עלי מא כאן יכון שאגה לו
in what is intended by,	(ישעיה ה:כט) למ יחריש
“ <i>Their roaring</i> ” (Is. 5:29).	ואמא אד'א החריש פצאר
Not – ‘ <i>is silent (yahṛîš)</i> ,’	יצ'יק במא למ ישאג אד' כאן
rather ‘ <i>he was silenced</i>	יסתריח פי ד'לך ורבמא כאנת
<i>(heḥḗrîš)</i> ,’ his throat)	אלשאגה צותא לא כלאמא
contracted, preventing him	פיכון מחריש ושואג מעא
from roaring, forcing him to	פצאר איצ'א יצ'יק במא מנעה
rest. Or perhaps, roaring as a	אלמה מן אלכלאם אלד'י
sound is not talking,	יסתריח בה ווקפה עלי
therefore, he “ <i>is silent</i> ” and	אלשאגה פקט.
“ <i>roaring</i> ” simultaneously, as	
it constricts (his throat)	
preventing him from	
speaking, requiring rest,	
therefore he ceases moaning	
entirely.	

Ibn Chiquitilla commences with an abstract summary of the metaphor’s intent and finishes with an analysis of the literal language that extracts from it the attributes that form the analogue between the image and topic. He summarises the topic, linking the simile with the image of “*wasted limbs*,” as silence. Thereafter, Ibn Chiquitilla continues with an analysis of the semantic content of the metaphor: *bālû* (*waste away*) is equal to *rāqəḇû* (*rot*), this gives the image of the metaphor a more concrete basis in the semantics of the language. Thereafter he explains the rational intent of the image of a lion roaring as non-literal as people do not roar. Ibn Chiquitilla searches for an appropriate attribute that explains the language of the metaphor. He offers two explanations: either roaring like a lion indicates hoarseness, (reading *yahṛîš* ‘*he is silent*’ for *heḥḗrîš* “*he was silent*”) or, it

indicates that even the ability to moan was taken away.¹³⁶⁰ Ibn Ezra by comparison, summaries his predecessor and skips the proof, but neither has a specialist term equivalent to Radaq's *mālîṣâ* to explain the choice of language in the metaphor.¹³⁶¹ In contrast, Radaq identifies a unique intent to David's silence and roaring, with each part of the metaphor having its own topic-theme analogy. He states in his comments on Ps 32:2 that:

He said: when I was silent and I thought to	ואמר: כאשר שתקתי וחשבתי בעצמי בלוי עצמי מרב
myself, “ <i>My limbs waste away</i> ” (Psalms 32:3)	דאגתי, ואני שואג עליהם כל היום.
from great worry and I “ <i>Roared</i> ” (Psalms 32:3)	
about them “ <i>All day</i> ” (Psalms 32:3)	

Elsewhere, Ibn Chiquitilla's comments on figurative language are restricted to identifying the analogue between topic and image.¹³⁶² He writes on Psalm 129:1 that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 116v

“ <i>Assailed me</i> ” (Psalms 129:1) (and) “ <i>They</i>	צרוני וג' (תהלים קכט:א) וקו' האריכו למעניתם (תהלים
<i>lengthened their gardens</i> ” (Psalms 129:3)	קכט:ג) יעני לג'נתהם והו מקדאר יחרת'ה אלת'ור פי סירה
meaning [<i>ya' nî</i>] ‘ <i>their gardens</i> .’ It is an area in	חתי יעוד מתכררא פיקול עלי וג'ה אלאסתעארה אנהם
which the ox ploughs in a straight line going up	זאדוהא מקדארהא.
and down and is used metaphorically to mean	
they increase their dominion.	

¹³⁶⁰ The perfect form *heḥerîš* means complete silence. How can the Psalmist roar and be silent? He resolves this by reading that aspect of the verse as after the fact.

¹³⁶¹ Radaq uses the term *mālîṣâ* to provide a fuller explanation of the literal form of a *māšāl* (*allegorical*) passage. He criticises early exegetes like Ibn Janāḥ for failing to do this. He also criticises Maimonides for introducing philosophical readings that may express the true meaning of the text, but do not fit the context (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 154 nn. 68, 70).

¹³⁶² Or for non-figurative language the semantic content of the *lafẓ* and contextual meaning, *ma' nâ*.

Ibn Chiquitilla translates the veridical language of *lā-ma 'anîṭām* (*gardens*)¹³⁶³ and offers the conceptual intent behind the topic as the enlargement of the Psalmist's enemy's dominion.¹³⁶⁴ A comparison of Ibn Chiquitilla with Radaq and Ibn Ezra is illustrative of the Radaq's understanding of metaphor as an interaction between topic and image.

Ibn Ezra

Upon: even though the ploughers ploughed upon my back. The intent, '*oppression and shame*' By way "*You have laid your back on the ground*" (Is. 51:23). *lā-ma 'anîṭām* (*gardens*) from the root "*Half a furrow's length* (*ma 'anā*)" (1 Sam. 14:14).

Radaq

<p>על - אע"פ שעל גבי חרשו חורשים. והטעם: הבזיון והשפלות, על דרך: ותשימי כארץ גוך (ישעיהו נא:כג) למענייתם - מגזרת כבחצי מענה.</p>	<p>על גבי. משל לרב הסבלות והפרך והבזיון והקלון כמו שאמר ותשימי כארץ גוך וכחוצן לעברים (ישעיהו נא:כג) האריכו למענייתם. הוא הקו שיחרוש החורש בשורים בשדה כשעור שירצה בו ואחר כך יחזור ויעשהו אחר כמוהו, וכן עד שיחרוש כל השדה, וכל מה שיהיה ארוך המענית תהיה יגיע השורים רבה כי לא ינוחו עד ראש הקו. ובאמרו האריכו למענייתם רוצה לומר שלא נתנו אותנו לנוח מעבודתם ומסבלותם:</p>
<p>על - אע"פ שעל גבי חרשו חורשים. והטעם: הבזיון והשפלות, על דרך: ותשימי כארץ גוך (ישעיהו נא:כג) למענייתם - מגזרת כבחצי מענה.</p>	<p>Upon my back: a figurative expression denoting their many burdens and the oppression, shame and contempt (to which they were subjected) just as it says: '<i>And you have made your back like the ground and like the street for them to pass over</i>' (Isa. Li 23). <i>They made long their furrows: ma 'anîṭā is the furrow which the ploughman ploughs with the oxen in the fields over the distance he wishes, coming back again to make another one of the same length, and so</i></p>

¹³⁶³ Based on 1 Sam. 14:14 and *Mishnah 'Ohaloth* 17: 1 i.e., predetermined.

¹³⁶⁴ (*Se 'adyah, Psalms*, 265 n. 1-2). Cf. (*Maḥbēṭ* 285; *Uṣûl*, 537, 25-29 = *HaṢōrāšîm*, 378; *Rashi*, Heb. 856, Eng. 715).

forth until the whole
 field is ploughed. The
 longer the furrow, the
 greater is the fatigue
 of the oxen, for they
 have no rest until the
 end of the furrow. And
 so when he says *They*
made long their
furrows, he means that
 they have allowed us
 no respite from their
 service and onerous
 exactions.¹³⁶⁵

Ibn Ezra and Ibn Chiquitilla share the same ornamental approach to the metaphor, identifying its abstract intention. Radaq, however, pushes the explanation further by linking it with the word choice. The choice of image (*ploughmen*) is given a rationale – the longer the furrow the ghastlier and more oppressive the suffering.

Finally, in his commentary on Hosea 10:8, Ibn Ezra records Ibn Chiquitilla as stating the phrase, “*They shall call to the mountains, ‘Bury us ’’ To the hills, ‘Fall on us ’’*” (Hos. 10:8) is a *māšāl* (allegory)¹³⁶⁶ whose *ṭa‘am* (intent) is ‘*no longer seen.*’¹³⁶⁷ He writes that:

¹³⁶⁵ (Baker and Nicholson 1973, 34–35).

¹³⁶⁶ Cohen calls *māšāl* a single category metaphor (M. Z. Cohen 2011, 62ff).

¹³⁶⁷ Ibn Ezra uses the Hebrew terms *māšāl* and *ṭa‘am*, as like-for-like examples for Ibn Chiquitilla’s *‘isti‘āra* and *ma‘nā*, with an added citation from Jos. 24:27 for clarity. Ibn Chiquitilla (Perez 2002a, 254–55). Cf. (Mutius 1983, fols 30a, Ger. 131-2).

Rabbi Moses [Ibn Chiquitilla] said that “*They shall say*” is by way of *mashal* referring to the altars, just like “*Indeed it [the stone] has heard ...*” (Jos. 24:27) and the *ṭa‘am* is: they [i.e., the altars] will no longer be seen. But Yefet said: Their worshipers shall say [this], out of their great distress.¹³⁶⁸

ואמרו. אמר ר' משה, כי אמרו – דרך משל, בעבור¹³⁶⁹ המזבחות, כדרך **כי היא שמעה** (יהושע כד:כז) והטע' שלא יראו עוד. ויפת אמ': ויאמרו עובדיהם מרב מצרם.

The altars ask not to be seen, but what the wording of this specific metaphor conveys to the reader is left unexplained by Ibn Chiquitilla.¹³⁷⁰ By contrast Radaq writes that:

“*They say to the mountains cover us*” (Hos. 10:8): The Israelites say; cover us from forthcoming travails and suffering, they will ask that the high mountains should fall upon them and cover them, bury them under them so they will no longer suffer their travails.

ואמרו להרים כסונו יאמרו ישראל כסונו מרוב צרה וצוקה. שתבואם ישאלו שיפלו ההרים הגבעות עליהם ויכסום שיהיו נקברים תחתיהם ולא יסבלו הצרות ההם.

Radaq links the tenor of the metaphor in Hos. 10:8 to its specific word; the high mountains bury the sinful Israelites and their enormous height protects them from further depravity.

¹³⁶⁸ Translation from (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 61 n. 122).

¹³⁶⁹ This refers to his standard commentary (Simon 1989, 101). Only Jepheth b. Eli's opinion is cited in Ibn Ezra's alternative commentary, *Ibid.* 284.

¹³⁷⁰ Unfortunately, most of his commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets is lost, including Hosea. Current evidence suggests Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets was unknown or unavailable to Ibn Ezra. (Perez 2002a, 254–55). He bases this claim on the non-existence of an opinion attributed to Ibn Chiquitilla by Ibn Ezra in his gloss on “*His warrior*” (Nah. 2:4). The relevant opinion appears in Ibn Chiquitilla's commentary on Psalms, Evr.-Arab. I 3583 lv. Alternatively, Ibn Ezra's example in Hosea is drawn from Joshua, a commentary that Ibn Chiquitilla states he completed prior to Psalms, Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 118r.

Earlier we described the *tašbîh* metaphor as the comparison of a single element within a metaphor. This type of metaphor can be quantified as X is Y - “*kə- X ... Y*, where X ... [is] Y” and X and Y are dissimilar objects.¹³⁷¹ Y signifies a quality or attribute common to X. This reflects the ornamental approach to metaphor. An example of this is found in Ibn Chiquitilla’s remarks on Psalm 34:9; the topic of the *tašbîh*, *understanding*, is presented as the experience of tasting food. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 40r

The word “*taste*, (*ta‘am*)” (Psalms 34:9) intends וקו' טעמו (תהלים לד:ט) יעני אכ'תברוא ואבלוא עלי טריק
[*ya‘nî*] ‘*They experience and put to the test*,’ by אלתשביה באלד'וק אלד'י הו אכ'תבאר אלאטעמה.
way of allegory [*tašbîh*] with tasting because he
experiences taste.

Ibn Chiquitilla takes an ornamental approach. Comprehension of the metaphor is built on a borrowing of the physical comparison of the experience of tasting food for understanding. The focus is on the intention of the *tašbîh*, as opposed to the actual relationship with the meaning of the words chosen.

This is also visible in other examples of *tašbîh* where Ibn Chiquitilla focuses on recovering the *taqdîr* that matches the analogue of the *tašbîh*. In Psalm 22:15, the *tašbîh* is identified by Ibn Chiquitilla as punishment in the form of a slow death through choking in clay. His analysis clears up the ambiguity in the syntax underpinning the metaphor, but does not address the language of the analogy. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 54r

It states, “*My palate dries up like clay*” (Psalms וקיל פי יבש כחרש כחי (תהלים כב:טז) אנה יעני חכי
22:16) it means [*ya‘nî*] ‘*my palate (hikî)*,’ the בדלאה לשוני. וקו' ולשוני מדבק מלקוחי (תהלים כב:טז)

¹³⁷¹ (M. Z. Cohen 1996, 15–57).

proof being ‘my tongue.’ And it states “*Cleaves my tongue to my palate*,” proving that it is transitive and possess two objects, therefore it says, ‘*Cleaves my tongue to my palate*.’ It is possible the subject of, “*it commits me*” refers back to the ‘*tongue*,’ as it is feminine or masculine (gender). Thus, his tongue and mouth are compared [*šabiha*] to choking in the dirt; as in death without compassion for them. Or if it is speaking in the second person, then it means ‘*You imposed upon me and condemned me to death (by choking in the dirt)*.’

דליל עלי תעדיה ואלמפעולין פתקול הדבק לשוני מלקוחי. ויג'וז עודה אלצ'מיר פי תשפתני (תהלים כב:טז) עלי אללשון לאנה מונת' ומד'כר פשבה לסאנה ופמה בגתאתא פי תראב אי מואת לא חס להא ואן כאנת מל'אטבֹּה לה פמענאה נצבתני ווצע'תני ללמות.

Ibn Chiquitilla combines the analysis of the morpho-syntax of the verse with the intent of the figurative imagery. The morpho-syntax is composed of an anagram *koḥî* in the form of *ḥikî* (palate) ‘*My palate dries up like clay*.’¹³⁷² This is deduced through the parallel structure of the verse “*My tongue cleaves to my mouth*.”¹³⁷³ Thereafter, syntactic ambiguity is resolved by two different parsings of the phrase, “*cleave to my mouth*.” The word “*cleave (muḏbâq)*” is a passive *hop'al* verb, which governs both the word preceding and following. It means, “*And my tongue cleaves (huḏbaq) to my mouth*.”¹³⁷⁴ This reading prefers a unified person throughout the metaphor’s topic. Ibn Chiquitilla therefore parses, “*It commits me (tišpātenî)*” as the third person feminine, ‘*It (my tongue) commits me to the dust of death*.’¹³⁷⁵ Alternatively, *tišpātenî* could be in the second person, “*You commit*

¹³⁷² Abraham Ibn Ezra cites this opinion in the name of one of the Ge'onim- presumably Se'adyah. He does not like interpreting *koḥî* as an anagram of palate, preferring a metonym for the whole body. He argues that a healthy body contains moisture; in which case the image of dryness implies a slow death (Ibn Ezra, *ad. loc.*; *Rashi, Psalms*, Heb. 819, Eng. 257). On dryness in the throat and eyes *ibid.* 366-70 (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 89). On switching letters in Se'adyah (Allony 1969, 392–93; E. Goldenberg 1973, 79). For other examples of anagrams in Ibn Labraṭ, see (Schroter 1866, pts 27, 9). For an example in Rabbinic exegesis TB *Sanhedrin* 4a, TB *Zevaḥim* 37b and TB *Soṭah* 12b (Perez 1986, 216–17, 37).

¹³⁷³ The alternative interpretation understands *koḥî* as my strength. It compares two separate similes; the slow crumbling of clay with the slow withering of strength and the dry mouth as a slow death (*Targûm, Psalms* 59; *Pāsīqta Rabbāṭī*, 36:1).

¹³⁷⁴ Another pseudo-passive *Nip'al* verb, with two objects. Also Ps. 109:3, *infra*.

¹³⁷⁵ He justifies this by stating “*tongue (lašôn)*” is both masculine and feminine.

me,” in which case the final clause does not refer back to a specific object, but stands alone as an independent judgement condemning the Psalmist to death. In both these arrangements, the intent of the metaphor remains punishment by a slow death.

Another example of the ornamental approach is Ibn Chiquitilla’s analysis of the morpho-syntax of Psalm 62:4. His criticism is directed at Se‘adyah’s understanding of the syntactic arrangement by which the topic and image are calibrated to the metaphor’s intent.¹³⁷⁶ Ibn Chiquitilla believes him incorrect and writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 79v

<p>It states, “A leaning wall” (Psalms 62:4). It is not comparing their (enemy’s) action with that (wall), but the “Man” (Psalms 62:4) who was attached as the predicate previously mentioned, as if he said, ‘he (the man) is like a leaning wall (wə-yihyē kə-qîr naṭuy).’</p>	<p>וק' כקיר נטוי (תהלים סב:ד) לם ישבה פעלהם ד'אך לכן אלד'י ילחק אלמפעול מנה ויכון איש (תהלים סב:ד) אלמד'כור קבל כאנה קאל ויהיה כקיר נטוי.</p>
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This comment is directed at Se‘adyah’s interpretation of the *tašbîh* - a comparison of the topic, David, with the image, a leaning wall, on the verge of collapse.¹³⁷⁷ What leads Ibn Chiquitilla to interpret the text as meaning “How long will all of you attack a man, to crush him, as though he (the man) is like a leaning wall, a tottering fence?” Is there a semantic question as to how to categorise *təhōtəû* in Hebrew grammar? Ibn Chiquitilla writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 79r

<p>And “You attack”: in my opinion it means <i>təhōtəû</i>, as in ‘you will be filled with fear and be terrified.’</p>	<p>ותהותו (תהלים סב:ד) ענדי פי מעני תהותתו אי תכ'ופון ותפזעון.</p>
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¹³⁷⁶ *Contra*. the generation of *ma' nâ* from *lafz* (Kouloughli 2014, 15–42).

¹³⁷⁷ *Supra*.

He parses and translates the word “*You attack*” (*təhōttû*) as an imperfect verb from the root H-W-H, with an implied first-person suffix - ‘*you will be filled with fear and be terrified.*’¹³⁷⁸ This makes “*man*” (‘*al ʾīš*’) the subject of the following verb “*To crush him*” and the analogue of the *tašbîh*. Seʿadyah, however, writes that;

I say to the wicked, until when will you attack a ואקול ללמתעדיין אלי כם תולבון עלי אנסאן ליקתלה
man to kill him. All of you are like a leaning wall ג'מיעכם כחאיט מאיא וג'דאר מנדחי.¹³⁷⁹
and falling fence.

He adds in his *tafsîr* that:

“*Attack (təhōttû)*” is a *hapax legomenon*. It is ואמא תהותתו פהי לפט'ה מפרדה, וימכן איצ'א אן תצרף מן
also possible it comes from H-W-H, because it is הוות אלד'י הו אד'א ואפה.¹³⁸⁰
‘*damage*’ or ‘*injury*.’

Seʿadyah’s second parsing of the grammar is the same as Ibn Chiquitilla’s. His first parsing, however, reads *təhōttû* as an imperative “*attack*” (*həṭāyâ*),¹³⁸¹ as if to say “*How long (will you wait), attack (the) man, all of you crush him, like a leaning wall, a tottering fence?*” Despite this difference in his syntactic parsing, the topic-image relationship remains the same; the figurative meaning is the crushing fall of “*the wall*” upon David in an attack by the wicked men.¹³⁸² Does this difference in grammatical parsing affect the intent of the metaphor? No, Ibn Chiquitilla matches the meaning of the text with the most coherent grammatical arrangement, which in his mind is the intent of the metaphor.¹³⁸³

¹³⁷⁸ (*Al-Lîn*, 224; ‘*Uṣûl*, 171, 32; 173, 8 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 117, 118; *al-Mustalḥaq* Ar. 155, Eng. 316).

¹³⁷⁹ (*Seʿadyah, Psalms*, 153).

¹³⁸⁰ (*Seʿadyah, Psalms*, 153). So too Menaḥem “*come*” (*Maḥberet*, 21, 76, 134, 393).

¹³⁸¹ Seʿadyah lists it under the root H-T-T in *Kitâb ʾUṣûl, al-Šiʿr al-ʾIbrânî* (Allony 1969). Also *Ibid.* 98, 211.

¹³⁸² Cf. Rashi criticises Menaḥem. He derives it from H-W-T “*destroy*” (*Rashi, Psalms*, Eng. 427, Heb. 832).

¹³⁸³ A similar sensibility comes through his syntactic analysis of Psalm 1, *supra*, man fulfilling God’s law.

Tamṭīl

Tamṭīl [allegory] or *ḍarb maṭal li-šay* is the analogue that grounds the topic and image of a metaphor. In Arabic rhetoric, it is associated with the earliest stages of *'isti'āra*, as Imaginative Ascription and used to identify a sustained underlying analogue between the multiple elements of the topic.¹³⁸⁴ For example, line 62 of Labīd's famous *mu'allāqa*, "*On many a cold morning, when the freezing winds howl, and the hand of the North wind holds the reins of the morning, I turn aside their blast from the travellers, whom I receive in my tent.*"¹³⁸⁵ The topic of the "*hand of the north wind*" is the poet's imagined desire to prevent the arrival of the wind in the morning. Labīd borrows the hand of the rider and lends it to the wind, just as in the second metaphor he borrows the horse-master's reins and lends it to the morning.¹³⁸⁶ The descriptive element of the *tamṭīl* becomes central to the topic of the metaphor. In this structure *'isti'āra* retains its literal meaning – borrowing, and representing the surface structure, whilst the *tamṭīl* represents the analogue between image and topic.

The weakness of Imagined Ascription is visible when multiple metaphors are encountered and the unifying analogue is hard to perceive; as in the detachment of the "*Hand of the north wind*" from "*Reins of the morning.*" The result is a lack of correlation between the image and topic.¹³⁸⁷ For example, Heinrichs examined Ḍū al-Rumma's (c. 696- c. 735) allegory, "*She stayed there until the stalks withered in the soil and the dawn in its white gown (each morning) drove away the Pleiades.*" The *tamṭīl* is built off of the initial *tašbīh*. The *tašbīh* is a physical comparison which equates the brightness of the white gown (the analogy of the image) to the dawn (the topic) on the basis of an analogy to the

¹³⁸⁴ *Tašbīh* was viewed as distinct from metaphor as a "comparison" rather than "Imaginary Ascription" as in the case of *'isti'āra* (Heinrichs 1977, 12).

¹³⁸⁵ (Clouston 1881, 48), modified to fit Heinrich's translation.

¹³⁸⁶ (Heinrichs 1977; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 55–57).

¹³⁸⁷ Such structures are usually genitival in form, see (Heinrichs 1977, 7–9; Schippers 1978, 248–60; M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 58).

shepherd wearing a white gown driving home a small flock of sheep, with its *topic* the dawn that makes Pleiades fade.¹³⁸⁸ Once again, the weakness is finding a sustained imagery. For the Arab rhetoricians, only with the coming of al-Jurjânî do both *tašbîh* and *tamṭîl* unify under the term *ʿistiʿâra*.¹³⁸⁹

Ibn Chiquitilla excludes *tašbîh* from *ʿistiʿâra*, using it and *tamṭîl* to distinguish between physical and non-physical comparison respectively.¹³⁹⁰ For example on Psalm 32:9, a *tašbîh* compares the Psalmist to either a senseless horse or mule that is physically restrained, unable to do harm. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 37r

The verse, “*Be not like a senseless horse or mule*” (Psalms 32:9) is an explanation [*tabyîn*] of the advice given, as in I will enlighten you on what not to do by means of a simile [*tašbîh*] comparing the horse to the bridle and halter, thus it too is unable to approach and cause harm to them.

וק' אל תהיו כסוס כפרד (תהלים לב:ט) הו תביין אלעצה
אלמד'כורה אי ארשדך נאדיא' לך ען אלתשביה באלדואב
אלממלוכה באללג'ם ואלארסאן לילא יצל אדאווהא.

Despite the physical nature of this *tašbîh* based analogy (a comparison of a man to either a horse or mule without a bridle and halter),¹³⁹¹ Ibn Chiquitilla does not embrace the emergent system of al-Jurjânî. Unlike al-Jurjânî, Ibn Chiquitilla is incapable of fusing the

¹³⁸⁸ As in “*Metaphors containing both a tamṭîl and tashbîh (or susceptible of an interpretation to this effect)*.” (Heinrichs 1977, 12).

¹³⁸⁹ Al-Jurjânî's, solution is to fuse the dominate trait of the *lafẓ* with the *maʿna* and then transfer a new meaning to the word (Al-Jurjani and Ritter 1954, 84–88; Abu Deeb 1971, n. 48; 1971, 48–75; Heinrichs 1969, 75–76; 1977, 6; Kouloughli 2014, 39). Prior to al-Jurjânî, the terms used to describe allegory are relatively inconsistent. Sometimes it is called *tašbîh al-balîġ* [eloquent simile], but also *tašbîh bi-ġayr ʿadât al-tašbîh* [simile without the particle of comparison] or *tašbîh muḏmâr al-ʿadât* [simile in which the particle of comparison is suppressed] (*Muḥâḏara* 256-58 = 298-99). See (Heinrichs 1977, 47–48). It is the subject of intensive discussion among Muslim and Jewish rhetoricians alike, with some classifying it as metaphor and others not. Examples of the problem of allegory in Arab sources are discussed in (Al-Jurjani and Ritter 1954, chap. 4:19, 80; Abu Deeb 1971, 48 nn. 1, 4; Achtar 2012, 56, 91; Heinrichs 1984a, 180–82; 1984b, 122; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 301 n. 183).

¹³⁹⁰ *Infra* Ps. 22:15, Ps. 24:9, and Ps. 62:4 for examples of *tašbîh* and *tamṭîl* based metaphors in tandem. Ps. 37:35, Ps. 38:6 and Ps. 68:10-12, *supra*.

¹³⁹¹ “*Be not like a senseless horse or mule whose movement must be curbed by bit and bridle; far be it from you!*” (JPS 1985). It follows Ibn Ezra, who cites Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion

form and meaning. Instead, he adheres to the view of the theories on metaphor in Arabic, that is to say that *'ist'āra* is act of borrowing to the exclusion of *tašbīh*. An example of this problem was already mentioned above on Psalm 56:9, in which the elements of the analogue lack any counterparts in the topic of the resulting image. Below we will shall discuss some examples of this problem, and show Ibn Chiquitilla circumvents the language of Name Transfer by avoiding *'isti'āra* when he explains the double-faced metaphor.

In Psalms 66:10-12, Ibn Chiquitilla uses the terms *yušabbih* and *tamfīl* to describe a mini-allegory. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 82v

It states, “*We have endured fire and water.*” (Psalms 66:10-12). It compares [*yušabbih*] smiting to contradictory trials and different types of severe misfortune. It states, “*And You have brought us through to prosperity*” (Psalms 66:12) by way of allegory [*tamfīl*] to iron, which passes through red hot flames (until it glows), then it is plunged into water and its form takes shape. Now, the time between these two processes is the pathway through it.

וקו' באנו באש ובמים (תהלים סו:יב) ישובה בד'לך צ'רוב
אלמחן אלמתצ'אדה ואנואע אלשדאיד אלמכ'תלפה. וקו'
ותוציאנו לרויה (תהלים סו:יב) עלי טריק אלמת'ל
באלחדיד אלד'י יחמי פי אלנאר וינזל פי אלמא אבדא חתי
תתם פיה אלצנאעה ותלך אלמהלה אלתי בינהמא הי
אלמעבר ענהא

Ibn Chiquitilla's explanation skims over the problem of the two faces of the metaphor without comment. *Tašbīh* is a physical comparison of the image (*fire and water*) with its topic (*trials*). The image of the *tamfīl* is the Psalmist's endurance, whilst its *topic* is the time taken to pass through the trials.¹³⁹² Without making fire and water mean trials the unity of the *tamfīl* based metaphor is lost. The logical course of action is to adopt al-

¹³⁹² Similarly, (*Se'adyah, Psalms*, 148 n. 10), but Ibn Ezra *ad loc.* disagrees and interprets the W (*Wāw*) as “*or*” as in “*We came through fire or water.*” Also, Radaq *ad loc.* who favours Ibn Chiquitilla's interpretation. This differs in style to the narrative method of Rabbinic exegesis, which uses the image of the smithy as an allusion to the fires of Gehenna (*Soḥer Tov*, Vol. 434-35; and *Pesiqta of Rabbi Kahana* 15, 67a; *Targūm, Psalms*, 127; *Rashi, Psalms*, 44 n. 7).

Jurjânî's understanding that the arrangement of the text is essential to the meaning of *'isti'âra*, but he Ibn Chiquitilla is unaware of his discovery and the result of his analysis is effectively Name Transfer of *'fire and water'* to the meaning *'trial'* of *'iron,'* as a way of retaining unity across the allegory.

As in the previous example, the combination of *tašbîh* and *tamfîl* matches al-Jurjânî's distinction between the simple physical comparison of *tašbîh* metaphors and the more intellectually demanding *tamfîl*. However, there is no fusion of form and meaning under the term *'isti'âra* associated with al-Jurjânî.¹³⁹³ This state of affairs is visible in the terms used in several examples by Ibn Chiquitilla. He writes on Psalm 37:35 that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 44v-45r

The meaning of the phrase, "*Stripped bare like a well-watered noble tree*," (Psalms 37:35) reveals conscience, possibly it is similar to *'be stirred,'* for the pious, he neither fears disrepute in this world nor punishment in the afterlife.

The phrase, "*Like a well-watered noble (tree)*" (Psalms 37:35) meaning a noble tree with its branches. "*Noble (ra 'nān)*" is an attribute [*šifa*] to an omitted attributed subject [*mawṣûf*]; a "*tree*" (*'ēṣ*)," as it says, "*Under any well-watered tree*" (Deut. 12:2). "*Noble ('ezrah)*" is annexed to "*robust (ra 'nān)*," as it is vocalised with an A (*Pattāh*).

Some say native (*'ezrah*) is connected to the tree trunk by way of allegory [*tamfîl*] with the people and their chief.

If one compares [*yušabbih*] this tree which is "*stripped bare*," then it equates the arrogant

ויעני בקו' מתערה כאזרח רענן (תהלים לז:לה) אנה יכשף ען צ'מיר ימכן אן ית'ור במת'לה למתקין אד' כאן לא יכ'שא עאר אלדניא ולא יתקי עקאב אלאכ'רא.

וקו' כאזרח רענן (תהלים לז:לה) יעני כרים אלשג'ר ומלתפּהא לאן רענן צפה למוצוף מחד'וף והו עץ כמא יקול ותחת כל עץ רענן (דברים יב:ב) ואזרח מצ'אף אלי רענן לאנה פתח.

קיל אזרח פי אלעץ עלי סביל אלמת'יל באצול אלנאס ושריפּהם

פאן כאן ישבה הד'א אלשג'ר [45 א] פי אנה מתערה (תהלים לז:לה) פיואזי תבאהי הד'א אלרשע כמא הו פיה בתט'אהר כרים אלשג'ר בג'זיל ת'מרה וטיבה.

¹³⁹³ Ibn Chiquitilla distinguishes between the more intellectually demanding *tamfîl* based comparison and the simpler physical *tašbîh*, as does al-Jurjânî (Abu Deeb 1971, 48–75).

behaviour of the wicked (man), as if he is revealing the noble tree filled with delicious fruits.

If one says this, the lexical item [*lafz*] is to uncover nakedness, “*You shall get drunk and expose your nakedness*” (Lam. 4:21), as stated here - a verbal noun - his actions or what resulted from them.

Or, if one does not compare it (the tree) to him “*stripped bare*” (the righteous person), but the wicked (person), “*stripped bare*” either means ridicules sins or his vices are publicly known.

Nevertheless, and if, “*bountiful noble*” (means) he lives in luxury and opulence, then he will go quickly, wilt, and grow old. This is (the meaning of) the phrase, “*suddenly he vanished and was gone.*” It is approximately [*taqdîr*] ‘*I saw a wicked man like a well-rooted tree, powerful and robust, but he (hastily) passed away.*’

ואן כאן קד קיל הד'א אללפט' בכשף אלעורה תשכרי ותתערי (איכה ד:כא) פקיל הנא עלי סביל אלתהג'ין לפעלה ועלי מא תפצ'י בה אלהאל אליה.

ואן כאן לא ישובהה פי אנה מתערה מן דונה לכנה רשע ומתערה אי מסתהתר פי אלמעאצי מפתצ'ה פי אלרד'איל מע הד'א ואן כאן כאזרה רענן פי אלתנעם ואלגצ'ארה פסוף יד'הב סריעא ויד'בל ושיכ'א והו קול ויעבר והנה איננו (תהלים לז:לו). פתקדיר לפט'ה ראית רשע כאזרה רענן ועריץ ומתערה ויעבר.

An analysis of Psalm 37:36's elliptic syntax *'ezrah ra'nān* was already presented in the section *'idāfa*. Its *taqdîr* translates as, ‘*I saw a wicked man, powerful, stripped bare like a robust native tree.*’¹³⁹⁴ The intent of the phrase is a phytomorphic comparison of a tree laden with fruit stripped bare like the revealing of a righteous man's conscience. In this explanation, Ibn Chiquitilla neither uses *tašbîh* nor *tamfîl*, though they are clearly implied by his second explanation, in which he introduces both terms.

In the second explanation, the *tamfîl* compares the people and their chiefs to a tree stripped bare. *Miṭ'arē* (*revealed*) is a verbal noun in the *Hitpa'el* form. Its root 'W-R is attested to as an allegorical image found in Lam. 4:21, which matches the analogue of the

¹³⁹⁴ (*Targûm, Psalms*, 81; *Maḥberet* 290; Rashi, *Psalms*, Heb. 824, Eng. 315, n. 27, *Šôrāšîm* 278-9; Radaq *ad loc.*). Also see, (Ibn Danan and Jiménez Sánchez 2004, 319). For a summary and analysis this verse (Morag 1971, 10–13). Also, Ḥaṣṣ Albar al-Qūṭī: رأيْتُ مجرماً قوياً ضخماً “*J'ai vu le pécheront et puissant*” (Urvoy 1994, 68 n. 69). Based upon the second recession of the Latin, “*fortissium*” perhaps originally “*robustum.*”

tamṭîl-tašbîh metaphor - Edom as a drunken woman, stripped bare (*tiṭ'arî*).¹³⁹⁵

Alternatively, the *tamṭîl* compares stripped bare to the strength of a wicked man quickly fading away. In this case, *Miṭ'arē* is a *Pi'el* verbal noun, derived from the root 'R-H, following *Mishnah 'Oqašin* 3:8.¹³⁹⁶ It means that the wicked are attached to sin and public-vice. Implicitly, the joint use of *tašbîh* and *tamṭîl* in both these possible solutions assigns a new meaning to tree, either the wicked or the righteous. Ibn Chiquitilla's choice of terms avoids *'isti'âra* because he does not formally include Name Transfer *'isti'âra* within this category of metaphor. However, this is as an act of sophistry, which disguises Name Transfer either by other terms or no terms (see example above).¹³⁹⁷

As mentioned in the introduction, sometimes the particle of comparison K (*Kāp*) is suppressed. Ibn Chiquitilla describes this in his gloss on Psalm 68:18 using the terms *waṣf* and *tašbîh*.¹³⁹⁸ Absent from his terminology is *'isti'âra*. And yet, it is hard to see how anything other than Name Transfer is intended by Ibn Chiquitilla's identification of *Qôḏeš* with Zalmon. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 87v

What follows afterwards is a description [<i>waṣf</i>]	ת'ם מא בעדה וצף אעדאדהם פתרתיב אלכלאם אף ייי ישכן
of their numbers as the arrangement of the	לנצח בקדש כסיני ברכב אלהים רבותים אלפי שנאן. פחד'ף
words [<i>tarkîb al-kalâm</i>] is as follows; 'Even the	חרף אלתשביה מת'ל אכול בני דבש כי טוב ונופת מתוק
<i>Lord shall abide forever in the Holy (Mount) -</i>	(משלי כד:יג) ולם ירד אלדבש ולא אלנופת.

¹³⁹⁵ Lamentations is not listed in Ḥayyûj, although Ps. 37:35 lists *miṭ'arē* as Ḥayyûj's fourth meaning (*Al-Lîn*, 272-3 n. 276; *al-Nutaf* 163-4 n. 99-11; Maman and Ben-Porat 2012, 206-207, 230 n. 534). Ibn Chiquitilla lists only three meanings in his translation of Ḥayyûj (Nutt and Ḥayyuj 1870, Heb. 90 Eng. 104). "Visible like the rush of water" (*'Uṣûl*, 548 n. 52 = *HaṢôrâšîm*, 385; Se'adyah, *Ps.*, 116; *Al-Jāmi'*, XX, 56, 87, XXI 428, 30 *Ibn Ezra*, *Isaiah*, Is. 19:7; *Ibn Bal'am*, *Isaiah*, 102; *Tanḥûm Yerushalmi* in Maman and Ben-Porat 2012, 207 n. 404; BDB, 788).

¹³⁹⁶ It relies upon an identification of its root as 'R-H. Also, TB *Hullin* 128b, 129b. The ordering of Ibn Chiquitilla's answers indicate a preference for the Biblically based reading over the Rabbinic. A similar order is found in *al-Risâla*, 116-19; *Al-Luma'*, 7, 25-7 = *HaRiqmâ*, Chap. I, 16. On the preference for Biblical Hebrew amongst Iberians (Pagis and Fleischer 1993, 56-61; Gottlieb 1984b, 134 n. 1) On *'ahl al-luġa* (Ben-Shammai 2003, 37 nn. 37-38; Wechter 1964, 1-3). His willingness to consider the second interpretation is predicated on matching the literal sense of the word. Such decisions have precedent in Arabic grammar and exegesis (*Pss.* 76:9, 77:3, 124:7 *etc.*).

¹³⁹⁷ It proves *Tanḥûm Yerushalmi* correct in his gloss on Psalms on Psalms 119:28-29 that Ibn Chiquitilla adopts Name Transfers for metaphors, *supra*.

¹³⁹⁸ Suppression of the K (*Kāp*) was already noted by Se'adyah (*'Amanât*, 99). For English (Lewy, Altmann, and Heinemann 1986, 87). So too Ibn Bal'am in his gloss on Is. 21:8, (*Ibn Bal'am*, *Isaiah*, 110). This is distinct from classical Greek/Western models for formulating simile (Polliack and Nir 2016, 40-79).

like at Sinai, with God's chariots myriads upon myriads thousands upon thousands.' It omits the particle of comparison [*tašbīh*] K (*Kāp̄*); as in "Eat my son (like) honey, for it is good; and (like) Sweet drops" (Prov. 24:13). It needs neither the honey nor drops.

In an allegorical description of Mt. Bashan as hostile to Zalmon the phrase. "The Lord is among them as in Sinai in holiness" omits the particle of comparison, K (*Kāp̄*) equating Mt. Sinai's *Qôḏeš* (holiness) with that of Zalmon.¹³⁹⁹ Likewise, in Prov. 24:13 the suppression of the particle of comparison K (*Kāp̄*) for the initial imperative, "Eat my son" is a moral aphorism, whose topic equates the image of eating with goodness. Consequently, the continuation of the metaphor equates the *topic* goodness to its *image*, honey, creating a new semantic meaning.¹⁴⁰⁰

The non-inclusion of Name Transfer implicitly persists throughout Ibn Chiquitilla's exegesis of allegory, disguised by various terms. In the opening verses on Psalms 1:1-3 a sustained allegory is formed, but he omits the term *tamṭīl*, including only *tašbīh*. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 1r

<p>The verse "Which yields its fruit in season" (Psalms 1:3) is the harvest of the verse, "Whose foliage never fades," without including those species of trees, I mean fruit bearing trees and non-fruit bearing trees. The fruit bearing tree is referred to in, "Which yields its fruit in season," (Psalms 1:3), whilst the non-fruit bearing tree is</p>	<p>וקד כאן קו' אשר פרייו יתן בעתו (תהלים א:ג) מג'ניא ען קו' ועלהו לא יבול (תהלים א:ג) גיר אנה ג'מע פי ד'לך נועי אלשג'ר אעני מא כאן מנה מת'מרא וגיר מת'מר פאלמת'מר קאל פיה אשר פרייו יתן בעתו (תהלים א:ג) וגיר אלמת'מר כ'פ'י בה אנה לא יסקט לה ורק. וענד קו' וכל אשר יעשה יצליח (תהלים א:ג) אועב בוצף אלשג'רה ובדי' בוצף אלנסאן אלמשובה בהא פהו</p>
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¹³⁹⁹ This would in vindicated Ibn Bal'am Ibn Chiquitilla admits Name Transfer for proper nouns, (Perez 1997a, 48).

¹⁴⁰⁰ His final comment that the words honey and sweet drops are "unnecessary" [*la yurid*], indicates that Ibn Chiquitilla considers the precise language of metaphor as extraneous to its meaning or intent. Cohen identifies the development of ornamental exegesis with Moses Ibn Ezra (M. Z. Cohen 1996, 15–57).

included in it (the fruit bearing tree), as it does not lose a leaf. Regarding, “*And whatever it produces thrives*,” (Psalms 1:3); it inserts a description of the tree before proceeding with a description [wasf] of the man who is compared [mušabbah] to it (the foliage), since (the man as subject) is referred to in “*He is like*,” not as a description [wasf] of the tree which is “*Planted beside streams of water*,” (Psalms 1:3), but to what follows it, “*Whose foliage never fades*.” (Psalms 1:1) The man replaces the (tree), as if it said, ‘*And it was moist and whatever it (the tree) produces, thrives*.’

אלמעטוף עלי והיה (תהלים א:ג) לא עלי וצף אלעץ אלד'י
 הו שתול על פלגי מים (תהלים א:ג) ומא בעדה אלי
 ועליהו לא יבול (תהלים א:א) פיכון אלאנסאן פי מכאן
 אלרענן פכאנה קאל והיה רענן וכל אשר יעשה יצליח.

In this example, the text is ambiguous; is the image of the analogy the tree's location or its health? There is no grammatical certainty about the subject upon which to pin the argument.¹⁴⁰¹ The subject of “*He is like*” is a non-semantic interpretation, *ta'wil*, which Ibn Chiquitilla decides in favour of the man. This choice makes the analogue [mušabbah] of the allegory (*i.e.*, the double-faced metaphor) the physical signs of a healthy tree and

¹⁴⁰¹ Adler calls this the myth of objectivism (J. E. Adler 1982, vol. 4, sec. 4:187ff). Also see Lockshin's statement that what constitutes the “*plain sense*” is intrinsically subjective (Lockshin 2018, 211). The difficult is not finding something ‘objective’, but the communicative intent of the text. For example, Se'adyah's interprets the tree's location by the water as indicating its vitality.

Se'adyah's Intro.

Trans.

He is like a tree, planted
 beside water, whose fruit
 ripen on time and its
 leaves never fall and all
 he does succeeds.

פיכון כשג'רה מצובה עלי
 אקסאם מא אלתי תכ'רג'
 ת'מרהא פי וקתה וורקהא לא
 יסקט וכל עמל ינג'ח פיה

Se'adyah's

Commentary

He is like a tree, planted
 beside water, whose fruit
 ripen on time and its
 leaves never fall and
 whatever he does
 succeeds.

פאנה יכון כשג'רה מגרוסה עלי
 אקסאם מא אלתי תכ'רג'
 ת'מרהא פי וקתה וורקהא לא
 יסקט וכל מא יעמל ינג'ח פיה

(Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 38, 55). In this case the subject is the tree. This ambiguity of the subject is noted by NJPS as well as Abraham Ibn Ezra and Radaq *ad. locum*.

the righteous man.¹⁴⁰² The analogue of the allegory is further complicated by a second image of a tree by the water.¹⁴⁰³ Ibn Chiquitilla continues that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 2r

The phrase, “*Rather, they are like chaff which wind blows*” (Psalms 1:4) can be explained [ta’wīl] in two ways. One of them explains the chaff at the moment the wind blows it in a circle. It accelerates, which causes it (the chaff) to depart. The second (explanation) is a description of it,¹⁴⁰⁴ as he possesses that attribute [wasf] (lightness and is easily moved.)

The first explanation is similar to “*Whereat he pulled the tendons apart, as a strand of tow comes apart at the touch of fire*” (Judg. 16:11), since “*a strand of tow*” came loose and it is “*at the touch of fire*” most efficaciously released.

Not so *’ašer*, which is explained [tafsîr] as either meaning “*at*” or “*which*.”

וק' כי אם כמוץ אשר תדפנו רוח (תהלים א:ד) יתאול
וג'הין מן אלתאוויל אחדהמא אן יכון וצף אלהשים פי וקת
תד'רוה אלריח פיה פיוון אסרע מא יכון ד'האבא'.
ואלת'אני אן יכון וצפא' לה א'י' אלד'י שאנה ד'לך.

ומת'ל אלוג'ה אלאול כאשר יינתק פתיל הנעורת בהריחו
אש (שופטים טז:ט) לאן פתיל הנעורת ינחל והו בהריחו
איש אשד אנחלאלא גיר אן אָשֶׁר יכון תפסירה עלי הד'א
אלוג'ה אד' ועלי אלוג'ה אלת'א[ני] אלד'י.

Ibn Chiquitilla offers two interpretations of the text. Each explanation is dependent on a different translation [tafsîr] of the word *’ašer*.¹⁴⁰⁵ The first explanation identifies the analogue as an “*attribute [wasf]*” of the wicked man, who is compared to whirling chaff before it flies off in the wind. Ibn Chiquitilla supplies a comparable example in which *’ašer* means “*at*” (Judg. 16:11). The relationship between the image and topic is chaff to a test, in which the divergent images of the righteous and wicked (respectively the

¹⁴⁰² The analogue is usually called *al-mušabbah bih*, but this term does not appear in Ibn Chiquitilla (Heinrichs 1977, 8). Only *mušabbaha* [similarity between topic and analogy] is found in Ibn Chiquitilla. On the meaning of *ra’anān*, Ibn Chiquitilla follows Menaḥem and Ibn Janāḥ (*Maḥberet*, 353; *’Uṣūl*, 684, 11 = *Hašōrāšim*, 483).

¹⁴⁰³ Mehren’s calls it *scheinbare* (derivation) (Mehren 1853, 251). Also see (Heinrichs 1977, 199; Abu Deeb 1971, 64).

¹⁴⁰⁴ I.e., the man.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Cohen following Wansborough and calls *tafsîr* is an authoritative contextual translation, (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 70 n.157; 2011a, 36–37). We prefer the term either narrative interpretation or narrative translation.

verdant and non-verdant trees of the first part of the allegory) are characterised by the effect of the test on their immovability. In the first explanation, the image is limited to the “*moment*”: the wicked are blow away like chaff, unlike the righteous who endure like falling grain. In the second version, *’ašer* retains its usual meaning “*which*,” and refers to the man blowing away like chaff.¹⁴⁰⁶

Despite the careful analysis of the syntax and alignment of the tenor and image in the Psalm, Ibn Chiquitilla fails to forge a unified theme across the allegory that fuses together its forms (tree, man and chaff) with its theme (that righteousness endures). This flows from his ornamental view of metaphor and is identifiable with the limitations of both Name Transfer and Imaginative Ascription.

Further evidence for Ibn Chiquitilla’s avoidance of *’isti ’âra* to explain allegory is found in his glosses on Psalm 68:14-15. He uses the term *mušabbah* and *makannî* [synecdoche] as he focusses on the physical comparison that makes-up the *tašbîh*-based analogue.¹⁴⁰⁷ He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 86v-87r

It states, “*Even for those of you who lie among the trivets.*” (Psalms 68:14). An address to the inhabitants of the land, reassuring them of security against the arrival of their enemy, as God’s veil and concealment protects them from that (danger). It is a synecdoche [*makannî*]

וקו' אם תשכבון בין שפתים (תהלים סח:יד) מכל'אט'בה
לאהל אלבלד יומנהם אלי מן וצול אלאעדא אליהם [87 א]
אן חג'אב אללה וסתר וק, להם ען ד'לך והו אלמכני ענה
בק' כנפי יונה נחפה בכסף (תהלים סח:יד)

¹⁴⁰⁶ It is not clear if there is a difference in Ibn Janâh between *’ašer* meaning אד'א [*at*] or meaning אלד'י [*when*] (Téné and Maman 2016, 50, n. 17). See (’*Uṣûl*, 73, 19 = *HaŠôrāšîm*, 50). For the interpretation following ‘*which*’ (*Se’adyah*, *Psalms*, 38, 58; *Jepheth b. Eli* 1; *Targûm*, *Psalms* 29; Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*; *Šôrāšîm*, 30).

¹⁴⁰⁷ On the meaning of *makannî* in Moses Ibn Ezra, see (Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 286). For an example of synecdoche, but with the general term *majâz* [figuratively] in place of *makannî* [synecdoche], see Samuel ben Ḥophni’s commentary on Gen. 49:6. He writes:

It uses the phrase “*they slay any man*” (Gen. 49:6) Synecdoche [*majâz*] in the holy language, reading plural for singular. They did not kill only one man, but killed all Shechem.

ואסתעמל פי קולה הרגו איש (ברשאית מט:ו) מג'אז לשון
הקדש פי אטלאקהם לשון יחיד עלי רבים לאנהמא למ יקתלא
רגל ואחד פקט בל קתלא גמיע אהל שכם

(Greenbaum 1978, 347; Hophni and Israelsohn 1886, 134–35).

about Him as it states, “*There are wings of a dove sheathed in silver.*” (Psalms 68:14)

He continues:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 86v-87r

Thereafter, he explains that the dove is the city, “*When Shaddai scattered the kings.*” (Psalms 68:15) Then he returns to describe (the city) for a second time as a dove in the verse, “*It seemed like a snowstorm.*” (Psalms 68:15). Furthermore, he explains that the city is called “*Zalmon*” as it states, “*Abimelech and all the troops he had with him went up on Mount Zalmon*” (Judg. 9:48).

It states, “*It seemed like a snowstorm*” (Psalms 68:15). This juxtaposes the phrase, “*Among the trivets,*” (Psalms 68:14) meaning the black of the cooking pot which this dove acquired from the trivets - like bad neighbours that you anticipate their harm. This city is compared [*mušabbah*] to (besieged) doves, as it states “*Aram from the east and Philistia from the west*” (Is. 9:11), whose whiteness will be visible when the king is steadfastly inside her (the city). (The city is called) “*Zalmon*” after He has conquered it.

ת'ם ביין אן הד'ה אליונה הי מדינה בקו' בפרש שדי מלכים
בה (תהלים סח:טו) ת'ם עאד יצפהא ת'אניה בוצף יונה בקו'
תשלג (תהלים סח:טו). ת'ם ביין אנהא מדינה איצ'א פי קול
בצלמון (תהלים סח:טו) כמא קאל ויעל אבימלך הר צלמון
(שופטים ט:מח).

וקו' תשלג (תהלים סח:טו) יקאבל קו' בין שפתים (תהלים
סח:יד) יעני אן סכ'אם אלקדר¹⁴⁰⁸ אלד'י אכתסבתה הד'ה
אלחמאמה מן אלאתאפי מת'ל בה ג'יראן אלסו אלד'ין
תתוקע אדאהם הד'ה אלמדינה אלמשהבה באלחמאמה כמא
קאל ארם מקדם ופלשתים מאחור (ישעיהו ט:יא) סיט'הר
אביצ'אצ'הא אד'א ת'בת אלמלך פיהא ויושך אן יכון צלמון
אֶכְכֹּר אחואד'הא.¹⁴⁰⁹

¹⁴⁰⁸ MSS. אלקרר (J. Martínez Delgado and Saidi 2007, 82 n. 15).

¹⁴⁰⁹ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 87r.

The first analogue is a *makannî* [synecdoche]; God in the form of the wings of a dove conceals the inhabitants of Jerusalem from their enemy.¹⁴¹⁰ Doves refer to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The second analogue is also a *makannî* - the black doves trapped in Jerusalem represent the wicked awaiting God's vengeance. God's capture of Jerusalem (Zalmon) is left unaccounted for by Ibn Chiquitilla, as the choice of language is deemed incidental to the topic, God's might.¹⁴¹¹ The omission of allegory as a term in Ibn Chiquitilla's writing hides the necessity for two Name Transfers, dove to inhabitants and dove to enemies, to retain the unity of the allegory.

This approach is repeated in his gloss on Psalm 38:6, where he writes that the *Hiṭ'îl* verb *hiṭ'îš* is sometime transitive and sometimes intransitive. He cites Eccl. 10:1 as proof for its transitivity and then launches into a criticism of an unnamed exegete, *al-mufassir*, over the meaning of the allegory in Eccl. 10:1.¹⁴¹² He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 45v-46v

¹⁴¹⁰ For a comparison of *kānāp* as a synecdoche for concealment in Ibn Janāḥ and Maimonides (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 103–8; 2011a, 187–88). The traditional identification of Israel as a dove is found TB *Sanhedrin* 95a, TB *Shabbath* 49a, 130a. It identifies the city's purity with the performance of *mišwōt*. Se'adyah treats the dove as referring to the land of Israel, Se'adyah (*Se'adyah*, *Psalms*, 162). Ibn Ezra adopts Ibn Chiquitilla's view with additional textual support from 2 Kings 4:38 and Ez. 24:3 (*Ibn Ezra*, *Psalms*, *ad loc.*).

¹⁴¹¹ He cites Judg. 9:48 as proof, ignoring the Rabbinic comment linking the siege to the shadow of death (TB *Berakhoth* 53b), or Gehenna (*Soḥer Tov*, 10:4, 191; *Midrash Tanḥûmah* (Buber) Gen. 25:4, Gen. 33:1; *Midrash Proverbs*, 31; TB *Berakhoth* 15b).

¹⁴¹² The interpretation of the allegory is found in Jerusalem Talmud in the name of Ben 'Azzay, TJ *Kiddushin* 61d/I, 9 = *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 10:1. Who is the *al-mufassir*? The anonymity might reflect Ibn Chiquitilla's unwillingness to attack the sages with the acerbic humour traditional to Iberian exegesis (Simon 1991, 325–34). For example, Ibn Bal'am introduces his criticism of the Sages anonymously (Perez 1981a, 53). However, if Ben 'Azzay was the target of Ibn Chiquitilla's attack then he does not use the usual term for the Sages, *'awwā'îlā* [our ancestors], or *ta'wîl* Ps. 24:7., *infra*. The use of sarcastic language even against an opinion originating in Rabbinic sources does not alter the question who is *al-mufassir*. Ibn Janāḥ made be the source, but Ibn Chiquitilla does not usually call him *al-mufassir*. One alternative is Isaac Ibn Ġiyyât. He writes that:

Comme la mouche morte infecte fait fermenter	וכד'לך וינפט' דהאן אלעטאר, וד'לך
l'huile de parfumeur, un peu de sottise corrompt	יפסד אלג'ליל כל אלחכמה ואלוקאר אלסכ'ף אלקליל.
beaucoup de sagesse et de dignité	

Trans. (Zafrani and André Caquot 1989, Ar. 64, Fr. 81). On Ibn Ġiyyât as the work's author (Zafrani and André Caquot 1989, 9; Mittelman 1999, chap. 2; Alfonso 2010a).

Poznański and Qafih misidentifies the author of this work as Se'adyah (Poznański 1912, 55; Qafih 1973). Also, "Bubbling" (*al-Risāla*, 135, 4-5; *Al-Jāmi'*, Vol. I, 249, 38-41; *Tešubot Dunaš*, Heb. *73 = Sp. 82 *73, Sp. 82; Rashi. Eccl. *ad loc.*). "Swell up or to raise bubbles" (Joshua Blau 2006, 709). Alternatively, Ibn Chiquitilla did not know the origin of Ibn Ġiyyât's interpretation, and forgot or wished to hide the source of his criticism and so pins the blame on him.

“*They stink and fester (my wounds)*” (Psalms 38:6) is intransitive, but transitive in the phrase “*(dead flies) Putrefy, exude odours*” (Eccl. 10:1). Yet, we see in this verse an error in the explanation of *al-mufassir*. We will explain its intention [*ḡaraḏ*] here.

He is not wise in spite of what he was prompted to acquire, wisdom, and to excel at obtaining it. He (*al-mufassir*) said; if he possesses excellent qualities, he will not be perfect without blemish and nor will much praise free him from censure. However, this is not so simple for him, as it is about righteousness [*faḏl*]¹⁴¹³ and it (righteousness) despises it (foolishness), because neither does his righteousness mix with his impurity. Nor does his goodness mix with his evil - like dead flies mixed in with fragrant oil turns it is malodorous and putrid. This is the parable [*mummaṭīl^{an}*] of the dead flies, which make the noble perfumers’ oil malodorous. He indicates how great (the affect) of a small transgression is upon wisdom than a touch sobriety for the foolish.

“*Give off an odour*” (Eccl. 10:1) is borrowed allegorically [*’isti ’āra ... tamṭīl^{an}*] for spreading the odour in its place [*nawab*]. The evidence for this is “*They rave with their mouths*” (Psalms 59:8). Also “*Gliding over the lips of sleepers*” (Song 7:10), which refers to the smell of wine on the breath and “*The whisperings of many*” (Psalms 31:14 and Jer. 20:10). Its intention ‘*is dead flies, with their odour putrefy the*

והבאישו נמקו (תהלים לח:ו) גיר מתעדיא והו פי [46 א] קולה יבאיש יביע שמן רוקח (קהלת י:א) מתעד ולמא ראינא פי הד'א אלפסוק מן כ'לל שרר אלמפסר לה ארדנא אן נביין גרצ'נא פיה.

והו דון אלחכים מע מא חת' עלי תכסב אלחכמה ופצ'ל חאמלהא. קאל ואנה ואן כאן ד'ו אלפצ'איל לא יסלם מן נקץ' ורב אלמחאמד לא יכלו מן ד'ם.

פאן ד'לך לא ינבגי אן יהון ענדה בהמא הו עליה מן אלפצ'ל ולא יזהדה פיה לאן פצ'לה לא יכ'תלט בנקצה וחסנה לא ימתזג' בעיבה כמא ימתזג' אלד'באב אלמ[ית] באלדהן אלד'כי פיעוד כלה נתנא' אסנא' פיקול ד'לך ממת'לא אלד'באב אלמית ינתן בהא דהן אלעטאר אלג'ליל אד' נס' עליה אכת'ר ממא יסקט מן אלחכמה ואלוקאר אלג'לה' אלקליל.

ויביע (קהלת י:א) אסתעארה פי מא נס מן אלראיחה תמת'ילא לה באלנוב ענהא אלשהאדה עליהא מת'ל יביעון בפיהם (תהלים נט:ח) וכמא קאל איצ'א פיה דובב שפתי ישנים (שיר השירים ז:י) פי מא יכ'בר ען ראיחה אלכ'מר עלי אלפם מן דבת רבים (ירמיהו כ:י ותהלים לא:יד) פתקדירה זבובי מות יבאישו שמן רוקח יקר בהביעם מאשר יבאיש [46 ב] חכמה וכבוד סכלות.

¹⁴¹³ *Infra*.

*perfumer's precious ointment, as when
foolishness putrefies wisdom, and sobriety.'*

Ibn Chiquitilla glosses Eccl. 10:1, as a *tamṭīl*-based allegory. The analogue of the topic-image compares the purity of producing perfume to righteousness. Just as a small impurity destroys perfume, so too, even the smallest sin ruins righteousness. The problem is matching the semantics and grammar of the sentence without sacrificing the intent [*ḡaraḍ*] of the allegory.¹⁴¹⁴ Ibn Chiquitilla cannot achieve this without a Name Transfer by another name *nawab*; flies = foolishness, perfume = righteousness and wisdom. He suggests *YaBī'a* (*give off an odour*) is borrowed allegorically [*'isti'āra ... tamṭīl^{an}*] in place [*nawwab*] of its usual meaning “utter (*yabī'a*)” (Psalms 59:8) for the diffusion of noxious odours.¹⁴¹⁵ Ibn Janāḥ, who is not impeded by these verbal circumlocutions, presents a similar method of analysis under the term *'isti'āra*, comprised of a *tašbīḥ* and a *tamṭīl* based analogy. He writes that:

Yabī'a is also a metaphor [*'isti'āra*], here to spread the smell in the wind. “*Dead flies turn the perfumer's ointment fetid and malodorous.*” (Eccl. 10:1). It states, flies which fall into the perfumer's precious ointment destroy the smell, and is malodorous, as in his speaking and uttering over it destroys it ...

יביע הנא אסתעארה איצ'א למא נס אלראיחה עלי ד'י
אלראיחה. זבובי מות יבאיש יביע שמן רוקה (קהלת
י:א). יקול אן אלד'באב אלד'י יסקט פי דהן אלעטאר אלנפס
אלג'ליל יפסאדה ראיחה וינתנהא פכאנהא תנטק ותנאדי
עליה בפסאדה ... וקולה זבובי מות יבאיש יביע שמן ורוקה
יקר אנמא הו מת'ל צ'רבה עלי קולה וחוטא אחד יאבד טובה
הרבה (קהלת ט:יח). שבה אפסאדה ללכ'יראת באפסאד
אלד'באב אלסאקט פי אלדהן אלטיב אלד'כי אלראיחה ד'לך

¹⁴¹⁴ On the interchanging of *ḡaraḍ* and *ma'nā* (M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 13; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 270; Sadan 1991, n. 28).

¹⁴¹⁵ The meaning of *yaBī'a* as comparable to its Arabic cognate N-B- ' “*spouts forth, like water from a spring*” from the root N-B- '. The figurative link between speaking and the dispersal of the perfume is found in Ps. 59:8. *YaBī'a* refers to the exuding of quantities of breath, “*raving*.” Moses Ibn Ezra in *Muḥāḍara* includes Ps. 19:3 and Ps 59:8 under the root N-B- ', describing it among a list of examples whose meaning is extended *majāz* (*Muḥāḍara*, 18-19 = Ar. 21, Sp. 21). Similar to this analysis, Ibn Chiquitilla compares the literal uses of the root D-B-B “*Gliding (DôBeḅ)*” (Song 7:10) and its figurative usage “*Whispering (DiBBat)*” (Ps. 31:14, Jer. 20:10). Also (*Al-Lîn*, 328-329). He criticises Dunash's understanding of transitivity, which identifies *yabī'a* as an *Hiṭ'īl* passive despite its transitivity. (*Responsa*, Heb. *73 = Sp. 82). Dunash Ibn Labraṭ criticised Menahem's translation “*corrupt*” as imprecise (*Maḥberet*, 86).

Regarding the phrase “*Dead flies turn the precious perfumer’s ointment fetid and malodorous.*”: it is analogous [*maṭal*] to the verbs of “*A single sinner destroys much good*” (Eccl. 9:18). It compares [*ṣabiha*] the loss of the righteous to the loss caused by the fly in the precious ointment of this perfumer’s oil. A little loss for the foolish is greater than for the honoured sage.

אלהדן ובאפסאד קליל מן אלג'הל כת'ירא מן חאל ד'י
אלחכמה ואלג'לאל.¹⁴¹⁶

In this system, the *tašbīh*-based analogy, the fly is analogous to impurity. Thereafter, the fly, meaning impurity, is integrated into the *tamṭīl*-based comparison as a corrupting effect on the pure (Eccl. 9:19).¹⁴¹⁷ Though Ibn Chiquitilla rejects Ibn Janāḥ’s analogy of the allegory as illogical, he says nothing about his use of the term *’isti’āra* as Name Transfer, for he has the term *nawab* in its place. This adds weight to our claim that Ibn Chiquitilla accepts Name Transfer under alternative terminology.

The problem of allegory and Name Transfer resurfaces in Ibn Chiquitilla’s glosses on Psalm 58:9. He avoids associating the term *’isti’āra* with Name Transfer. Nonetheless, it is clear that despite attempts to keep Name Transfer out of his analysis of *’isti’āra* (Imaginary Ascription) he cannot avoid it. Ibn Chiquitilla seeks to circumvent the problem of Name Transfer by replacing it with the terms *badal*, *ma’nā* and *ṣifa*. He writes that:

Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 76

When it says, “*Like water,*” (Psalms 58:8) it is ולמא קאל כמו מים (תהלים נח:ח) אבדל מנה כמו שבול
in place of ‘*Like a snail.*’ It is a flow as it states, (תהלים נח:ט) והו אלסיל כמה קאל שבולת מים (תהלים
סט:טז) והו מצ'אע'ף מן לאמה.

¹⁴¹⁶ (‘*Uṣūl* 403, 20-31 = *HaṢōrāšīm*, 282). Also Is. 64:1. *Ibid.* 100, 4-7 = *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹⁷ As a supporter of Name Transfer, Ibn Bal’am calls it an *’isti’āra*, for “*Talking*” as in Ps. 19:2. (Perez 1991e, 94, 108–10). Also (*Ibn Bal’am*, *Isaiah*, 244 n. 5-7). Following this, Ibn Ezra (Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004, 156 n. 3). Also, Radaq *ad. loc.*; *Ṣōrāšīm*, 206. Ḥayyūj lists Is. 64:1 or Is. 30:13, but not Eccl. 10:1 or Ps. 49:8 under B-‘-H (*Al-Lîn*, 214-5). So too in Se’adyah’s translation of Isaiah (*Se’adyah*, *Isaiah*, 140).

“Floodwater” (Psalms 69:16). The L (*Lāmeḏ*) of its root is identical (Š-B-L-L).

“And dissolves as it moves” (Psalms 58:9) is a description of mucous. It is the manner in which it travels, a contemptible comportment, as the manner of their movement is by dissolving.

The meaning [*ya nī*] of the phrase, “A woman’s stillbirth” (Psalms 58:9) is ‘like a woman’s stillbirth,’ as in they (the enemies) are like the falling baby which never sees sunlight. And “woman (*’eṣṣēl*)” is like *’iššā*, as it states, “A beautiful woman (*’eṣṣēl*)” (Deut. 21:11).

ותמס יהלוד (תהלים נח:ט) צפה ללסיל והו חאל מן סִירָה
אן שית עקל אנה חאל מן סיריהם אי יסירין ד'ובא

ויעני בקי' [76 א] נפל אשת (תהלים נח:ט) כנפל אשת אי
יכונון כסקט אלאג'נה אלד'י למ ירֶ שמשא. ואשת מת'ל
אשה כמה קאל ואשת יפת תאר (דברים כא:יא).

Ibn Chiquitilla avoids the term *’isti ’āra* by calling the *tašbīh* based analogy “*Like water*” *abdala minhu [in place of]*.¹⁴¹⁸ Once more the topic of the allegory’s representation changes. David’s enemies are compared to melting water (verse 8), running water (verse 8), a snail that self-destructs (verse 9) and a still-born (verse 9). Ibn Chiquitilla responds to this problem by equating the description of dissolving mucous produced by the snail’s movement to the disappearing water. Similarly, in the final example, in which the K (*Kāp*) is suppressed, ‘*Like a woman’s stillbirth*’ - the unborn child is imagined as falling away, like disappearing water.¹⁴¹⁹ It is difficult to see how this shifting topic-theme problem is nothing but Name Transfer disguised by alternative terminology.

In all the above examples it clear *tašbīh* remains a straightforward comparison of the physical similarities between the otherwise dissimilar words or objects. *Tamṭīl* represents the allegory, but Ibn Chiquitilla is reluctant to acknowledge the change in the semantic

¹⁴¹⁸ A term also used by Ibn Janāḥ for examples of Name Transfer. See discussion of Chap. 23 of *Luma’*, *infra*.
¹⁴¹⁹ The final grammatical comment about the *lafẓ*, anticipates reading *’eṣṣēl* as an *’idāfa* “woman of a stillborn” (*’eṣṣēl neṣṣēl*). His solution implies the T (*Tāw*) substitutes for the H (*Hē*), “woman” (*’iššā*). See section *’idāfa* (*Se’adyah, Psalms*, 148; *Al-Luma’*, 125, 13 = *HaRiqmā*, 83, 1; *Ibn Ezra, Psalms, ad. loc.* and Ps. 102:10). For a modern analysis of the grammar (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 203; Dahood 1965, vol. II, 62).

meaning necessary to forge a single topic-image relationship across the allegory by including it under *'isti 'âra*.

This reluctance on the part of Ibn Chiquitilla reflects contemporary Arab rhetoricians' theories about *'isti 'âra*, *tašbîh* and *tamîl* and their fluid terminology. This carries over to Ibn Chiquitilla's range of terms for describing hyperbole in which defining the reason and nature of the hyperbole is the focuses of Ibn Chiquitilla's glosses.

Hyperbole

For hyperbole, Ibn Chiquitilla's choice of terms is inconsistent and typifies the confusion among early rhetoricians as to what to include under this sub-category of metaphor.¹⁴²⁰

Among the terms used by him are *'igây* [*hyperbole*], as well as *'ablâg* [*exaggeration*] in his gloss on "*and to their dust they shall return*," (Psalms 104:29).¹⁴²¹ One must, therefore, deduce his terms from the examples used to describe hyperbole. Furthermore, the hyperbolic element and its criteria are an integral part of Ibn Chiquitilla's definition of the term. In each of the examples discussed below, Ibn Chiquitilla offers a rationalisation of the image for that which cannot exist in the physical world. He writes that:

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Now it states, " <i>And to their dust they shall return</i> " (Psalms 104:29) because it means	ואמא ק' ואל עפרם ישובון (תהלים קד:כט) פהו פי מעני
[<i>ma 'nâ</i>] almost by way of hyperbole [<i>'igây</i>] and	כאד על טריק אלאגיא ואלאבלאג מת'ל מא יקול וימת לבו
exaggeration [<i>'ablâg</i>] as it states, " <i>And courage</i>	בקרבו יהוא היה לאבן (שמואל א כה:לז) וכל ברכים
(lit. <i>heart</i>) <i>died within him, and he became like</i>	תלכנה מים (יהזקאל ז:יז). וימם לבב העם ויהי למים
<i>a stone</i> " (1 Sam. 25:37), " <i>And all knees shall</i>	(יהושע ז:ה)
<i>turn to water</i> " (Ez. 7:17) (and) " <i>And the heart of</i>	

¹⁴²⁰ A lack of consistency in the meaning of terminology among rhetoricians remained the norm in this period (van Gelder 1982, 4). Hyperbole is listed as a separate rhetorical category by Moses Ibn Ezra (M. Z. Cohen 1996, 21–22; Fenton and Ibn Ezra 1997, 9, 295–96, 299, 399).

¹⁴²¹ (Ibn Bal'am and Poznański 2013, 93–98). For use of these terms in al-'Askarî in *Šina 'âtayn* (Kanazi 1988, 160–63).

the troops melted and turned to water.” (Jos. 7:5).

Ibn Chiquitilla describes Psalm 104:29, as *almost* a hyperbole because people *do return to dust*.¹⁴²² A true hyperbole must be contrary to reason and absurd. For example, Ibn Chiquitilla’s dismisses, the theological belief in original sin deduced from “*Indeed I was born with iniquity*” (Psalms 51:7) by Christian translators of the Bible into Arabic, as hyperbole and exaggeration since babies are innocent. He writes that:

It states, “*Indeed I was born with iniquity*”¹⁴²³ וְקוֹל הָעוֹן חוֹלְלֵתִי (תהלים נא:ז) עָלַי סְבִיל אֶל־אִיָּא
(Psalms 51:7) by way of *’iḡāy’* [hyperbole] and וְאֶל־אֲבִלָּא.
’ablāḡ [exaggeration].

Identification of the above image with a hyperbole was a point of contention between Jews and Christians. Se‘adyah already translates the verse as if it were written with a suppressed particle of comparison. A comparison with the rhyming translation of the Iberian Christian, Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qûṭî, whom Ibn Chiquitilla read, illustrates the difference approaches.¹⁴²⁴ They write:

al-Qûṭî		Se‘adyah	
Dans les fautes, l’erreur	وفي الذنوب والخطا والإثم فيه	Now out of my	פאני מן כ'ג'לי כאני
et le péché, dès ma	وليداً نَفْسَتَنِي أُمِّي ¹⁴²⁵	embarrassment, as if I	באלד'נוב טלב בי,
		am born full of sin, and	

¹⁴²² (Berlin 1991, 46–48).

¹⁴²³ אולי אל־אג'רא.

¹⁴²⁴ On Ibn Chiquitilla’s use of al-Qûṭî’s translation see Introduction. For Se‘adyah’s technique for translating theologically difficult passages non-literally (Rawidowicz 1974, 246–69; M. Z. Cohen 2011a, 33–50; Zucker 1984, Ar. 17-18, Heb. 190-1; R. Brody 2010, 305).

¹⁴²⁵ (Urvoy 1994, 87).

naissance, lorsque ma
mère accoucha de moi

with sin my mother
gave birth to me.

ובאל'טיה תווחמת בי
אמי.¹⁴²⁶

Al-Qûṭṭi translates the passage literally. Se'adyah reads the text elliptically, inserting a *Ka* [as] into the translation and as an explanation for the choice of language by the Psalmist. The inclusion of a *tašbîḥ*-based comparison turns the text into a simile whose topic is embarrassment. Se'adyah cites other examples of the suppressed particle of comparison *Ka* in Hebrew, where there are no doctrinal issues, as a way to bolster the credentials of his argument by reducing the polemic issue to a question of the intent.¹⁴²⁷ He writes that:

I explained, “*Indeed with sin*” (Psalms 51:7) ‘as if I,’ like the verse, “(like) *The wild asses of the wilderness*” (Job 24:5), as if they were wild animals; like, “*When out of the Nile*” (Gen. 41:2), (and) “*There we are bound sheaves in the field*” (Gen. 37:7), which was the translation there.¹⁴²⁸

ופסרת הן בעון (תהלים נא:ז) כאני מת'ל קולה הן פראים במדבר (איוב כד:ה) כאנהם וחוש, מת'ל והנה מן היאר (בראשית מא:ב), והנה אנחנו מאלמים (בראשית לז:ז), אלד'י תפסיר ד'לך כאן.¹⁴²⁹

The addition of “*embarrassment*” to Se'adyah's original commentary turns the hyperbole into rhetoric and reflects his ornamental approach to counterfactual statements in the Biblical text. This approach dismisses the theological problems on literary grounds as contrary to the language of men, a view shared by Ibn Chiquitilla when he calls it a hyperbole.¹⁴³⁰

¹⁴²⁶ (Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 138-139).

¹⁴²⁷ Achtar considers the linguistic concern as additional to the theological dimension (Achtar 2012, 13, 54 n. 4). However, for exegesis to succeed well, it ought to integrate the semantic content and the grammar. This includes the identification of theological problems, in Ibn Bal'am's gloss on Ps. 77:1, *supra*.

¹⁴²⁸ כאנא נגרו גרזא פי אלצחרא [as if we were binding sheaves in the field] (Gen. 37:7) and וכן קד צעד מנה [as if it came out of it (the Nile)] (Se'adyah, *Pentateuch*, ad. locum).

¹⁴²⁹ (Se'adyah, *Psalms*, 138-139).

¹⁴³⁰ Se'adyah adopts the same method in his commentary on Job 12:5, in which he states that hyperbole is permitted by the prophets, וקד וג'דנא אבאינא יסתעמלון אלתגאייפי כלאמהם [We already saw our ancestors use exaggeration and hyperbole in their words], (Se'adyah, *Job*, 85)

Another example of hyperbole as a means for dismissing a counterfactual statement in the Bible is a scientific impossibility. Ibn Chiquitilla changes his term to *'iġrâq* [hyperbole] from *'iġây* and *'ablâġ* in his gloss on Psalms 6:7-8. It is subsequently adopted by Moses Ibn Ezra in *Kitâb al-Muĥâḍara*. They write that:

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Moses Ibn Chiquitilla

Moses Ibn Ezra

The phrase, “ <i>I melt my couch in tears</i> ” joins	וקן' בדמעתי ערשי אמסה (תהלים ו:ז) יצ'יף אלי	“ <i>I melt my couch in tears</i> ” it is explained:	ואמא בדמעתי ערשי אמסה (תהלים ו:ז) פלה
the abundant tears	גזארה אלדמע חרארתה לאן	it proves that tears are	תאויל, וד'לך אנה ידל עלי
with its heat, because	אלתד'ויב מן צפאת אלנאר	hot and the water did	אן אלדמוע כאן חארא
melting is a property	פהי פי חרארה אלנאר ואן	not melt it quickly as	פאלמא לא יד'יב בסרעה
of fire and is (caused)	כאנת מא.	would fire. This is	כמא תפעל אלנאר פציח.
by the heat of fire even		eloquent speech. ¹⁴³¹	
though it is water.			

The image of hot tears melting a bed are analogous in intent to anguish.¹⁴³² However, water is not naturally hot, except when it contains the element of fire. This heat ought to melt the tears, but instead is given a scientific basis - the tears themselves were hot. This explains their capacity to melt the bed and provides the absurd language of the hyperbole with a rational basis. This rationalisation of the absurd reflects the outlook of these mediaeval exegetes who try to match the Bible to contemporary science. Simultaneously, as rhetoricians they also recognise the permissibility of absurd statements, even in sacred literature, as part of human language. Ibn Chiquitilla makes this point explicitly in the continuation of the above passages, “*I drench my bed every night*” (Ps 6:8). He states that:

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¹⁴³¹ (M. Z. Cohen 2000; 2003b, 21).

¹⁴³² Cf. Se'adyah's translation and interpretation of the topic and image (Se'adyah, *Psalm*, 61). *Ta'wil* is used by Ibn Chiquitilla to criticise figurative interpretations of Se'adyah and Ibn Ġiyyat, *infra*. On the use of *ta'wil* and its criticism by Abraham Ibn Ezra (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 43–46; 93–97).

The phrase, “*I drench my bed every night;*” (Psalms 6:8); hyperbole [*’iḡrâq*] is permitted like in language, and is not absurd, nor is it forbidden in the language of prophets. And the phrases, “*The mountain was ablaze with flames to the very skies*” (Deut. 4:11) (and) “*And the hearts of the troops sank in utter dismay*” (Jos. 7:5) are from this trope.

[8 א] וקו' **אשחה בכל לילה מטתי** (תהלים ו:ח) אגראק ג'איז מת'לה פי אללגה וליס מן אלמחאל אלד'י ימתנע קו' מן אלאנביא וקו' וההר בוער באש עד לב השמים (דברים ד:יא). וימס לבב העם ויהי למים (יהושע ז:ה) מן הד'א אלבאב.

This interpretation reflects the Talmudic formula “*The Bible speaks in the language of men*” and is thus permitted blatant falsehoods. Ibn Chiquitilla echoes this view when he says *’iḡrâq* [hyperbole] “*imitates language.*” He cites Deut. 4:11 and Jos 7:5 as illustrative of this opinion about prophecy, which by a *fortiori* argument must also be permitted in non-prophetic prayers. This same implication is meant by Moses Ibn Ezra in the above passage when he calls Psalm 6:7-8 *faṣîḥ* [style].

Synonyms

Ibn Chiquitilla’s approach to figurative language as poetic style, *faṣîḥ* [style] is not restricted to metaphors and hyperboles. It also extends to Biblical parallelism and the use of synonyms. He is not the first exegete in Iberia to observe this pattern in Biblical poetry.¹⁴³³ Ibn Janâḥ dismisses synonyms as poetic conceit - *faṣâḥa* [speech] and *balâḡa* [eloquence].¹⁴³⁴ He writes:

And an [example] of that which is added for emphasis and purity of speech (*faṣâḥa*) is the verse (*lit.* its saying), “Who has *made* and

וממא זיד תאכידא ופצאחא קולה מי פעל ועשה (ישעיה מא:ד) לים פי קולה ועשה מן אלמעני אכת'ר ממא פי קולה פעל לכנהא פצאחה ובלאגה. ומת'לה קולה בראתיו יצרתיו

¹⁴³³ On forgetting parallelism in Rabbinic literature, (Kugel 1981b, chap. 3).

¹⁴³⁴ Ibn Ezra Ex. 20:3.

done?” (Isa. 41:4); there is no meaning (or idea, content; *ma ‘nā*) in the words “and he made” beyond that which is in the words “he has done”; but this is simply pure and eloquent style (*faṣāḥa wa-balāgha*). Similarly, is the verse, “I have *created, fashioned* and *made him*.” (Isa. 43:7); there is no meaning in “fashioned.” And “made” beyond what is [already] in “created” ... And you must treat all similar examples analogously.¹⁴³⁵

אף עשיתי (ישעיה מז:ז) לים פי יצרתיו ולא פי עשיתי
מעני אכת'ר מן מעני בראתיו. ... כל מא ירד עליך מן
מת'לה.¹⁴³⁶

The repetition of two similar words “*made*” and “*done*” is reduced to nothing more than style - the ornaments of a poet.¹⁴³⁷ Synonyms enhance the Bible’s elegance, but contribute no additional meaning. Anticipating the question, *what is the point of words that add no meaning*, Ibn Janâḥ says it is preferable to be brief, but the use of repetition and synonyms is necessary for the art of an elevated style of rhetoric.¹⁴³⁸ He argues against searching for subtle differences in either variations in words or nuance. Abraham Ibn Ezra too, takes up the question of rhetorical style in a passage on man’s uniqueness. He writes:

... speak with eloquence [*ṣaḥot*], because words are essentially nothing more than hints. Hence, knowledge of language (*da ‘at ha-lashon*) is not an inherently important discipline, [since] the

ואם בעבור שידבר צחות, עיקר הדברים רמיזות הם. ודעת
הלשון איננה דעת בעצמה, כי אם כנגד אחר שיבין.

¹⁴³⁵ Translation (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 238; 2020, 214).

¹⁴³⁶ (*Luma* ‘, 288-289 = *HaRiqmâ*, 303). For a history of this in Jewish exegesis (Kugel 1981a; Haas 2019).

¹⁴³⁷ The view of ‘*ilm al-badi*’ [*science of rhetoric*] as an adornment rather than something fundamental is found in al-Jâḥiẓ’s description of poetry as rhyme metre and choice vocabulary (*supra*) and al-Bâqillâni (d. 1012) (Heinrichs 1984a, 180–211; McKay 1991). The most basic definition of a parallelism is found in Menahem Ibn Sarûq’s *Maḥberet*, where he explains the verse, “*My belly is like wine (ka-yayin) not yet opened, Like jugs of new wine (ka’obôl) ready to burst*.” (Job 32:29, through parallelism (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986, *17). For a summary of Biblical parallelism and a discussion of its interpretation by a mediaevalist (Berlin 1991, 15–54).

¹⁴³⁸ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 238; 2020, 214).

only [point of language] is for another person to understand.¹⁴³⁹

The body-soul analogy, common to the Arab books on rhetoric, treats nuances of word choice as the ornaments of a good poet or writer. In pragmatic terms, they conflate the intent of the text [Ar. *ḥaqīqa al-ma‘nâ, ġaraḍ, qaṣd*] as equivalent to either a literal rendering or paraphrasing of its intent. Such an approach does not engage with the arrangement of language for its own sake and is illustrated by Ibn Ezra’s Long Commentary on Ex. 20:1. He repeats the body-soul analogy to dismiss the relationship between the words used and the intention of the speaker:

Know that the words are like bodies and the intentions (*ta‘mīm*) are like souls and the relation of the body to the soul is like a tool. Hence, all the wise men in any language preserve intentions, but are not concerned with changes in wording when their meaning is the same.

ודע, כי המלות הם כגופות, והטעמים הם כנשמות, והגוף לנשמה, הוא כמו כלי, על כן משפט כל החכמים בכל לשון שישמרו הטעמים, ואינם חוששים משנוי המלות, אחר שהם שוות בטעמן.

Ibn Ezra uses *ta‘am* (= *ma‘nâ*) as the conceptual meaning of words.¹⁴⁴⁰ This gives short - shrift to the extralinguistic knowledge necessary for understanding word choice and variation in language that are fundamental to literal and figurative language. One word or phrase substitutes for another, and lexical synonymy is a matter of style.¹⁴⁴¹ The type of scrutiny of language typical of *midrashic* texts, in which the exegete enquires what the

¹⁴³⁹ Short comm. on Ex. 23:20. *Trans.* (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 241). Also see (L. Charlap 1999, 259).

¹⁴⁴⁰ Heinrichs suggests that *ma‘nâ* is a conceptual image (Heinrichs 1977, 62). ‘Abū Hilāl Al-‘Askarī calls *ma‘nâ* the “*Intention of the speaker that his words be used in their original or tropical sense.*” (Kanazi 1988, 83). It is equivalent to the two uses of *ta‘am* in Abraham Ibn Ezra; *significance* and *subject* (Shai 1990, 309–16; M. Z. Cohen 2003b). For a parallel usage of *pəšaṭ* and *seḏer* in Rashi (Kamin 1986, 80ff). For an example of the *lafẓ* and *ma‘nâ* dichotomy in Ibn Barūn (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916, 57).

¹⁴⁴¹ (M. Z. Cohen 2003b, 242; 2020, 215).

text is trying to communicate through word choice is repudiated in favour of poetic conceit.¹⁴⁴²

Ibn Chiquitilla adopts the same method as Ibn Ezra when he skims over the nuances of Biblical parallelism. An example of his dismissal of parallelism is found in his gloss on Psalm 35:23. He writes that:¹⁴⁴³

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“*Wake, rouse Yourself*” (Psalms 35:23) are heavy intransitive verbs (*Hip̄’il*). “*Wake*” is also transitive “*And woke me as a man is wakened from sleep*” (Zech. 4:1). Now “*rouse yourself*” we only cite it as transitive when it means to cut. “*We will march against Judah and invade (lit. cut)*” (Is. 7:6). “*The Lord*” is connected to “*my God*” therefore he groups “*Wake*” and “*arouse*” as one sense [*ma’nā*], and “*cause*” (and “*my claim*”)¹⁴⁴⁴ as one sense [*ma’nā*] which links “*O Lord*” to “*my God*” to balance out the verse, as if it said, ‘*arouse Yourself O Lord to my cause and wake up My God for my claim.*’

העירה והקיצה (תהלים לה:כג) הנא פעלאן ת'קילאן גיר מתעדיין ואן כאן אתי העיר מתעדיא ויעירני כאיש אשר יעיר משנתו (זכריה ד:א) ואמא הקיץ פלסנא נד'כרה מתעדיא אלא פי מעני אלתקריץ' נעלה ביהודה ונקיצנה (ישעיהו ז:ו). ועטפה ייי עלי אלהי פלמא ג'מע העיר והקיץ פי מעני ומשפט פי מעני ואחד אצ'אף ייי אלי אלהי לתסתוי בה אקסאם אלפסוק פכאנה קאל העירה ייי למשפטי והקיצה אלהי לריבי.

Ibn Chiquitilla’s gloss is devoted to two linguistic categories; the transitivity of the verbs “*Wake, rouse Yourself*” and how they work in tandem within the parallelism - to “*balance*

¹⁴⁴² Martin Lockshin commenting on Ibn Ezra notes that those who are described as *pashtanim* are often associated with a ‘close reading’ of the Biblical. In reality this is not always so. He writes that: “*Modern Readers, on the other hand, often do pay attention to the differences that occur in the retelling of a story. ... We expect that only those exegetes who do see significance in such variations are the ones who deserve to be called pashtanim. In practice, however, many of the commentators who history has labelled pashtanim are the ones who ignore such variations.*” (Lockshin 2003).

¹⁴⁴³ For other examples, see Ps. 7:15 and Ps. 121:5 see *majâz*, *infra*.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Missing in the Arabic.

out the verse.” Nothing is said about the nuances between the two words, aligning Ibn Chiquitilla with Ibn Janâḥ’s attitude towards parallelism as *faṣāḥa* and *balāḡa*.

Sometimes Ibn Chiquitilla’s skips-over the nuance to the parallelism, with his remarks limited to grammatical and syntactic concerns. In his gloss on Psalm 65:5, he uses syntactic analysis to explain the inverted symmetry of the verse. He writes that:

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The phrase, “*Your sacred temple*” (Psalms 65:5) is a substitution for [*badal min*] “*Blessings of Your house*” (Psalms 65:5). A commentator claims that the meaning [*ma ‘nâ*] is ‘*Your temple the sacred (heḳāl Ha-Qôḏeš)*’ Similarly, “*Might of Your arm*” (Ex. 15:16), that is to say, ‘*Your mighty arm*’ and “*The door of my lips*” (Psalms 141:3) mean [*ma ‘nâ*] ‘*my lips, the doors.*’

וקו' קדוש היכלך (תהלים סה:ה) בדל מן קו' בטוב ביתך
(תהלים סה:ה). וזעם בעי' אלמפסרין אנה במעני היכלך
הקדוש וכד'לך יקול פי בגדול¹⁴⁴⁵ זרועך (שמות טו:טז)
יריד בזרועך הגדול ופי על דל שפתי (תהלים קמא:ג) אנה
יעני שפתי הדלתות

Ibn Chiquitilla glosses the phrases, “*Your sacred temple*” and “*Blessings of Your house*,” as a parallelism; *badal min* [*a substitution for*].¹⁴⁴⁶ Implied is an appositional statement ‘*may we be sated with the blessings of Your house, Your sacred temple.*’ Ibn Chiquitilla’s concern is restricted to identifying an inversion in the usual word order, *Qôḏôš heḳaleḳā* (*Your sacred temple*) as equivalent to ‘*Your temple, the sacred (heḳāl Ha-Qôḏeš).*’ He cites, “*Might of Your arm (biḡḏol zərô ‘akā)*” (Ex. 15:16) and “*The door of my lips*” (Psalms 141:3) as comparative proof for inversion of word order, ‘*my lips, the doors.*’¹⁴⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴⁵ Mss. גודל.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Becker describes two types of *badal*; substitution of X for X or replace X with Y, in which Y clarifies (*tabyîn*) X (Becker 1998b, 339–41). It is to the latter than Ibn Chiquitilla refers.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Poznański was unsure of the origins of this opinion (Poznański 1912). Se‘adyah does not reverse the order of the phrase in Psalms (*Se‘adyah, Psalms*, 157), nor in Ex. 15:1 (Derenbourg 1893, 103). Ibn Ezra prefers an ellipsis, *tûf. ad. loc.* The source may be Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla’s *Kitâb al-‘istiḡnâ* which includes a citation of Ex. 15:16 as a qualifier (*ṣifa*) [בגדול זרועך] ... ואלצפה “*And the attribute ... “might of Your arm (biḡḏol zərô ‘akā)*” (Ex. 15:16).” Unfortunately, the text breaks-off at this point (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916, 223). Ibn Janâḥ and Ḥayyûj do not discuss these verses (Kinberg 1988, 147–48; Basal 2001, 54, Ex.1). Ibn Janâḥ classifies *Qôḏôš* as the *ṣifa ḡâlîba* [*nominal agent*] (*Luma‘*, 117, 1-4 = *HaRiqmâ*, 138 5-7; 133 n. 8).

He passes no comment on whether the parallel terms communicate any nuance in meaning, leaving the impression it is a matter of poetic style.

In these examples of Biblical parallelisms, *ma' nâ* is a concept for the different permutations by which the same idea is expressed. In the following example in Ibn Chiquitilla's gloss on Psalm 5:5-6 develops the conceptual approach of Ibn Janâḥ as applied to various synonyms for wicked people. Ibn Janâḥ writes that:

<p>“Foolish (<i>Hôlâlîm</i>) men cannot endure in Your sight” (Psalms 5:7) connects this with what is synonymous to it “wicked” (<i>Rēša'îm</i>) or “liars” (<i>Pô'ale 'āwēn</i>).</p>	<p>לא יתיצבו הוללים (תהלים ה:ו) לאקתראן הד'ה ומא אשבההא מע רשעים או מע פועלי און.¹⁴⁴⁸</p>
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Ibn Chiquitilla expands on this description of the different types of wicked people meant by Biblical verses based on this parallelism. The result injects some nuance of meaning into his interpretation of the passage, but falls short of Rabbinic pragmatism and Radaq *lašôn mālîṣâ*. He writes that:

Cambridge TS ar Ar. 21,23, 1v.a-1.vb 1

<p>And “Foolish (<i>Hôlâlîm</i>)” (its stem) <i>Pô'alîm</i> possess identical (radicals).¹⁴⁴⁹ They are the stupid or foolish and include in these descriptions seven grades of wickedness; <i>Rēša' , Rā' , Hôlâlût , 'āwēn , Kāzāḇ , Dāmîm</i> and <i>Mirmâ</i>.</p> <p><i>Rēša' ;</i> a person or people who deserves punishment as it states, “So he said to the offender (<i>Rēša'</i>), why do you smite your fellow?” (Ex. 2:13).</p>	<p>והוללים (תהלים ה:ו) פועלים מן ד'ואת אלמת'לין והם אלחמקא אלמג'אנין וג'מע פי הד'ה אלאוצאף סבעה מנאזל מן אלדנאה והי רשע ורע והוללות ואון וכזב ודמים ומרמה.</p> <p>אמא אלרשע פהו אלד'י וג'ב עליה אלקצאץ ללה או ללנאס כמא קאל ויאמר לרשע למה תכה רעך (שמות ב:יג)</p>
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¹⁴⁴⁸ (*al-Luma' , 174, 4-5 = HaŠôrāšîm, 119*).

¹⁴⁴⁹ (*Al-Lîn, 118-19*) and Ibn Chiquitilla's discussion of Ps. 20:9.

Rā ' ; a general term for what precedes and follows it, they do not include all of what is meant by wicked (*Rā* ').

Hôlālīm; mentioned between them, as they are unsuitable to be addressed, and therefore he says, "*Foolish men cannot endure Your sight*," (Psalms 5:6) without the word "*You detest (šāne 'tā)*," which follows after it and is similar to it.

Pô 'ale 'āwēn; they are the spiteful and rancorous people because of their deeds.

Dôbre Kāzāb; those who are treacherous with their information and lie about what they report. It is broader in scope than *šeqer* as *šeqer* is (limited) to (false) information and testimony, whilst *Kāzāb* is also betrayal and treason. The two of them are analogous to treason – their actions are contrary to what others thought of them, precisely like a traitor who is thought of as honest. Following this analogy it states, "*Which do not betray all its days*" (Is. 58:11), which was borrowed for one who is persecuted by him (the traitor). He (the traitor) did not expect destruction. "*All men are false*" (Psalms 116:11); (it was also borrowed) for someone who has been warned (by a liar), about something that he (the liar) did not believe, which he warned about, "*Do not deceive your maidservant*" (2 Kings 4:16).

'iš Dāmīm; he is wanted for shedding innocent blood.

'iš Mirmā (Psalms 43:1); one who is deceitful and entrapped, "*Your brother came with guile*," (Gen.

ואמא רע פהו עאם למא קבלה ובעדה אד' לא יכלו ג'מיעכם מן כונה רע

ואמא ד'כרה הוללים פי מא בינהם לאנהם ליסוא ממא יצלחון ללכ'טאב¹⁴⁵⁰ [v.b 1] ולד'לך קאל לא יתיצבו הוללים לנגד עיניך (תהלים ה:ו) מן דון לפט'ה שנאת אלד'י בעדה ואשבאהה.

ואמא פועלי און (תהלים ה:ו) פהם אהל אלג'ל ואלצ'גן אלתי תכון אפעאלהם נתאיג'הא.

ודוברי כזב (תהלים ה:ז) הם אהל אלכ'יאנה פי כ'ברהם ואלכד'ב¹⁴⁵¹ [42 א] פי נקלהם¹⁴⁵² פהו אעם מן

אלשקר לאן שקר יכון פי אלכ'בר ואלשהאדה וכזב (תהלים ה:ז) פי אלכ'יאנה ואלגדר איצ'א.

למצ'ארעתהמא אלכד'ב אד'א צאר אהלהמא עלי גיר מא ט'ן בהם מת'ל אלכאד'ב אלד'י קד יט'ן צאדקא ועל הד'א אלוג'ה קיל אשר לא יכזבו מימיו (ישעיהו נח:יא). וקד אסתעיר למן לחקה לאחק למ יט'ן בה מן אלתלאף כל האדם כוזב (תהלים קטז:יא) ולמן אנד'ר במא למ יט'ן בה אלד'י אנד'רה אל תכזב בשפחתך (מלכים ב ד:טז).

ואמא איש דמים (תהלים ה:ז) פהו אלמטלוב בספך אלדמא אלט'אהרה

ואיש מרמה (תהלים מג:א) ד'ו אלמכר ואלגש כמא קאל פי מן אסר גיר מא אעלן בא אחיך במרמה (בראשית

¹⁴⁵⁰ Cambridge TS ar Ar. 21,23, 1v.a-1.vb 1.

¹⁴⁵¹ Cambridge TS ar Ar. 21,23, 1v.a-1.vb 1.

¹⁴⁵² Cambridge TS ar Ar. 21,23, 1.vb 1 כ'ברהם

27:35) (and) “*Speaking with guile*,” (Gen. 34:13)
And for the matter of dishonest scales it states,
“*Dishonest scales*” (Hos. 12:8).

Associated with them are six levels from God,
from the farthest to the nearest: *Lo Hāfeš*, *Lo*
yāḡûr, *Lo Yiṯyaššəḡû*, *šāneṭā*, *tə`abbēḏ*, *yəṭā`ēḡ*.
However, there are not seven (levels of
wickedness) as *’iš Dāmîm* and *Mirmâ* parallel
yəṭā`ēḡ. In concert with this, there are six
corresponding states which either bring him closer
to His Master or curry favour with him, they are
rôḡ ḥasdekā, *beṭeqā*, *Heḳal Qodšeqā*, *yir`ātēkā*,
Šidqātēkā and *Darkeḳā*.

כז:לה). במרמה וידברו (בראשית לד:יג). וקיל פי
אלמואזן אלמגשושה מאזני מרמה (הושע יב:ח).

ואקתרן פיהם מן אללה ו' מאנזל מן אלאבעאד
ואלא־קצא והי לא חפץ ולא יגור לא יתיצבו ושנאת
ותאבד ויתעב. ואמא לם תכן סבעה לאשתראך איש
דמים ומרמה פי יתעב. ובחסב ד'לך אעאד עלי נפסה ו'
מנאזל לתקרבה מן רבה ותזלפה אליה והי רוב חסדך
וביתך והיכל קדשך ויראתך וצדקתך ודרכך.

In this long analysis of six types of wicked people, Ibn Chiquitilla considers the structure of the text and its semantics.¹⁴⁵³ He builds his exegesis around the semantic nuances for the different types of wicked people. *Rəša`* is deserving of punishment as was the Egyptian who tried to smite the Israelite slave in Ex. 2:13. *Rā`* is a generic term for wickedness.¹⁴⁵⁴ *Hôlālūt* are fools who cannot be tolerated even for a short while;¹⁴⁵⁵ *’āweṇ* a spiteful and selfish person out for his own gain; *kāzāḡ* a traitor, but distinct from *šeqer*, as it includes lying outside the courtroom; *’iš dāmîm* a bloodthirsty murderer and *mirmâ* a confidence trickster, who may even be a family member.

However, this fails to capture the ‘*reasons*’ for including a list of different types of wicked people. In a Midrash found in TB *Sanhedrin* 103a R. Hisda links the language of the text with those excluded from redemption. It states:

¹⁴⁵³ He briefly digresses to establish the semantics of *HôLəLîm*’s root H-L-L as foolish as opposed to praise (*Al-Lîn*, 118-119).

¹⁴⁵⁴ R. ’Amî associates it with onanism, TB *Niddah* 13, and with a slanderer, TB *Soṭah* 42a. However, TB *Shabbath* 149b treats it in a generic sense when describing Nebuchadnezzar.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Equated with someone hated or despised (*šāneṭā*). Also see (*Al-Lîn*, 330-331), Ibn Ezra (Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004, Heb. 22, Sp. 38). Cf. Ibn Janāḡ (*al-Mustalḡaq* Ar. 201, Eng. 343, *HaŠôrāšîm*, 79).

R. Hisda also said in the name of R. Jeremiah b. Abba: Four classes will not appear before the presence of the *Shechinah*,
 'The class of slanderers — as it is written, *'For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: neither shall evil dwell with thee,'* [which means] *Thou art righteous, and hence there will not be evil in thy abode'* (Psalms 5:5)¹⁴⁵⁶

ואמר רב חסדא אמר רבי ירמיה בר אבא ארבע כיתות אין מקבלות פני שכינה ... כת מספרי לשון הרע דכתיב כי לא אל חפץ רשע אתה לא יגורך רע צדיק אתה ולא יהיה במגורך רע (תהלים ה:ה)

Unlike Rabbi Ḥisda, Ibn Chiquitilla offers no reason for *why* the text includes different types of wicked people who are not meritorious of God's grace. For him repetitive language is eloquence, forming a near symmetry between good and bad.

Hysteron and Repetition

The focus of Ibn Chiquitilla's glosses can be structural. For example, his remarks on Psalm 77:16 use the rhetorical categories of *taqdîm wa-takrîr* [*hysteron and repetition*] to explain why the Psalmist singles out Joseph from all the other tribes.¹⁴⁵⁷

Evr.-Arab 3583 I, 99r

The phrase, "*The children of Jacob and Joseph*;" (Psalms 77:16); Joseph was a member of Jacob's family. Out of respect for Joseph he was singled out from all the tribes, possibly

וקו' בני יעקב יוסף סלה (תהלים עז:טז) וקד כאן יוסף דאכלא פי אל' יעקב עלי סביל אלתש[ריף]¹⁴⁵⁸ ליוסף אד'א ד'כרה מפרדא באד'א ג'מיע¹⁴⁵⁹ אלאסבאט ורבמא כאן עלי אלתקדים ותכרירה

¹⁴⁵⁶ Soncino edition.

¹⁴⁵⁷ For examples of *taqdîm wa-takrîr* in mediaeval exegesis (Perez 1985, 117–24). Ibn Chiquitilla uses *Sakîna* in Arabic to express God's heavenly abode "*He prayed for (God)'s succour for victory (to be sent) from the dwelling place of the Divine Presence*," Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 25r

¹⁴⁵⁸ Evr.-Arab, I 1409.

¹⁴⁵⁹ ג'מיע.

through hysteron and repetition [*taqdîm wa-takrîr*].

“*People*” in the first hemistich parallels “*Children of Jacob and Joseph*” in the second.¹⁴⁶⁰ Ibn Chiquitilla suggests the deliberate inclusion of Joseph alongside Jacob as his equal is in honour of his prominent role in the Genesis story. However, he does not say on *what specific* act the Psalmist wishes to focus. By comparison, TB *Sanhedrin* 19b links Joseph’s parity with Jacob (as father of the nation mentioned in the first hemi-stich) to his sustaining of Israel at a time of famine. It states that:

R. Eleazar says: It is inferred from the following: Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph, Selah. Did then Joseph beget them; surely it was rather Jacob? — But Jacob begot and Joseph sustained them; therefore they are called by his name.

רבי אלעזר אמר מהכא (תהלים עז, טז) גאלת בזרוע עמך
בני יעקב ויוסף סלה וכי יוסף ילד והלא יעקב ילד אלא
יעקב ילד ויוסף כילכל לפיכך נקראו על שמו

R. 'El'azar reads the intent of the parallelism, “*By Your arm You redeemed **Your people**, the **children of Jacob and Joseph**. Selah*” as illocutionary - homing in on a specific unmentioned act that links God, Joseph, and Jacob to the formation of the nation. Joseph sustains Jacob’s family through the famine. This crucial difference separates the ornamental exegesis of Ibn Chiquitilla from the narrative exegesis of the Sages of the Talmud.

¹⁴⁶⁰ JPS 1985: “*By Your arm You redeemed **Your people**, the **children of Jacob and Joseph**. Selah.*”

Conclusion

In chapter one we identified Ibn Chiquitilla's contribution to biblical exegesis and Hebrew grammar as consisting of both original ideas and either a reproduction of his predecessors' arguments or a refining of their positions. His originality is the interpretation of prophecies as pertaining to the second Temple and the rationalisation of miracles as natural event consanguineous with the nature of the world. They represent one of the earliest known examples of rationalisation of miracles and in turn, influenced both Abraham Ibn Ezra and Maimonides. However, he incurred the ire of more conservative thinkers like Moses Ibn Ezra and Judah Ibn Bal'am, who accused him of *lawṭa* [confusion] and being *dahiri* [eternalist] respectively. This continued in the following centuries, as the socio-cultural milieu of the 11th century in Ibn Chiquitilla lived became increasingly alien to later writers. By the time of Nahmanides, Ibn Chiquitilla's view on prophecy and messianism are either despised or misunderstood.

Even so, such objections to Ibn Chiquitilla's extreme rationalism did not extend to his contributions to Hebrew grammar nor to his application of it and rhetoric to Biblical exegesis. In chapters two and three we traced the intellectual background of Ibn Chiquitilla to the pragmatic tradition of the Arab grammarians and rhetoricians. We showed how Ibn Chiquitilla represents a natural extension of the contributions of Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ, with a preference for the former over the latter. Even then, Ibn Chiquitilla is no mere epigone of the founders of grammatical studies in Iberia. His work includes improvements to the major problems of the period, most importantly his identification of the internal *Qal* passive form and identification of irregular masculine and feminine nouns.

His most significant contribution to exegesis is his tightening of the relationship between *lafẓ* [form] and *ma'nā* [meaning] in Biblical exegesis, with greater emphasis on the semantic meaning matching the form of the word. Nonetheless, he is not opposed to alternative explanations of the text that defy the semantic form and meaning of the word,

mostly when the text's sense is otherwise incoherent. Such non-semantic considerations do not evince that meaning comes from 'somewhere else' beyond the words used. This is obvious, when discussing metaphor, for which Ibn Chiquitilla's writing lacks a technical term that corresponds to Radaq's *lashon meliṣah*. As such, Ibn Chiquitilla is aware meaning comes from 'somewhere else,' but unable to articulate how the text and 'somewhere else' interact. He is unable to identify what the modern pragmatist calls the illocutionary knowledge necessary to arrive at meaning. For Ibn Chiquitilla, *lafẓ* and *ma'nâ* reside in a dichotomous relationship in which there is a need to resolve the tension between hierarchical grammatical structures and received meaning. Even as Ibn Chiquitilla pushes the two sides of the *lafẓ* and *ma'nâ* dichotomy closer together than previous grammarians, at times his alignment of form to meaning leading to an obfuscation of the meaning. This we saw in Chapter 4, when his over-zealous application of formal grammatical theories to the Biblical text distorts the meaning of what is otherwise a perfectly clear arrangement.

Ibn Chiquitilla's preoccupation with form, means he perceives his task as aligning the relationship between grammatical terms and meaning that best confirms the traditional received meaning of Rabbinic Judaism. However, as we saw in chapter 5 this leads him to ignore the language choice of the original Biblical text when the text is counterfactual. He interprets anthropomorphisms as eloquent form that hides an inner meaning and intent. This inner meaning must conform to the rational laws of nature and is one subsection of figurative language. This combination of grammar and rationalism results in any counterfactual statement, philosophical or theological problem being treated as a rhetorical problem to be resolved within the terms of grammatical and syntactic form.

With his emphasis on morphological precision and semantic meaning matching traditional Rabbinic meaning, Ibn Chiquitilla rejects Ibn Janâḥ's development of new semantic meanings for figurative language. Ibn Janâḥ is comfortable with assigning a new meaning to a word, Name Transfer, to explain the shift in the semantic range of a word when used as an *'isti'âra* [metaphor]. In contrast, Ibn Chiquitilla insists on defending the old interpretation of *'isti'âra* as Imaginative Ascription with the task of the exegetes to

explain the inner meaning of the text. However, he is more successful at avoiding Name Transfer in name, rather than in practice. The result is that Tanḥûm Yerushalmi quickly recognised a tacit acceptance of Name Transfer in the writings of Ibn Chiquitilla without identification of it as *'isti'âra*.

With these considerations, Ibn Chiquitilla's understanding of meaning cannot be considered fully pragmatic, but neither is it entirely semantic. Instead, it is a sophisticated alignment of rationalism, grammar and rhetoric with the semantic meaning that usually provides a coherent interpretation of the Biblical text in line with a Rabbinic tradition, but sometimes wanders into excessive semantic analysis of the meaning of words.

Appendix

Below is a select list of works consulted for which there is evidence Ibn Chiquitilla either cited them, was influenced or was cited by them, arranged chronologically and geographically. Other works by the same author for which it is impossible to determine either a direct or indirect link have been included. Finally, published works by Ibn Chiquitilla have also been included before those works that succeeded him.

Geonic Works cited, predating to Ibn Chiquitilla

Name or Description	Author(s)
<i>Kitâb al-Tafsîr</i> ¹⁴⁶¹	Se'adyah (882-942)
<i>Kitâb Al-Amânât wal-I'tiqâdât</i> ¹⁴⁶²	Se'adyah (882-942)
Sefer ha-Galuy ¹⁴⁶³	Se'adyah (882-942)

¹⁴⁶¹ (Derenbourg 1893; Qafih 1962; 1966; 1973; 1975; 1980; Ratzaby 1993a; 1998; Zucker 1959; 1984).

¹⁴⁶² (Landauer 1880; Qafih 1969).

¹⁴⁶³ (Joseph Blau and Yahalom 2019).

<i>Kitâb 'Uṣûl Al-Shi'r Al-'Ibrânî</i> (<i>Ha'Egron</i>) ¹⁴⁶⁴	Se'adyah (882-942)
<i>Kitâb Naḥû al-'ibrânî Diqdûq ha-Lašôn ha-'Ibrîṭ</i>	Se'adyah (882-942)
Se'adyah's Polemic Against Ḥiwi al-Balkhi ¹⁴⁶⁵	Se'adyah (882-942)
Mevasser's two books of critiques against Se'adyah ¹⁴⁶⁶	Mubashshir (Mevasser) ben Nissi ha-Levi (10th century)
Commentary on Chronicles ¹⁴⁶⁷	Attributed to a student of RASAG. ¹⁴⁶⁸
Al-Risâlah ¹⁴⁶⁹	Judah Ibn Qurayš (10th century).

Christian Iberian Work Cited by Ibn Chiquitilla

Name or Description of Work	Author(s)
Mozarabe Translation of Psalms ¹⁴⁷⁰	Ḥafṣ Albar al-Qûṭî (approx. 889/90 or 989)

Iberian Works Cited, predating to Ibn Chiquitilla

Name or Description of Work	Author(s)
<i>Maḥḇeret</i> ¹⁴⁷¹	Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq (c. 910/20-970)

¹⁴⁶⁴ (Allony 1969).

¹⁴⁶⁵ (Zucker 1966).

¹⁴⁶⁶ (Joseph Blau and Yahalom 2019).

¹⁴⁶⁷ (Kirchheim 1966).

¹⁴⁶⁸ (Viezel 2007, 415–34).

¹⁴⁶⁹ (Ibn Quraysh and Becker 1984).

¹⁴⁷⁰ (Urvoy 1994).

¹⁴⁷¹ (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986).

<i>Tašūbôt</i> of the Disciples of Menaḥem against Dunash Ibn Labraṭ ¹⁴⁷²	Isaac b. Qapron (10th) Judah Ḥayyūj (approx. 945-1000) Isaac Ibn Chiquitilla (10th)
<i>Tašūbôt</i> of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ ¹⁴⁷³	Dunash b. Labraṭ (b. 920-5 d. 985)
<i>Tašūbôt</i> Dunash ha-Levi Ibn Labraṭ against Se' adyah ¹⁴⁷⁴	Dunash b. Labraṭ (b. 920-5 d. 985) and Dunash b. Labraṭ (late 11th century) ¹⁴⁷⁵
Commentary on <i>Sefer Yeširah</i> , by Dunash ben Tāmīm ¹⁴⁷⁶	Dunash ben Tāmīm (10th century)
<i>Kitāb al- 'Af'āl Dawāt Ḥarūf al-Lîn</i> ¹⁴⁷⁷	Judah Ḥayyūj (approx. 945-1000)
<i>Kitāb al- 'Af'āl Dawāt al-Miṭlayn</i> ¹⁴⁷⁸	Judah Ḥayyūj (approx. 945-1000)
<i>Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ</i> ¹⁴⁷⁹	Judah Ḥayyūj (approx. 945-1000)
<i>Kitāb al-Nuṭaf</i> ¹⁴⁸⁰	Judah Ḥayyūj (approx. 945-1000)
<i>Kitāb al-Nuṭaf</i> (version of 'Alī Ibn Sulaymān) ¹⁴⁸¹	Judah Ḥayyūj (approx. 945-1000) 'Alī Ibn Sulaymān (f. 1160-90)
<i>Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq</i> ¹⁴⁸²	Jonah Ibn Janāḥ (b. 985/990)
<i>Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ</i> (<i>Kitāb al-Luma</i> ¹⁴⁸³ and <i>Kitāb al- 'Uṣūl</i> ¹⁴⁸⁴)	Jonah Ibn Janāḥ (b. 985/990)
<i>Risālah al-Tanbīḥ</i> ¹⁴⁸⁵	Jonah Ibn Janāḥ (b. 985/990)
<i>Kitāb al-Taswi 'a</i> ¹⁴⁸⁶	Jonah Ibn Janāḥ (b. 985/990)

¹⁴⁷² (Benavente Robles and Sáenz-Badillos 1986; Gaash 2019).

¹⁴⁷³ (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1980).

¹⁴⁷⁴ (Schroter 1866).

¹⁴⁷⁵ According to Herzog there are two authors of Dunash Ibn Labraṭ's *Responsa*; the first from 10th century the second from the late 11th century, see (Herzog 1980, 26–46). Gaash, however, disagrees with this view (Gaash 2020, 289–99).

¹⁴⁷⁶ (Tamim et al. 2002b).

¹⁴⁷⁷ (Jastrow 1897; Ḥayyuj and Delgado 2004; Sivan and Wated 2011).

¹⁴⁷⁸ (Jastrow 1897; Ḥayyuj and Delgado 2004; Sivan and Wated 2011).

¹⁴⁷⁹ (Jastrow 1897; Ḥayyuj and Delgado 2004; Sivan and Wated 2011).

¹⁴⁸⁰ (Basal 2001).

¹⁴⁸¹ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2012).

¹⁴⁸² (Ibn Djanah and Derenbourg 1880; J. Martínez Delgado 2020).

¹⁴⁸³ (Derenbourg and Ibn Janāḥ 1886; Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Metzger 1889).

¹⁴⁸⁴ (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Neubauer 1888).

¹⁴⁸⁵ (J. Martínez Delgado 2016).

¹⁴⁸⁶ (Gallego and Ibn Janāḥ 2006).

<i>Kitâb al-Tašwîr</i> ¹⁴⁸⁷	Jonah Ibn Janâḥ (b. 985/990)
<i>Risâlah al-Taqrîb wa-al-tashîl</i> ¹⁴⁸⁸	Jonah Ibn Janâḥ (b. 985/990)
<i>Kitâb al-Talkîs</i> ¹⁴⁸⁹	Jonah Ibn Janâḥ (b. 985/990)
<i>Rasâ'il al-Rifâq</i> ¹⁴⁹⁰	Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla (b. 993 died after 1056)
<i>Kitâb al- 'Istiḡnâh</i> ¹⁴⁹¹	Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla (b. 993 died after 1056)
<i>Kether Malkhuth</i> ¹⁴⁹²	Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1020/21-1052/57/58/1070)

Works by Ibn Chiquitilla

Name	Author(s)
Job Translation ¹⁴⁹³	Moses Ibn Chiquitilla (11th century)
Commentary on 12 Minor Prophets ¹⁴⁹⁴	Moses Ibn Chiquitilla (11th century)
Commentary on Psalms ¹⁴⁹⁵	Moses Ibn Chiquitilla (11th century)
<i>Kitâb al-Taḍkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ</i> ¹⁴⁹⁶	Moses Ibn Chiquitilla (11th century)
Translation into Hebrew of <i>Kitâb al-'Af'âl Dawât Ḥarûf al-Lîn</i> and <i>Kitâb al-'Af'âl Dawât al-Miṭlayn</i> ¹⁴⁹⁷	Moses Ibn Chiquitilla (11th century)

¹⁴⁸⁷ (Perez 1992a; 1993a).

¹⁴⁸⁸ (Al Khalaf and Martínez-Delgado 2017).

¹⁴⁸⁹ (Bos et al. 2020).

¹⁴⁹⁰ The Original work is lost.

¹⁴⁹¹ (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916; Perez 2002b).

¹⁴⁹² (Loewe 1989).

¹⁴⁹³ (Bacher 1908).

¹⁴⁹⁴ (Perez 2002a).

¹⁴⁹⁵ (Poznański 1912; Finkel 1936; Allony 1949; Perez 1991d; 1991b; 1992b; 1996).

¹⁴⁹⁶ (Kokovtsov and Allony 1916; J. Martínez Delgado 2008a; Maman and Ben-Porat 2014).

¹⁴⁹⁷ (Nutt and Hayyuj 1870).

Works cited postdating Ibn Chiquitilla

Name	Author(s)
<i>Kitâb al-Zuhd</i> ¹⁴⁹⁸	Isaac Ibn Ġiyyât (b. Lucena 1038- d. Cordoba 1089)
<i>Kitâb al-Tarjîḥ</i> ¹⁴⁹⁹	Judah Ibn Balʿam (c. second half of the 11th century)
Three Grammar Book of Rabbi Judah Ibn Balʿam ¹⁵⁰⁰	Judah Ibn Balʿam (c. second half of the 11th century)
<i>Kitâb al-Muwâzana</i> ¹⁵⁰¹	Isaac Ibn Barûn (12 th century)
Bible Commentaries. ¹⁵⁰²	Abraham Ibn Ezra (born 1089/1092 to died 1164-1167)
<i>Sefer Şaḥôṭ</i> ¹⁵⁰³	Abraham Ibn Ezra (born 1089/1092 to died 1164-1167)
<i>Sefer Möznâyîm</i> ¹⁵⁰⁴	Abraham Ibn Ezra (born 1089/1092 to died 1164-1167)
<i>Yesod Mora We-Sod Torah</i> ¹⁵⁰⁵	Abraham Ibn Ezra (born 1089/1092 to died 1164-1167)
Commentary on I Samuel ¹⁵⁰⁶	Isaac b. Samuel Ha-Sephardi (11-12th)

¹⁴⁹⁸ (Zafrani and André Caquot 1989) and the version erroneous attributed to Seʿadyah in (Qafih 1962).

¹⁴⁹⁹ (Ibn Balʿam and Perez 1970; Perez 1991c; 1991e; 1991a; 1992c; Ibn Balʿam, Goshen-Gottstein, and Perez 1992; Perez 1993b; 1997b; 1998; 1999; Ibn Balʿam and Perez 2000; 2002; Poznański 1924b; Ibn Balʿam and Poznański 2013)

¹⁵⁰⁰ (Abramson 1975).

¹⁵⁰¹ (Wechter 1964; Kokovtsov 1970).

¹⁵⁰² Where no critical editions are available, we made use of printed versions. Otherwise the editions consulted where (Ibn Ezra Abraham and Friedlaender 1878; Avery 1987; Simon 1989; Gómez-Aranda and Ibn Ezra 2004; Mishaly, Zipor, and Simon 2019; Haas 2020). Strickman's translation was consulted, but not necessarily followed on (A. ben M. 1089-1164. Ibn Ezra et al. 1988; A. ben M. Ibn Ezra and Strickman 2009; 2016).

¹⁵⁰³ (Del Valle Rodriguez 1977; M. S. Goodman 2016a).

¹⁵⁰⁴ (M. S. Goodman 2016b).

¹⁵⁰⁵ (Joseph Cohen and Simon 2018b). Strickman's translation was consulted (A. ben M. 1089-1164. Ibn Ezra and Strickman 2021).

¹⁵⁰⁶ (Maman and Ben-Porat 2014).

The commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi on Psalms 120-150 ¹⁵⁰⁷	David Qimḥî (1160-1235)
<i>Sefer Ha-Shorashim</i> . ¹⁵⁰⁸	David Qimḥî (1160-1235)
<i>Miklôl</i> ¹⁵⁰⁹	David Qimḥî (1160-1235)
<i>Kitâb al-Ḳazâra</i> ¹⁵¹⁰	Judah Ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141)
<i>Kitâb Muḥâḍara wa-l-Muḍâkara</i> ¹⁵¹¹	Moses Ibn Ezra (died after 1138)
<i>Kitâb al- 'Ijâz wa-l-Bayân</i> ¹⁵¹²	Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (d. 1291)
Anonymous Psalm commentary ¹⁵¹³	12th Century
The Guide to the Perplexed ¹⁵¹⁴	Maimonides (1135-1204)
<i>Maqâla fî Təḥîyaṭ ha-Meṭîm</i> ¹⁵¹⁵	Maimonides (1135-1204)

Translations of original Grammatical works predating Ibn Chiquitilla

Name or Description of Work	Author(s)
Sefer ha-Diqduq (Sefer ha-riḳmah ¹⁵¹⁶ and Sepher Haschorachim, ¹⁵¹⁷ translations of <i>Kitâb al-tanqîḥ</i> (<i>Kitâb al-luma</i> ' and <i>Kitâb al- 'Uṣûl</i>)	Samuel Ibn TibbonError! Reference source not found. (c. 1160-1232)
<i>Sefer ha-Hassaga</i> ¹⁵¹⁸	Obadiah Ha-Sefaradi (12/13th century)

¹⁵⁰⁷ (Baker and Nicholson 1973).

¹⁵⁰⁸ (Biesenthal and Lebrecht 1847)

¹⁵⁰⁹ (Qimhi, Hoehheimer, and Rittenberg 1966).

¹⁵¹⁰ (Hirschfeld 1905; Ha-Levi and Hirschfeld 1931; ha-Levi, Hirschfeld, and Bloch 1969).

¹⁵¹¹ (A. S. Halkin 1975; M. ben Y. Ibn Ezra and Abumalham Mas 1985)

¹⁵¹² (Munk 1845; Poznański 1900; Eppenstein 1903a; Mutius 1983; Shai 1991)

¹⁵¹³ (Finkel 1927a).

¹⁵¹⁴ (Munk 1964; Pines 1963; Qafih 1977; M. Schwartz 2002).

¹⁵¹⁵ (Finkel 1939; Polinsky 1982).

¹⁵¹⁶ (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ, Tibbon, and Wilensky 1964).

¹⁵¹⁷ (Abū al-Walīd Merwan Ibn Janāḥ and Ibn Tibbon 1896).

¹⁵¹⁸ (Maman and Téné 2006).

Synopsis

אשרי האיש
<p>[1 א] אשרי (תהלים א:א) לפט'ה ג'אי עלי אלג'מע פי מעני טובי למן והי משתקה מן כי אשרוני בנות (בראשית ל:יג) ואשרו אתכם כל הגוים (מלאכי ג:יב). ואצ'אפתהא אלי אלצ'מיר מג'מועה איצ'א ובוטח ביי אשריו (משלי טז:כ) וקיל ושומר תורה אשרהו (משלי כט:יח) לאן מת'לה יאתי פי אלג'מע מגן גבורהו מאדם (נחום ב:ד) אי גבוריו אלי תראה יקול אנשי חיל מתולעים (נחום ב:ד). וקד כאן אהל אלמדרש [תא] ולון הד'ה אלג' אלפאט' אלמתואליה פי הד'א אלפסוק אעני הלך ועמ[ד] וישב אן אלד'י תאכר' מנהא הו אשד מן אלד'י תקדם ופי ד'לך יקולון שאם הלך סופי לעמוד ואם עמד סופו לישב ואם ישב [סופן] ללויץ ואם לץ עליו הכת' אומ' ולצת ל[ב]דך תשא (משלי ט:יב). וקד יג'וז כון ד'לך באלעכס לאנה למא גבט אהל¹⁵¹⁹ אלפצ'ל[ל] מג'אנב אלשר ד'כר ולא אלמסאעדין [פ]יה והו מעני לא הלך (תהלים א:א) כמא קאל ותלכו במועצותם (מיכה ו:טז) ותלך בדרך ירבעם (מלכים א טז:ב) [ו]האולי הם אלאשראר באעיאנהם ת'ם [..]'. אלי פצ'ל תפצ'יל מן זאד פי אלבעד ענה והו מעני עמד (תהלים א:א) ת'ם אנה גבט מן לס יצבר עלי [1 ב] אלמקאם מעאות'ה ואן תנשב בינהם והו מעני לא ישב (תהלים א:א). וג'מע פי קו' כי עם בתורת יי חפצו (תהלים א:ב) מע' קו' ובתורתו יהגה (תהלים א:ב) אלעלם ואלעמל ג'מיעא. פקו' ובתורתו יהגה (תהלים א:א) יעני אלעלם לאן בדרסה להא ומת'אברתה עליהא יכון אלעלם בהא. וקו' בתורת יי חפצו (תהלים א:ב) יעני אלעמל לאן עני הנא בקו' חפצו אלתי אלי ג'נבה תתקדמהמא ג'מיעא. וקד כאן קו' אשר פריו יתן בעתו (תהלים א:ג) מג'ניא ען קו' ועלהו לא יבול (תהלים א:ג) גיר אנה ג'מע פי ד'לך נועי אלשג'ר אעני מא כאן מנה מת'מרא וגיר מת'מר פאלמת'מר קאל פיה אשר פריו יתן בעתו (תהלים א:ג) וגיר אלמת'מר כ'פי בה אנה לא יסקט לה ורק. וענד קו' וכל אשר יעשה יצליח (תהלים א:ג) אועב בוצף אלשג'רה ובדי בוצף אלאנסאן אלמשבה בהא פהו אלמעטוף עלי והיה (תהלים א:ג) לא עלי וצף אלעץ אלד'י הו שתול על פלגי מים (תהלים א:ג) ומא בעדה אלי ועליהו לא יבול (תהלים א:א) פיכון אלאנסאן פי מכאן אלרענן פכאנה קאל והיה רענן וכל אשר יעשה יצליח. יהגה פי קול ובתורתו יהגה (תהלים א:ב) מתעד בראבט אלבא אבדא מת'ל והגית בו יומם (יהושע א:ח) בשמורות אהגה בכ (תהלים סג:ז). ואמא קו' ולשוני אם יהגה¹⁵²⁰ רמיה (איוב כז:ד) וכד'לך ומרמות [2 א] כל היום יהגו (תהלים לח:יג). לשונכם עולה תהגה (ישעיהו נט:ג) ופאן אלמרמה ואלעולה הי אלהגיון בעינה וליס ממא תעדא בגיר ראבט באתפאק מעני. וקו' כי אם כמוץ אשר תדפנו רוח (תהלים א:ד) יתאול וג'הין מן אלתאויל אחדהמא אן יכון וצף אלהשים פי וקת תד'רוה אלריח פיה פיכון אסרע מא יכון ד'האבא. ואלת'אני אן יכון וצפא לה אי אלד'י שאנה ד'לך. ומת'ל אלוג'ה אלאול כאשר יינתק פתיל הנעורת בהריחו אש (שופטים טז:ט) לאן פתיל הנעורת ינחלוהו בהריחו איש אשד אנחלאלא גיר אן אָשָׁר יכון תפסירה עלי הד'א אלוג'ה אד' ועלי אלוג'ה אלת'א[ני] אלד'י. ולפט'ה מוץ (תהלים א:ד) מפרדה ולא יג'ה לג'מעהא. ויעני בקו' לא יקומו רשעים במשפט (תהלים א:ה) לא יפלגון פי אלחכם ולא ית'בתוך ויעני בקו' כי יודע יי דרך צדיקים (תהלים א:ו) אנה יצלהא וימדהא בקוה מן ענדה ותאיד להם עליהא ומת'לה קו' יודע יי ימי תמימים (תהלים לז:יח).</p>
למה רגשו

¹⁵¹⁹ אהל Ditto.

¹⁵²⁰ Ms. תהגה.

קולה **נוסדו יחד** (תהלים ב:ב) יעני ת[.ו.ו.]. בוא וא[נ]חשדוא ומנה בהוסדם (תהלים לא:יד) אד' עלי מצדר הד'א לאנפעאל. ויחכי ענהם [2 ב] קולהם **ננתקה את מוסרותימו ונשליכה ממנו** (תהלים ב:ג) יעני מוסרות ייי ומשיחו אי נחל רבאטה מן אנפסנא ונכ'לע לואזמה ען מעתקדנא. ומעני קולה **יושב בשמים ישחק** (תהלים ב:ד) למא קד עלמה מן כ'יבה תדבירהם פי מא דברוה ואכ'פאק עזאמהם¹⁵²¹ פי מא עזמוא עליה פשבה ד'לך באלד'י יהזא מן אלכ'לק במן ידעי מא לא יסתטיעה ויסכ'ר במן יתעאטא פוק מקדרתה. ואנמא קרן בה **אז ידבר אלימו באפו** (תהלים ב:ה) אד' כאן לא יג'זי אללה תע' ד'לך מנהם דון שדיד עקאב יחלה בהם **ואלים** עד'אב ינזלה עליהם. **מלכי** (תהלים ב:ו) כמן יקול כיף תתעאטון ד'לך ואנא קד רפעת מן שיתם חטה וולית מן נויתם עזלה ומת'לה ועבדיך באו לשבר אכל (בראשית מב:י) יעני כיף נכון ג'ואסיס ונחן אנמא אתינא אן נמצאר מירא. ו**נכסתי** (תהלים ב:ו) לגה פי אלתוליה מת'ל ומשחתי. ובעד חכאיתיה קול אללה אפתתח בקו' **אספרה אָל חוק** (תהלים ב:ז). וליס אספרה הנא מתעדיא בראבט אָל. ואנמא יריד אספרה אשר אל חוק ואָל במעני על. יעני אצף מא הו עלי רסם מרסום וחד מחדוד לילא יתכ'טאני [3 א] אלי סואי. וד'לך הו קו' **יאי אמר אלי בני אתה** (תהלים ב:ז) אי אן אללה עהד אלי באלאמר ומלכני עלי אלאמם אלמכ'תלפה ואלאקאצי אלנאיה. וחד'ף אשר מע **אָל** (תהלים ב:ז) מת'ל קולה ואל לב שקוציהם ותועבותיהם לבם הולך (יחזקאל יא:כא) ואשר אָל לב שקוציהם ותועבותיהם עלי מא דל עליה מוצ'עה. ואמא חד'ף אשר מן אלכלאם פכת'יר לכל העיר האלהים (עזרא א:ה) לכל יבא גבורותיך (תהלים עא:יח). ומעני **תרועם** (תהלים ב:ט) ארצ' ואלכסר והו מת'ל הירוע ברזל ברזל (ירמיהו טו:יב) והו מן אלמעטל אלעין וקד ג'א פי אלסריאני דא מת'לין. וכפרזלא די מרעע (דניאל ב:מ). ויג'וז איצ'א כונה כד'לך עבראניה והו מת'ל לשדיד אלעקאב. וקו' **ככלי יוצר תנפצם** (תהלים ב:ט) מת'ל לד'האבהם ושיכא בה כאנה קאל ככלי יוצר בשבט ברזל תרועם ותנפצם. קד עטף עלי ועט'הם וועדהם אן אקלעוא ען ט'לאל אהואיהם ומחאל אראיהם באד'א מא אועדהם קבל אן בקוא עליהא ותמאדוא פיהא. ואנמא קדם ד'כר אלועיד עלי אלועד בכל'אף גירה למא תקדם מן ד'כרה מא אתפקוא עליה מן אלשר אלד'י יוג'ב להם וקוע אלועיד את'רה וקדם ד'כרה עלי אלועד אלד'י אן [3 ב] תאבוא ען שרהם ד'אך צדקהם מא ועדהם בה. וקיל פי קול' **וגילו ברעדה** (תהלים ב:יא) אנה יריד אטרבו ואלטרב מא יערץ' ענד אלפרח ואלחזון מן אלאהתזאז. וקד יג'וז כון **וגילו ברעדה** (תהלים ב:יא) ג'זא **עבדו את ייי ביראה** (תהלים ב:יא). ויכון **וגילו** פי מעני ותגילו מת'ל שים קנך (עובדיה א:ד) ושית על עפר בצר (איוב כב:כד). ואלבא פי **ברעדה** עלי מעני עוץ' אלרעדה אלד'י כנתם בסבילהא אד' כנתם מכ'אלפין ללה. ומת'לה וישם דמי מלחמה בשלום (מלכים א ב:ה) יעני עוצ'א מן אלכלאם אלד'י כאן לה מסאלמא. ועלי הד'א אלמכ'רג' יכון קול אלכתאב נפש בנפש עין בעין שן בשן יד ביד רגל ברגל (דברים יט:כא). וקיל פי קו' **נשקו בר** (תהלים ב:יב) אנה יריד צ'לוא אלכ'אלץ אלבאר ויכון נשקו מג'אזא מן אלתקביל. ויג'וז ענדי כונה מן נשק אלד'י הו אסם אלסלאח פידעוא אלמלוח אן יכונוא סלאחה ואעואנה עלי אראדתה מן דון מנאג'אתה ומנאואתה כמא ד'כר ענהם אולא. ויעני בקו' **בר** (תהלים ב:יב) ד'אתה אד' הו אלמצטפי ללה מן בינהם אלמרתצ'י מנהם לא הם. וצ'מיר **יאנף** (תהלים ב:יב) עאיד עלי ייי. וקיל פי **ותאבדו דרך** (תהלים ב:יב) תבידון דרסא. ואנא אקול אנה יעני בקו' דרך סירה ומרתבה. מת'ל [4 א] קו' מדרכו הרשעה (יחזקאל ג:יח) בדרך כל הארץ (א מלכים ב:ב). ודרך הנא תמייז מת'ל אדמו עצם (איכה ד:ז) ומענאמהא ד'א אדם עצמם ותאבד דרכם. וסירתהם הי אלאמארה ואלריאסה פאועדהם בד'האבהא ענהם. וקו' **כל חוסי בו** (תהלים ב:יב) עלי ניה אלאצ'אפה אלי אלצ'מיר ואן כאנת אלבא קד אפצלתהא פי קו' לחוסים בכ (תהלים לא:כ) וג'אז ד'לך פי לפט' **חוסי** אלד'י הו נכרה ולם

¹⁵²¹ Ms. עזאיהם

<p>יג'זו פי לחוסים אלד'י הו מערפה לאן אלמערפה קד אסתבדת בד'אתהא ואנפצלת עמא בעדהא ולם יכון סביל אלי אצ'אפתהא אליה.</p>
<p>מזמור לדוד בברחו</p>
<p>ולאקתראן אלבא באלמצאדר פי מת'ל קו' בברחו מפני אבשלום בנו (תהלים ג:א) ג' מעאני מעני מע ומעני בעד ומעני קבל. אמא מעני מע ובעד פי עת'ור אן¹⁵²² קו' בברחו מפני אבשלום בנו לאנה יחתמל אן יקאל מע פרארה מה רבו צרי (תהלים ג:ב) ויסתבשר מע ד'לך בקו' ואתה ייי מגן בעדי (תהלים ג:ד). ויחתמל אן יקולה [4 ב] בעד נג'אתה באלפראר פיון מסתעט'מא ללשדה. מה רבו צרי (תהלים ג:ב) ושאכרא עלי אלנג'אה מנהא ואתה ייי מגן בעדי (כבודי ומרי) ¹⁵²³ קולי אל ייי אקרא ויענני מהר קדשו סלה (תהלים ג:ד) וממא יכ'לץ למעני בעד. קולה אשר ראו את הבית הראשון ביסדו (עזרא ג:יב). לאנה לו כאן ענד תאסיסה לכאנת אלמדה תטול ען ד'לך לאנהא ת' עאם ותמנין עאם לכנה בעד ד'לך במדה תקרב מן כ'ראבה במאיה עאם או נחוהא הד'א אכת'ר מא יכון אד'א כאן אלשיך' פי ד'לך אלוקת אבן קע' עאמא. וליס כד'לך איפה הייתה ביסדי ארץ (איוב לח:ד) לאנה וד'אה¹⁵²⁴ חאצ'רא לכנה עלי תאויל מע או ענד. ויוון בעד איצ'א את'ר אלקצ'יה מת'ל בבוא אליו נתן הנביא (תהלים נא:ב) אי את'ר ד'לך. וממא יכ'לץ למעני מע קו' בהיות יהושע ביריחו (יהושע ה:יג). בהיות עליך רוח אלהים (שמואל א טז:טז). ובשכבך ובקומך (דברים ו:ז). בשמור יואב על העיר (שמואל ב יא:טז). בקרבכם לפני ייי (ויקרא טז:א). וממא יכ'לץ למעני קבל בכלות בשרך ושארך (משלי ה:יא) לאנה לו כלה בשרו ושאריו בעד לם יכן מנה אסף לכנה ענד מא יהם בד'לך. וכד'לך בעמדם תרפינה כנפיהן (יחזקאל א:כד) [5 א] לאן ארכ'אה אג'נחתהן עלה לוקופהם פהי מתקדמ[ה] אלוקוף. וכד'לך והנשיא בתוכם בבואם יבוא ובצאתם יצא (יחזקאל מו:י)¹⁵²⁵ לאנה כאן יתקדמהם פי אלדכ'ול ואלכ'רוג' לא מחאלה. וכד'לך קו' בבואם אל אהל מועד ובקרבכם אל המזבח ירחצו (שמות מ:לב). לאן אלרחיצה תתקדם אלביאה ואלקריבה. וקו' רבים אומרים לנפשי (תהלים ג:ג) יעני יט'נון בי ד'לך מת'ל קו' ואני אמרתי בחפזי (תהלים קטז:יא) ואני אמרתי אך דלים (ירמיהו ה:ד). וישועתה (תהלים ג:ג) מזיד אלהא בעד חצול מעני אלת'אנית פי אלתא קבלהא וצאר פי מוצ'ע הא ישועה. וזידת אלתא עליה כמא זיד פי נפלאתה אהבתך (שמואל ב א:כו). אחת גבעתה¹⁵²⁶ (שופטים כ:לא) הרמתה (שמואל א א:יט) כמא זידת פי אלמד'כר פי ביתה ולילה ויבא החדרה (בראשית מג:ל). וקו' לו (תהלים ג:ג) מן דון לי למא אכ'רג' אלט'ן בלפט' אלאמירה וכאנת אללאם פי לנפשי (תהלים ג:ג) במעני עני חכי אלאמר עלי וג'ה מא כאן יכון אלט'ן נטקא ולו כאן עלי מעני אלט'ן לכאן קו' אין ישועתה לי אולי. ת'ם אתי במא הו מן כ'לאף ט'נהם מן ג'מיל מד'הב אללה פיה פקאל ואתה ייי מגן בעדי (תהלים ג:ד) אי אלואקי לי ומכאן עזי אלד'י אעתז בה [5 ב] ומרפע שאני עלי מן נאוואני ואלמג'יב דעאוי וקו' מהר קדשו סלה (תהלים ג:ה) ינבי ען מואלתה אלדעא ומואט'בתה פי בית אללה. ומת'ל פי קו' אני שכבתי ואישנה (תהלים ג:ו) חאל כ'מולה אלד'י אסתקאל מנה ותגייר¹⁵²⁷ חאלה למא אנתבה ענה פקאל הקיצותי (תהלים ג:ו). ומעני קו' שתו עלי (תהלים ג:ז) רצדוני [כ]מנוא עלי ותסמי אלמצאיד ואלשבאך שתות כמא קאל כי השתות יהרסון (תהלים יא:ד) והיו שתותיה מדוכאים (ישעיהו יט:י)</p>

¹⁵²² Ms. פי עתוראן

¹⁵²³ Missing

¹⁵²⁴ Ms. לאנה הוד'א

¹⁵²⁵ MSS: other versions have יבוא ובצאתם יצאו

¹⁵²⁶ Ms. ואחת

¹⁵²⁷ Ms. ותחיר

<p>ואצלהא מן אלוצ'ע פאנתקל מענאהא מן וצ'ע עאם אלי וצ'ע כ'אץ. קו' כי הכית את כל איבי לחי (תהלים ג:ח) קול יסתת'הר בה עלי אללה תע' אן יוליה פי מא יסתאנף מן נצרה מת'ל מא אולאה. ולנא אן נסל למ(א) קדם ד'כר פרארה מן אבשלום עלי גי[ר]ה מן אלאחואל¹⁵²⁸ אלתי תקדמהא והו פי אכ'ר זמאנה ? ונגי'ב אן ד'לך לוג'הין אחדהמא אן ד'לך מנה תואצ'ע ותצדיק בועיד אללה לה. הנני מקים עליך רעה מבת'ך (שמואל ב יב:יא). וועדה באלנג'אה פי כ'לאל ד'לך בקולה גם ייי העביר חטאתך לא תמות (שמואל ב יב:יג) ליסבק באלשכר עליה קבל שכרה עלי נג'אתה מן שאול [6 א] לאנה כאן כ'ליקא באלפראר מן שאול לאנה כאן אלמלך מן דונה ולם יכן במכאן אלפראר מן אבשלום. ואלוג'ה אלתי'אני לאן אלבלא כאן אשד עליה פי פרארה מן אבשלום מנה פי פרארה מן שאול. מן ד'לך אנה קד אפלת מנה מרארא וגרב אלכל'אץ מנה ואנה לם יכן מלכא בעד ואנה כאן יהלך וחדה ואמא קצה אבשלום פכאן מלכא פאלשכר מנה כבירא אולי באלתקדים ואלתעט'ים ואנה כאן י[ה]לך מע מג'הור ישראל.</p>	<p>למנצח בנגינות מזמור לדוד</p>
<p>ומעני למנצח בנגינות (תהלים ד:א) אן אלמנצח והו צאחב אֹלה אלמוסיקא כאן ילחן אלקול אלד'י כאן ינשיה דוד עלי נגינות או שמינית או גתית וסאיר מא ד'כר מן אלאלאת' אלמסתעמלה פי תנג'ים אלמזמור ותלחינה. וקיל פי קו' עד מה כבודי לכלמה תאהבון ריק (תהלים ד:ג) מעניאן¹⁵²⁹ אלמעני אלאול מטאלבה אעדאיה לֹמא¹⁵³⁰ יעדאונה ויתמנן לה אלכ'זי באטלא בלא ד'נב סבק [6 ב] מנה אליהם. ואלתי'אני אנהם יחבון אמרא באטלא לא יצלון אליה ואמלא כ'איבא לא יחצלון עליה. ת'ם איסהם מן ד'לך במא לה מן אלפצ'ל ואלחט' אלואפר ענד רבה כמא קאל ודעו כי הפלא ייי חסיד לו (תהלים ד:ד). ת'ם נהאהם ען אלעודה ואלא יאת'מא פי מת'ל תלך אלבגיה. וקו' אמרו בלבבכם על משכבכם (תהלים ד:ה) יקתצ'י אמרהם בתרדיד אלפכרה ותמכינהא מן דון אלנטק באלהג'ר ואלצבר עלי אלאחואל ואלתוכל עלי אללה ואלתזאם טאעתה ופראיצ'ה וד'לך קו' ודומו סלה (תהלים ד:ה). זבחוו זבחי צדק ובטחו אל ייי (תהלים ד:ו). וינטוי פי קולה ובטחו אל ייי אי אן כנת לכם עלי גאילה בזעמכם כמא אנתם לי פתוכלוא עלי אללה פי כפאיתכם איאי¹⁵³¹ כמא תוכלת עליה פי כפאיתי איאכם. ת'ם ביינ מן מעתקדה אנה עלי כ'לאף מא ימכן אן יט'נה בה מן אראדה אלכ'יר כמן מסה אלצ'ר וסרורה בנעים ד'וי אלבוסי והו קו' רבים אומרים מי יראנו טוב נסה עלינו וג' נתת שמחה בלבי מעת דגנם ותירושם (תהלים ד:ז-ח) וג' וכתם בקו' בשלום יחדו אשכבה ואישן (תהלים ד:ט) ינבי בד'לך ען קלה מבאלאתה בהם ותוכלה¹⁵³² עלי אללה פי כפאיתיה צ'רהם ווקאיתיה שרהם כמא קאל כי אתה ייי לבדד לבטח תושיבני (תהלים ד:ט) יעני מן גיר צ'ר מנאווי ועדו מטאלב.</p>	<p>[למנצח אל הנחילות מזמור לדוד]</p>
<p>ונחילות (תהלים ה:א) אסם אלה מן אלאת והגיגי (תהלים ה:ב) אסם מצ'אעף מן הגה אלמעטל אללאם. ומת'לה פי אלתי'עייף הולך ערירי (בראשית טו:ב) גיר אן אליא אלאכ'רה מן ערירי לאם אלפעל אלמצ'אעפה ואליא אלאכ'ירה מן הגיגי ללמתכלם וסקטה לאם אלפעל לאג'תמאע אלסאכנין. ומת'לה איצ'א רוח זנונים (הושע ד:יד). וקול בקר תשמע קולי</p>	

¹⁵²⁸ אלאסואל

¹⁵²⁹ JTS ENA 2819.2 1r.

¹⁵³⁰ Ms. לם

¹⁵³¹ JTS ENA 2819.2 1r. [י] Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 6v.

¹⁵³² The text breaks off at ותוכלה in Evr.-Arab. I 3583. It continues in Cambridge T-S Ar. 21,23

(תהלים ה:ד) מוכר פי אלמעני ען קולה בקר **אערך לך ואצפה** (תהלים ה:ד)¹⁵³³ לאנה ידעו אלי רבה פי סרעה אלאג'אבה למא תקדם מן דעאיה פי אלדעה אלמוצוף פי קולה בקר תשמע קולי. וקול **אערך לך** (תהלים ה:ד) בחדף אלמפעול וכד'לך **ואצפה** (תהלים ה:ד) מחדוף אלמפעול פכאנה באלבקר אערך לה שועתי ואצפה ישועתך. [v.a 1] או מא אשבה ד'לך. וצלתה בהד'א אלקול **כי לא אל חפץ רשע אתה** (תהלים ה:ה) תעריץ באלקום אלד'ין יבתהל אלי אללה ען ט'למהם לה אנהם שראר ואנה חקיק באן יות'ר עליהם מן דון אן יות'רוא עליהם. וקול **יגורך** (תהלים ה:ה) מוג'ז במעני יגור עמך לאן למ יתעד אי גיר אלמכאן ובראבט אלבא עלי אלאכת'ר מי יגור באהלך (תהלים טו:א). אשר גרתה בה (בראשית כא:כג). ודון אלבא והוה קליל גרי בייתי ואמהתי (איוב יט:טו). **והוללים** (תהלים ה:ו) פועלים מן ד'ואת אלמ'לין והם אלחמ'א אלמג'אנין וג'מע פי הד'ה אלאוצאף סבעה מנאזל מן אלדנאה והי רשע ורע והוללות ואון וכזב ודמים ומרמה. אמא אלרשע פהו אלד'י וג'ב עליה אלקצאץ ללה או ללנאס כמא קאל ויאמר לרשע למה תכה רעך (שמות ב:יג) ואמא רע פהו עאם למא קבלה ובעדה אד' לא יכ'לו ג'מיעכם מן כונה רע ואמא ד'כרה הוללים פי מא בינהם לאנהם ליסוא ממא יצלחון ללכ'טאב [v.b 1] **און** (תהלים ה:ו) פהם אהל אלג'ל ואלצ'גן אלתי תכון אפעאלהם נתאיג'אה. **ודוברי כזב** (תהלים ה:ז) הם אהל אלכ'יאנה פי **כ'ברהם ואלכד'ב** [42 א']¹⁵³⁴ פי נקלהם¹⁵³⁵ פהו אעם מן אלשקר לאן שקר יכון פי אלכ'בר ואלשהאדה **וכזב** (תהלים ה:ז) פי אלכ'יאנה ואלגדר איצ'א. למצ'ארעהמא אלכד'ב אד'א צאר אהלהמא עלי גיר מא ט'ן בהם מת'ל אלכאד'ב אלד'י קד יט'ן צאדקא ועל הד'א אלוג'ה קיל אשר לא יכזבו מימיו (ישעיהו נח:יא). וקד אסתעיר למן לחקה לאחק למ יט'ן בה מן אתלתאף כל האדם כוזב (תהלים קטז:יא) ולמן אנד'ר במא למ יט'ן בה אלד'י אנד'רה אל תכזב בשפחתך (מלכים ב ד:טז). ואמא **איש דמים** (תהלים ה:ז) פהו אלמטלוּב בספך אלדמא אלט'אהרה ואיש מרמה (תהלים מג:א) ד'ו אלמכר ואלגש כמא קאל פי מן אסר גיר מא אעלן בא אחיך במרמה (בראשית כז:לה). במרמה וידברו (בראשית לד:יג). וקיל פי אלמואזן אלמגשושה מאזני מרמה (הושע יב:ח). ואקתרן פיהם מן אללה ו' מאנזל מן אלאבעאד ואלאקצא והי לא חפץ ולא יגור לא יתיצבו ושנאת ותאבד ויתעב. ואמא למ תכן סבעה לאשתראך איש דמים ומרמה פי יתעב. ובחסב ד'לך אעאד עלי נפסה ו' מנאזל לתקרבה מן רבה ותזלפה אליה והי רוב חסדך וביתך והיכל קדשך ויראתך וצדקתך ודרכך. וקו' **למען שוררי** (תהלים ה:ט) יע[ני] [42 ב] בה נאט'רי בעין אלעדאווה מת'ל עוין את דוד (שמואל א יח:ט) והו מצ'אעף אללאם מן ותבט עיני בשורי (תהלים צב:יב) ומענא[ה] אנהם ירצדון סלוכי עלי טריקה אסתוג'ב ענהא עקאבך פצדני ענהא יא רב אלי טריקה אסתחק בהא רצ'אך. וג'א **הישר** (תהלים ה:ט) בפתח אלשין והו מב[דל] מן צרי מת'ל צאד היצא אתך (בראשית ח:יז) ואכת'ר מא יאתי כד'לך פי אנפצאל ומת'ל ומתניהם תמיד המעד (תהלים סט:כד) משסה ואין אומר השב¹⁵³⁶ (ישעיהו מב:כב). ת'ם אמה אבאן ען סו מעתקד אעדאיה בקו' **כי אין בפיהו נכונה** (תהלים ה:י). וג'א **פיהו בלפט' אלפראד וקרבים** (תהלים ה:י) בלפט' אלג'מע מת'ל גירה נחו ואל עונם ישאו נפשו¹⁵³⁷ (הושע ד:ח) בכל צרתם לא צר (ישעיהו סג:ט) מוציאם ממצרים כתועפת ראם לו (במדבר כג:כב). וקו' **קבר פתוח גרונם** (תהלים ה:י) לאנה מצ'ארע אלכ'לק ומהאוייהם ואן כאנוא ילינון פי כלאמהם וידהנון פי מקאלהם. וקו' **פתוח** (תהלים ה:י) לינפי בה מוונה אלחפר. וקו' **האשימם** (תהלים ה:יא) דעא

¹⁵³³ בקר **אערך** (תהלים ה:ד) מקדם פי אלמעני עלי אלאג'אבה אלמ'כורה פי קול צחץ

Sentence appears in margins from מקדם בקר אערך. It is the same hand as the rest of the text.

¹⁵³⁴ Evr.-Arab. I 3583 42r resume in the middle of Psalm 5:6 ..

¹⁵³⁵ Cambridge TS ar Ar. 21, 23: כ'ברהם.

¹⁵³⁶ Ms. הושב

¹⁵³⁷ Ms. נפשם

עליהם יחתמל מענהא וג'הין מן אלתאוויל. אלאול אן יריד אוחשה. והו ת'קיל מן למען יחרדו ויאשמו (יחזקאל ו:ו). ולא'אני אן יריד אתמהם. אי עאקבהם במא אתמוא. [7 א] [...] [יפלו] ממעוצותיהם (תהלים ה:יא) כד'לך קו' ברוב פשעיהם (תהלים ה:יא) יחתמל אן יריד בשמלהם ושתת [ג'] מעהם ואן יריד צ'ללהם ואכד'להם מת'ל וידיחו את יושבי עירם (דברים יג:יד) וקאל תת'לת' בעד מעני הד'ין אלפסוקין פי אלדעא עלי אלט' [א] למין ת'לת' האשימם יפלו הדיחמו אלדעא ללצאלחין תל[א]ת' וישמחו כל חוסי בכ לעולם ירננו ותסך עלימו (תהלים ה:יב) ואמא ויעצלו בכ (תהלים ה:יב) פהו מעאד מן ישמחו. ויג'וז פי תעטרנו (תהלים ה:יג) וג'הדין אלאול אן יכון כ'פיפא מתעאדיה יפתח תאוה מן אג'ל אלחלקי מת'ל ויעזרו גם המה. ולולאה [א] לכ'אפיא מכסורי אל[תאוה אלתי ...] יכון ת'קילה וכא[ן ...] הד'א אלנוע מא [...] מתעד על צור מעטירה (ישעיהו כג:ח) אי ד'את אלתאג' פתקול הד'א למן ת[...]. או תוג' [ה] [...] ד למן תוג' גירה העטיר בדלאלה תעטרנו א[ד'] מכן פתח תאוה לאנה מן העטיר וידבקו גם המה (שמואל א יד:כב) מן הדביק וידרכו את לשונם (ירמיהו ט:ב) מן הדריך וחדף יאיה אסתכ'פאף.

למנצח בנגינות על השמינית

[7 ב] השמינית (תהלים ו:א) אלה ימכן כונהא ד'את ח' אותאר עלי סביל אלתצ'עיף לארבעתהא אלממאת'לה ללארבע טבאיע פתתצ'אעף מן זירהא ובמהא ומת'נאהא ומת'להא לתקויה אלד' טבאיע אלמנאסבה להא. וקו' ואתה ייי עד מתי (תהלים ו:ד) באצ'מאר תחרש ומא אשבהה ממא יקתצ'י מענהא. ואעלם אן אמלל אני (תהלים ו:ג) פעל מאץ' פי מעני אמללתי לאנה קד וצל באלפעל אלמאצ'י צ'מיר אלפאעל אלמנפצל מת'ל ונאשאר¹⁵³⁸ אני (יחזקאל ט:ח) אלד'י מענהא ונשארתי אני לבדי.¹⁵³⁹ לאן בניה אמלל מעדומה פי אלצפה ואנמא אלצפה אמללה מת'ל היהודים האמללים (נחמיה ג:לד) ולא יג'וז האומללים אלא תרי אנה לם יתצל באמללים אלא צ'מיר אלג'מאענה אלמאצ'יין אלפאעלין אעני אמללו מרום עם הארץ (ישעיהו כד:ד) וכד'לך אלקול פי שדמות חשבון אמלל (ישעיהו טז:ח) אנה מאץ' ואן כאן קמץ. אלא תרי אן כלמא בעדה בלפט' אלמאצ'י אעני הלמו שרוקיה עד יעזר נגעו תעו מדבר נטישו נטשו שברו ים (ישעיהו טז:ח). וקו' כי אין במות זכרך (תהלים ו:ו) יערב ען חאלה תלך לולא תלאפי אללה לה כאנת תודי אלי אלהאלך. [8 א] וקו' אשחה בכל לילה מטתי (תהלים ו:ח) אגראק ג'אז מת'לה פי אללגה וליס מן אלמחאל אלד'י ימתנע קו' מן אלאנביא וקו' וההר בוער באש עד לב השמים (דברים ד:יא). וימס לבב העם ויהי למים (יהושע ז:ה) מן הד'א אלבאב. וקו' בדמעתי ערשי אמסה (תהלים ו:ז) יצ'יף אלי גזארה אלדמע חרארתה לאן אלתד'ויב מן צפאת אלנאר פהי פי חרארה אלנאר ואן כאנת מא. וג'מע פי וצפה עששה מכעס עיני עתקה בכל צוררי (תהלים ו:ח) וצפין מכלתפין לאן קו' עששה (תהלים ו:ח) יערב ען אלגוור ואלמחק והו מג'אז מן אלד'בול כמא קאל ועצמי עששו (תהלים לא:יא) והו משתק מן יאכלם עש (ישעיהו נ:ט) אלתי הי אלעת'ה אלתי תפני אלת'וב באד'א מא יפני אלד'בול אלג'סם. וקו' עתקה בכל צוררי (תהלים ו:ח) ינבי ען אלג'חוט' ואלברוז ללאנתקאם והו אלג'סו משתק מן ולמכסה עתיק (ישעיהו כג:יח) יצא עתק (שמואל א ב:ג) אלד'ין מענאהמא אלג'סאווה. ואלמתאנה פי אלערץ' אלאול יכון מן טול אלחזן ואלבכא אלד'י קאל ענה יגעתי באנחתי אשחה בכל לילה מטתי (תהלים ו:ז). ואלערץ' אלת'אני ענד מא ילחקה אלרג'א פי אלאנתקאם מן אעדאיה אלמבלגה אלי חאלה תלך [8 ב] כמא קאל בכל צוררי (תהלים ו:ח). וקו' תפלתי יקח (תהלים ו:י) יעני יקבל. ויקרב מנה זך לקחי (איוב יא:ד) אי אן כלאמי יקבל מת'לה ולא ירד. יוסף לקח (משלי א:ה) יזאד קבולא. ולקולה יבושו רגע (תהלים ו:יא) ג' וג'וה אן יעני חינא פחינא אי לא

¹⁵³⁸ Ms. נשאר.

¹⁵³⁹ Ms. נשאר אני לבדי אלד'י מענאה ונשארתי אני.

<p>יפארקתם אלכ'זי עלי תואלי אלזמאן ומע אג'זאיה אלזגאר לאנה אד'א תכרר עליהם אלכ'זי שיא פאשיא כאן אשד עליהם מנה לו כאן פי מרה ואחדה.</p>
<p>שגיון לדוד</p>
<p>וקו' שגיון לדוד (תהלים ז:א) יעני מא שג'ל באלה מן אמר כוש חתי כ'פאה אללה פקאל אלשיר פכאנה קאל שיר שגיון לדוד פאקאם אלמצ'אף אליה מקאם אלמצ'אף כמא קאל ואת רעבון בתיכם קחו ולכו (בראשית מב:לג) יעני ואת שבר רעבון בתיכם קחו' פי אלפסוק אלאכ'ר שבר רעבון בתיכם (בראשית מב:יט). וכד'לך [49 א] ונתן לכהן את הקדש (ויקרא כב:יד) יעני את תמורת הקדש לאן אלקדש בעונה קד אסת'ה'לך. ומן הד'א אלמעני על שגיונות (חבקוק ג:א) יעני מא שגל באל אלנבי ממא אנכרה עקלה פי קו' למה תראני און ועמל תביט (חבקוק א:ג) פעאד יסתגפר אללה מנה באלדעא ותצחיה אלנט'ר פי סו עאקבה אלט'אלמין אלד'י קאל ענהם כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק (חבקוק ד:ד) פקאל אן חאלהם תלך תוול אלי מא ד'כר מן קו' כי תאנה לא תפרח (חבקוק ג:יז) וג' וד'לך יקצ'י קטע ארזאקהם ואנה אלמעאפי ממא יבתלון בה. ד'לך קו' ואני ביי אעלוזה (חבקוק ג:יח) וכד'לך תשגה תמיד (משלי ה:יט). כל שוגה בו לא יחכם (משלי כ:א) מן הד'ה אלמעני. וקיל פי קו' כוש (תהלים ז:א) אנה שאול לוצפה בן ימיני וקד ימכן כונה מן רהטה. וקו' פורק ואין מציל (תהלים ז:ג) יעני מציב מפצלה כמא קאל פי מפצל אלרקבה מן אלפקאר ותשבר מפרקתני (שמואל א: ד:יח) וקיל פי אלנקץ' ואחלח פרקו נזמי הזהב (שמות לב:ב) ופרסיהן יפרק (זכריה יא:טז). ושולמי (תהלים ז:ה) יקצ'י פי מענינן כונה מן שלם ישלם כ'פיפא פי מעני אלמכאפאה יריד אנה מן כאפאני באלשר בדל אלכ'יר לם אעד אלי מקארצ'תה ת'אניה [49 ב] במת'ל פעלה לכנה אן נאלתה שדה כ'לצתה מנהא באד'א מא צ'איקני עלי גיר ד'נב סבק מני אליה. ואלמעני אלכ' כונה מן מעני שלום. אלמסאלמי ולם יכון לי פכר במא לם יסי אלי מן סאלמה אלי במא אלי ג'נבה מן קו' ואחלצה צוררי ריקם (תהלים ז:ה). פיקול אן כנת קארצ'ת מסאלמי באלסו ואנא אלד'י נג'ית מצ'איקי באטלא פחל בי מא יתלו ד'לך פי קו' ירדף אויב נפשי (תהלים ז:ו) פאעתד'ר בוג'וב אלת'אני עלי נפי אלאול. וקיל פי ירדף (תהלים ז:ו) אנה יתרדף אנה פאקול אנא מת'ל ירדוף וחרכוא ראוה פאשתד דאלה. וקו' וירמס לארץ חיי (תהלים ז:ו) ואלחיים ליס ממא ינאלאה אלדרס לכנה אראד וירמס לארץ בחיי אי מהמא אחס באלם אלוטי ואלדרס. וקד יג'וז אן יכון חיי ט'רפא. מת'לה פי תפלה לאל חיי (תהלים מב:ט) יעני מדה חיאתי. וכבודי (תהלים ז:ו) יעני ג'סדי ומת'לה עורה כבודי (תהלים נז:ט) כי על (כל) כבוד חופה (ישעיהו ד:ה) אי עלי כל ג'סד יכון צון ווקאיה. וקו' הנשא בערבות צוררי (תהלים ז:ז) יחתמל ת'לת'ה אוג'ה מן אלתאויל. אלאול אן יקול לה תע' יא רבי במא תגיט' בה אעדאי יעני במה יגתאט'ון בה מן אג'לי [9 א] ויכון מצ'אפא אלי צוררי עלי אנה עאמל פיה מפעול בה פאלעברה מן אללה עליהם. ואלת'אני אן תכון אלעברה מנהם במא לא יסתטעון דפע מא חל בהם פיעודון אלי אלגיט' ואלחרד. ואלת'אלת' אן יריד אנתצר עמא יג'יצ'ונני בה ויחרדוני ענה פיוון הו אלמפעול באלעברה מן אלצוררים. וקו' ועורה אלי משפט צוית (תהלים ז:ז) יעני את'ר ענדי חכמא עהדת בה אלי והו ועדה באלאמר אלצאיר לה. ורבמא תקוי בהד'א אלקול דליל אלקאיל אן כוש הו שאול מן חית' דעא פי צ'רורה אלאמר אליה מן דונה וחד נג'ד אסמין מתעאודין מסמא ואחדא כיתרו רעואל ויואל וושנ[ב] ויוב[ל] וישוב. ורבמא תוארי ען אלאפצאח באסם שאול מחאפט'ה. ומעני קו' ועדת לאמים תסוב[בך] (תהלים ז:ח) מא יכון פי ד'לך מן אלרג'חאן אד'א צרפהא אלי אלטאעה וחנת אלי עבאדה רבהא. וקו' ועליה למרום שובה (תהלים ז:ח) תמאד פיהא עלי ג'מיל מד'הבך ודם להא עלי חסן ראיך אד'א כאנת מטיעה לך ומנקאדה אליך. [9 ב] וקו' למרום יעני אלי אבעד אלגאיתא וד'רוה אלנהאיתא ושובה אלמתצל בה עלי מענאה אלמתאדי פי אלשי ואלמת'אברה עליה כמא קאל שבו על עונות אבותם (ירמיה יא:י). וקו' שפטני ייי כצדקי וכתמי</p>

(תהלים ז:ט) יריד אחכם לי כמה אחכם עלי נפסי יעני אני אנה אכ'ד'ת אלחק מן נפסי לכ'צמי כד'לך פכ'ד' לי אלחק ממן הו לי עליה. **ושפטני** (תהלים ז:ט) יתעדי אלי אלחקם ואלי אלמחכום לה ועליה מעא ואלי אחדהמא מן דון אלאכ'ר וקאל ושפטו את העם משפט צדק (דברים טז:יח) פתעדי אלי אלמחכום לה ועליה מעא והי אלי אלעם ואלי אלחקם והו אלמשפט צדק וקאל פעדי אלי אלמחכום לה שפטני ייי (תהלים כו:א) שפטני אלהים (תהלים מג:א) ועדו אלי אלמחכום עליה פקאל ושפטתיך¹⁵⁴⁰ משפטי נואפות (יחזקאל טז:לח). לשפוט¹⁵⁴¹ את כל הגוים (יואל ד:יב) ומעני **יגמר נא רע רשעים** (תהלים ז:י) יפניהם שרהם ויסתופי מדדהם. וקו' **ובוחן לבות וכליות** (תהלים ז:י) אי אנך תעלם מן צדק צ'מירי מא תחק לי אלאג'אבה פי מא אדעו אליך ענה. וקו' **ואל זועם בכל יום** (תהלים ז:יב) יריד אשר לא ישוב חרבו ילטוש אנה סאכ'ט עלי מן הד'ה חאלה. [10 א] יעני בקו' **חרבו** (תהלים ז:יג) אלסיף אלד'י ימות בה. וכד'לך **חציו לדולקים** (תהלים ז:יד) יעני יפעל אלסהאם אלד'י תציבה ובהד'א אללפט' יכון ללסיף אלד'י יקתל בה גירה ואלסהאם אלתי יציב בהא דמיה ומעני **לדולקים** טאלבה ומדרכה כמא קאל כי דלקת אחרי (בראשית לא:לו) מדלוק אחרי פלשתים (שמואל א יז:נג). ומעני קו' **הנה יחבל און** (תהלים ז:טו) מג'אז מן אלטלק אי יהיה חבלו און פד'כר אלחמל ואלטלק ואלולאדה וקד כאן יג'תזי מרארא בד'כר אלחמל ואלולאדה פי קו' הרה עמל וילוד און לזיאתה הנא לפט'ה **שקר** פג'על לל'ת'ל'ת' אלכלם אעני און ועמל ושקר ת'ל'ת' מנאזל מן אלחבל ואלהריון ואללידה וקד קיל מנה שמה חבלתך אמך שמה (שיר השירים ח:ה) ואנמא קדם ד'כר אלחבל עלי אלהריון ואן כאן פי אכ'רה למא כאן אלהריון מצ'אפא אלי אללדה ויסתגני פיה ען ד'כר אלחבל. פתואת הנא ד' אלאוצאף ללעקובה פכאן חבול און באד'א לטישת חרב והד'א עמל באד'א דריכת קשת ולדת שקר באד'א דליקת חץ וכרית בור באד'א **ויפל בשחת יפעל** (תהלים ז:טז). וכלתם בחמד אללה אסתבשארא בבלוג [10 ב] אלאמל ורויה אלמנא.

למנצח על הגתית מזמור לדוד

גתית פי קו' **למנצח על הגתית** (תהלים ח:א) אלה נסבת אלי עובד אדום הגתי (שמואל ב ו:י) וכאן מן אלמשוררים ינסב אלי בלד גת. וראית ענד אלנצארי אן שכלהא כאן עלי שכל אלמגזל ואט'נהם תאולוא ד'לך מן לפט' גת אלתי הי אלמעצרה פאן להא מגאזל תפתל לוצ'ע אלכ'שבה עליה ולרפעאה ענהא. וקו' **אשר תנה הודך** (תהלים ח:ב) יעני למא ומן אג'ל מת'ל אשר טמאו אחותם (בראשית לד:כז). **ותנה** (תהלים ח:ב) פי מעני נתתה אי אנמא עט'ם אסמך פי אלארין' במא ט'הר מן קדרתך פי כ'לק אלסמא. ויעני בקולה **מפי עוללים ויונקים** (תהלים ח:ג) אלד'י לא ינטקון באפואההם פהם בד'ואתהם אדלא עלי פצ'לך בתכפלך ארזאקהם ובתקויה אלנמו פיהם. וקו' **למען צוררך להשבית אויב** (תהלים ח:ג) יעני אבטאל קול אלמלחדין בך בעד מא שאהדוא איאתך [11 א] אלט'אהרה ואעלאמך אלקאהרה. ועאד עלי וצף כ'לק אלסמא ופצ'ילתהא במא פיהא מן אלאנואר אלבאהרה וצגר קדר אלנאסאן עלי אלנאסאב מנהא ואלאצ'אפה אליהא. ויעני בקו' **ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים** (תהלים ח:ו) נקצתה קלילא מן דרג'ה אלמלאיכה לאנה חי נאטק מת'להם גיר אנה מאית וליס במאיתין ואלזיאהה פי אחד נקצאן מן אלמחדוד ואלמות אלד'י ינפצל בה ען אלמלאיכה הי כלמה ואחדה ואלחיאה ואלנטק אלתי'אן ישרכהמא פיה את'נתאן אלואחדה אקל מן אלת'נין. וקאל צאחב כתאב אחרוף אללין אבו זכריא אן אלהא אלתי פי **צנה ואלפים כלם** (תהלים ח:ח) הי אלאלף אלתי פי לצנאכם (במדבר לב:כד). ויצף פי קו' **עובר ארחות ימים** (תהלים ח:ט) מא חט' אלנאסאן מן אלתמיז אלד'י יתכ'ד' בה פי אלבחר טרקא יסתרקאה ומסאלך יסלכהא פתוצלה אלי ג'זאיר יקצדהא ובלאד יעתמדהא.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Ms. ושפטון.

¹⁵⁴¹ Ms. אשפוט.

קו' **עלמות לבן** (תהלים ט:א) קיל אנה מן אלמקלוב יעני אנה עלמות נבל. ואנא אקול אן עלמות כלמה ואחדה ומענאהא מעני עלמות שיר (תהלים מו:א) אי מן הד'א אלנוע ואן כאן במקף וכד'לך אקול פימא ינהגנו עלמות (תהלים מח:טו) אי פתא מחזומא ממדודא יעני פי חאל פתוה. ובן הנא אסם אחד מן אלמשוררים כמא קאל זכריהו בן יעאל ושמיר מות (דברי הימים א טו:יח) פכאן אלמנצח עלמות אי הד'א אלצנף מן אלגנא בן ואלקול הו לדוד. ומג'אז קו' **ישבת לכסא** (תהלים ט:ה) אלתת'בת ואלתקצי כמא נג'ד אלעמידה פיה מן אלהבה ואלחת' כמא קאל נצב לריב ייי ועומד לדין עמים (ישעיה ג:יג).

ומעני **גערט גוים** (תהלים טו:ו) אפנית וקרצ'ת והד'א הו מעני גער אלמתעדי בגיר ראבט אלבא מת'ל הנני גער¹⁵⁴² לכם את הזרע (מלאכי ב:ג) גער חית קנה (תהלים סח:לא). ואמא אלמתעדי בויט אלבא פהו מעני אלזג'ר ואלאנתהאר מת'ל ויגער בו אביו (בראשית לז:י) ולא תגער בו (רות ב:טז) לא גערט בירמיהו הענתותי (ירמיהו כט:כז). וכד'לך וגערתי לכם באכל (מלאכי ג:יא) לאן אלמעני אכף ענכם אד'אה. וקו' **האויב תמו חרבות לנצח** (תהלים ט:ז) [12 א] כד'א יקול יאיהא אלעדו אלתי הדם אלבלאד פכ'רבת ללאבד קד בדה ד'כרך. אנת ואללה באק אבדא וחאכם באלעדל. פתקדירה האויב אשר ערים נתשת ותמו והיו חרבות לנצח אבד זכרך המה וייו לעולם ישב פאכ'ד' אלמקדם וקדם מא תוול אליה חאל אלערים בעד אלנתישה. ואכב'ר בקולה **אבד זכרם המה** (תהלים ט:ז) בעד אלמכ'אטבה פי קו' **וערים נתשת** (תהלים ט:ז) עלי מא תג'יזה אללגה פי נחו קו' יען אשר גבהת בקומה ויתן צמרתו אל בין עבותים (יחזקאל לא:י) וגירה. ואבאן ען עדל חכם אללה עלי ד'לך אלעדו ואנה מודי איצ'א אלעון ללצ'עייף ונצרה אלמט'לום ד'לך קו' **ויהי ייי משגב לדך** (תהלים ט:י). אלצ'מיר פי קו' **אותם זכר** (תהלים ט:יג) עאיד עלי **דורשיך** (תהלים ט:יא). ויתג'ה פי קו' **דורש דמים** (תהלים ט:יג) וג'האן. אלאול אן יריד אן אג'אבה אללה סואלה ודעאיה וכיד עליה בטלבה בת'אר דמא אלאבריא. ואלת'אני יעני אן דעא אלדעאה וטלב אלטלאב אנמא הו ת'אר אלאבריה פאד'א אג'אבהם פקד אנתקם למן ספך דמא בריא. **ומרוממי** (תהלים ט:יד) נעת ליי והו [12 ב] מצ'אעף אללאם מן אלמעטל אלעין והו פי מכאן אלדעא לאנה כאן יתג'ה איצ'א אן יקול **רוממי משערי מות** (תהלים ט:יד). ולפ'טה זו (תהלים ט:טז) פי אכת'ר אלמואצ'ע תנוב מנאב אשר. וקו' **נודע ייי משפט עשה** (תהלים ט:יז) יחתמל וג'הין אלאול מן אלתאויל אן יריד אנה עלם במא יאתי בעד הד'א מן אלעדל פי אלחכם כאנה קאל כי נודע ייי לעשות משפט. ואלת'אני אן יכון מעני נודע אלאשתהאר ואלעלאניה כמא קאל כי נודע דוד (שמואל א כב:ו) יעני ענד מא שהר אמרה ואסתפאץ ד'כרה. ועלי הד'א אלמד'הב יקו' יכון קול אללה ושמי יי לא נודעתי להם (שמות ו:ג) אי אני תג'לות להם באלאסמא פקט ומא שהר מן [איאתי] ובראהיני ענדתם מא שהר ענדך ולא ט'הר אליכם מן אעלאמי מא ט'הר אליך. ואמא וג'ה הד'א אלקול הנא פאנה ענד צגר הד'א אלרסול צלי אללה עליה במא לקי מן פרעה פקאל ייי למה הרעתה לעם הזה (שמות ה:כב). ומאז באתי אל פרעה לדבר בשמך הרע לעם הזה (שמות ה:כג). ואג'אבה בקו' עתה תראה אשר אעשה לפרעה (שמות ו:א) אכד ד'לך בהד'א אלקול אלד'י יקתצ'יה [48 א] תוקיפה עלי צחה ד'לך ואנה כאן עליה אן יתאסי באימאן אברהם יצחק ויעקב אלד'י אמנוא במא ועדהם בה מן דון אן ישדהוא מת'ל מא שהד מן אלאיאת אלמעג'וואנה צאיר אלי אלופא להם בועדה אלכרים ואן קדם ועדה פצ'לא מן אן יחול פי מא ועדה מן קולה אעלה אתכם (שמות ג:יז) מעני מצרים ואתבת' לה אלדלאיל עלי ד'לך עלי אלמקאם פהו אחרי ואג'דר בארתפאע אלשך ענה. וקו' **נוקש** (תהלים ט:יז) פאעל ופיה צ'מיר עאיד עלי אללה **ורשע** מפעול בה לאנה קד ג'א מן הד'א אלאצל מא פאוה נון ומא פאוה יא. ויעני בקו' **הגיון סלה** (תהלים ט:יז) אן אלרשע יחדת' נפסה באלגל ואלשר לכן אללה תע' לא יעאקבה אלא בעד כרוג' מא

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יצ'מרה מן אלקוה אלי אלפעל. פמענאה נוקש רשע בפועל כפיו אשר יהגה בו סלה. וכלמה **לשאולה** (תהלים ט:יח) שהרה פי דכ'ול אלהא פי אכ'רהא בעד דכ'ול אללאם פי אולהא לאן קו' **ישוּבו רשעים שאולה** (תהלים ט:יח) הו אלצחיה או קו' ישוּבו רשעים לשאול. **ושכחי אלהים** (תהלים ט:יח) מצ'אף שכחים [48 ב] מת'ל שמח שמחים שמחי רעתי (תהלים לה:כו) וקד קיל כל שמחי לב (ישעיהו כד:ז) ויג'וז עלי הד'א איצ'א אן יקול שכחי אלהים. וקו' **תקות עניים תאבד לעד** (תהלים ט:יט) כ'דמה לא (תהלים ט:יט) אלאול פאלמעני לא תאבד לעד. וכד'לך קו' **ישפטו גוים** (תהלים ט:כ) נאב ענה **אל יעז אנוש** (תהלים ט:כ) פאלמעני אל ישפטו גוים. וקו' יג'וז כונהמא איג'אבא עלי מעני מא יתנתג' מן שכחת אביון מן ד'האב רג'א אלצ'עפא ויתולד מן עוז אנוש מן חכם אלאמם במא יתוג'ה מן דון אחכאמך. וקו' **שיתה יי אל מורה להם** (תהלים ט:כא) יעני אג'על ד'אתך היבה להם ומתקי חתי יעלמוא אנהם בשר לא יסתטיעון שיא לא תשאה פכאנה קאל שיתה נפשך או שמך להם מורה. וליס כתאבתה בהא מכרג'א לה ען הד'א אלמעני כמא אן כתאבה נסה עלינו אור פניך יי (תהלים ד:ז) בסמך והא לים מפרקא בינה ובין אל נשא ידך (תהלים י:יב) בסין ואלף ווצ'ע מכאן אלמכ'אטב מתל יגדל נא כח יי תקצר (במדבר יד:יז) מכאן כחך יי ומכאן אלמכ'אטב היד יי תקצר (במדבר יא:כג) מכאן ידי כמא קאל היקרך דברי אם לא (במדבר יא:כג).

[13] למה יי תעמד ברחוק

קאל אלפיומי אן קו' **במזמות זו חשבו** (תהלים י:ב) אנה יעני יתפשו העניים במזמות זו חשבו הרשעים. ואנא אקול אן כלי אלצ'מירין עאיד עלי אלרשעים והו דעא עליהם. ולנא פי קו' **כי הלל רשע על תאות נפשו** (תהלים י:ג) וג'האן מן אלתאויל. אלאול אן יעני בה אשר הלל רשע תאות נשפן¹⁵⁴³ אי אלד'י מדח אלט'אלם עלי בלוג שהותה ואלגאצב פקד ד'ם אללה וכרהה פכאנה קאל אשר הלל רשע על תאות נפשו ובצע ברך יי ונאצו וברך מן לגה ברך אלהים (איוב ב:ט). ואלת'אני אן יכון ברך אסמא ללהדיה ואלרשוה אי מן מדח אלט'אלם ואלמרתג'ב פי אלהדיה פקד כרה אללה ומת'לה וברך ולא אשיבנה (במדבר כג:כ) ואצלה אן יכון עלי זנה והדבר אין בהם (ירמיהו ה:יג) הלא את הקטר (ירמיהו מד:כא). ויריד בקו' **רשע כגבה אפו בל ידרש** (תהלים י:ד) אנה בשמוך' אנפה וט'נה באן אלמעאדה גיר מנתקלה ענה לא ילתמס טאעה אללה ולא יעמל עמלא לד'את אללה והו קו' **אין אלהים כל מזמותיו** (תהלים י:ד) יעני [13 ב] בכל מזמותיו וקו' **יחילו דרכיו בכל עת** (תהלים י:ה) יחתמל וג'הין אלאול אן יריד תחל אגראצ'ה ותנזל בה מארבה פי כל וקת ויכון יחילו פי מעני יחולו על ראש יואב (שמואל ב:ג:כט) **ודרכיו מת'ל לב אדם יחשב דרכו** (משלי טז:ט) יעני גרצ'ה ומראדה. ואלת'אני אן יעוד עלי **אין אלהים כל מזמותיו** (תהלים י:ד) פיקול לא יפכר באללה פתפזעה טראיקה ואת'ארה פיכון צ'מיר **יחילו** עאידא עלי אלרשע לאנה פי מוצ'ע אלג'מע מת'ל נסו ואין רדף רשע (משלי כח:א). וצ'מיר **דרכיו** עאיד עלי **אלהים** ואלעלה פי ד'לך **מרום משפטיך מנגדו** (תהלים י:ד). והו יתאול מעניין ואלאול אנה יריד אנה כ'פי ענה מן אחכאמך מא תנזל בה. ואלת'אני אן יריד אנהם לם יחל בה בעד אנתקאמך מא יסתחקה. וקד יג'וז פיה וג'ה ת'אלת' והו אן יעני ארתפעת ענה אחכאמך עלי מעני אנה לם יחכם במא אמרת בה מן אלצואב בל עלי חסב פסקה ושהואתה. וקו' **כל צוררי יפיה בהם** (תהלים י:ה) יעני יבדד שמלהם וישתת ג'מעם כמא קאל אנשי לצון יפיהו קריה (משלי כט:ח) ובגיר וסיט [14 א] הפח בחורים כלם (ישעיהו מב:כב) וקו' **אשר לא ברע** (תהלים י:ו) בחדף אהיה ולפט'ה **תוך** (תהלים י:ז) תנבי עמא יחוי אלצ'מיר מן אלג'ל ואלפסאד **וחלכה** (תהלים י:ח) אסם אלצ'עייף וקיל **עליו יעזב חלכה** (תהלים י:ח) פי אלאנפצאל וג'מעז **חלכאים** (תהלים י:י). וקו' **בסכה** (תהלים י:ט) יעני

1543 omitted EVR ARAB I 3583 תאות נשפן

בסכתו פג'א מת'ל ד'לך עובר בשוק אצל פנה (משלי ז:ח). ארכה מארץ מדה (איוב יא:ט). וקו' **יִדְכָּה יִשָּׁח**¹⁵⁴⁴ (תהלים י:י) יצף אנכ'פאץ' אללית' פי אלזביה ותסתרה חתי יט'מאן אלגאפל פית'ב אליה. וקו' **בעצומיו** (תהלים י:י) יעני מן אלד'ין אפתרסהם פהאץ' עט'אמהם כמא קאל פיהם לא גרמו לבקר (צפניה ג:ג) מן אלכ'פיה יקיל מן אלת'קיל ועצמותיהם יגרם (במדבר כד:ח) כד'לך קאל מן אלת'קיל וזה סאחרון עצמו (ירמיהו נ:יז) אי האץ' עט'מה וקאל מן אלכ'פיה **ונפל עצומו חלכאים** (תהלים י:י). וקד יג'וז אן נקול ענד מא יגץ' בצרה מן ועוצם עיניו (ישעיהו לג:טו) פיכון מטאבקא למעני **ידכה ישוה** (תהלים י:י). וקו' **על מה נאץ רשע אלהים** (תהלים י:יג) יחתמל כונה מוצולא במא קבלה מן קו' **אל תשכח ענוים** (תהלים י:יב) יעני יא רב לא תנם אלחלמא למא כרה אלפאסקין טאעתך וט'נוא אנך למ תלכבה במא אחתקבוא [14 ב] יחתמל קטעה ענה ויכון אעתבארא ותעג'בא ממא חמלהם עלי ד'לך ואללה תע' א אנמא [...] א מת'להם למא סוף יעאקבהם כמא קאל בעד ד'לך **ראיתה כי אתה עמל וכעם תביט לתת בידך** וג' (תהלים י:יד) **עליך יעזב חלכה** (תהלים י:יד). ופסר **עליך** (תהלים י:יד) יתורך אלצ'עייף ואליוך יפוך' אמרה באשתקאק **יעזוב** (תהלים י:יד) מן עזוב תעזוב פי מעני השלך על יי יהבך (תהלים נה:כג) **וחלכה** (תהלים י:יד) מת'ל **לחלכה יצפנו** (תהלים י:ח) וג'א הכדי מן אג'ל אלנפצאל ועיני אנשי עמל וכעס תביט. ויחתמל קולה **תקשיב אזנך** (תהלים י:יז) אן תכון תאוה אכ'בארא ען אלמונת' והו אלזון ויחתמל כונה ללמכ'אטבה ויכון מתעדיא אלי מפעול. וקו' **לערוץ אנוש** (תהלים י:יח) יג'וז כון אנוש פאעלא [...] אלקאהר בל תכון אלגלבה ואלתאת'יר ללה מן דונה. ויג'וז כונה מפעולא פי קו' **יוסף** (תהלים י:יח) צ'מיר עאיד עלי **יתום ודך** (תהלים י:יח) יעני אד'א נצרתהם למ ירהבוא אנסאנא ולא כ'אפוא בשרא.

מנצח לדוד ביי חסיני

[למנצח על השמינית]

... [15 א] **ללשונו נגביר** (תהלים יב:ה) במעני מן אג'ל. וקו' **אשית בישע יפיה לו** (תהלים יב:ו) מתצל בקו' **אמרות ייי** (תהלים יב:ז) אי אצ'ע נצר אלמפוח בכלמאת אללה אלטאהרה. וְכָא **בישע** (תהלים יב:ו) לגו' פי אלשרח לא מוצ'ע לה פיה וקד דכלת פי לגה שת פי גיר הד'א אלמוצ'ע איצ'א עלי הד'א אלוג'ה קיל ופה ישית בגאון גליך (איוב לח:יא). ויג'וז פי קו' **בעליל לארץ** (תהלים יב:ז) אן יכון בעליל צפה לכספ' אי עאמר אלארץ' אלתי בהא עמארתהא. **ושבעתים** (תהלים יב:ז) מרארא כת'ירה. וקד צ'אעף ואילנא הד'א אלעדד פג'עלוה מט' והו מצ'רוב ז' פי ז' וקד קאל יונתן בן עוזיאל ענד שרחה ואור החמה יהיה שבעתים (ישעיהו ל:כו) פקאל על חד מתלת מאה וארבעין ותלת (תרגום יונתן ישעיהו ל:כו) והו מצ'רוב מט' פי ז'. וקו' **אתה ייי תשמרם** (תהלים יב:ח) יעני אנת יא רב פאחפט'הם יעני אללאהג'ין בכלאמך אלנאטקין בשראיעך מן עצר דאיבא פיה יטוף אלט'אלמין ענד ארתפאע אלכ'סאס מן אלנאס יעני אן סוק אלט'אלמין תנפק פי דולה אלארד'אל. **וזולות** (תהלים יב:ט) אסם אלפעל מן זלל פי מוצ'ע אלצפה ואן שית פק'ל [15 ב] אנה יריד אנשי זלות מת'ל אל תהי מרי (יחזקאל ב:ח) יעני איש מרי ואמרת אל מרי (יחזקאל מד:ו) אי עם מרי כמא קאל כי עם מרי הוא (ישעיהו ל:ט). **ועד אנה ייי** (תהלים יג:ב) קו' **המות פי פן אישן המות** (תהלים יג:ד) לים בתמיז לאן אלתמיז נכרה **והמות** מערפה לכנה פי מוצ'ע אלגאיה כאנה קאל עד מות כמא קאל היטב חרה לי עד מות (יונה ד:ט). **ויכלתיו** (תהלים יג:ה) יעני בה יכלתי ממנו מת'ל חזקתני ותוכל (ירמיהו כ:ז).

למנצח לדוד אמר נבל

¹⁵⁴⁴ ידכה ישוה EVR ARAB I 3583

<p>וקד אפרד פי קו' אמר נבל בלבו (תהלים יד:א) לאנה ג'נס קו' השחיתו התעיבו עלילה (תהלים יד:א) בלפט' אלג'מע אלנבלים ת'ם ג'מעה עלי אלמעני וג'א נאלחו (תהלים יד:ג) פי מעני אלקד'ארה ואלוצ'ר. וקו' הלא ידעו כל פעלי און אי אכלי (תהלים יד:ד) חזבי [16 א] יאכלון טעאמא מא דעוא אלי אללה (תהלים יד:ד) שרחה אלם יעלם פאעלי אלשר ענה אי לם יחתסבוא ד'לך ולא כ'טר בבאלהם אד' כאנת אמתי מן קבל בחאל מנעה ועצמה מן אלוצול אליהם לולא ד'נובהם נחו קו' לא האמינו מלכי ארץ (איכה ד:יב) ובאלחרי אן תנאל ט'אלמהם מגבה ט'למהם להם ויג'נון ת'מרעה ותלקחהם עאדיתה. וקו' כי אלהים בדור צדיק (תהלים יד:ה) אן צנע אללה אלג'מיל יבדו פי אג'יאל אלפצ'לא אד'א כאנת להם אקאלה מן עת'רה ורפעה בעד צ'עה פיון פצ'להם עלי ט'לאמיהם. וקו' כי ייי מחסהו (תהלים יד:ו) יעני אשר ייי מחסהו. ויג'ז כונה עלה ללכ'זי אי אנמא תכ'זונה מן אג'ל צ'עפה ען מקאומתכם ואנמא תורכ'ה עלי אללה תע' פקט. ת'ם עאד תמני אלנצרה מן אללה בקו' מי יתן מציון ישועת ישראל (תהלים יד:ז).</p>	<p align="right">מזמור לדוד ייי מי יגור</p>
<p>כלמה יגור (תהלים טו:א) תקצ'י אלחצ'יף ואלתגר'ב כ'לאף מא עליה ישכון (תהלים טו:א) גיר אן אלאהל מן אלקדם אבין ואקרב [16 ב] מן אלהר פנסבה אלחצ'יף מן אלאכ'ץ אלאקרב כנסבתה אלסכני מן אלאעם אלאבעד. ויכון הולך תמים (תהלים טו:ב) אלמסתנים אלמסתרסל אלי קצ'א אללה תע' אלי כמא קאל תמים תהיה עם ייי אלהיך (דברים יח:ג). ופועל צדק (תהלים טו:ב) הו מן יצ'ע אלאמור מוצ'עהא וינזלהא מנאזלהא. ודובר אמת בלבבו (תהלים טו:ב) אלד'י לא יסיר פי צ'מירה בגיר מא יג'הר בה פי מקאלה או פעאלה. ויכון לא רגל על לשונו (תהלים טו:ג) מן לם ינקל ען צאחבה מא יוצל אליה בה צ'ררא כאן ד'לך אלנקל צדקא או כד'בא ומענאה יתם פי לא עשה לרעהו רעה (תהלים טו:ג). ומעני וחרפה לא נשא כל קרובו (תהלים טו:ג). אלא יצבר עלי צ'ים קריבה דון אן ימתעץ' לה. וקד קאל אואילנא אנה לא יחמל אלעאר עלי נפסה מן קריבה יעני אן יכון פי קראבתה מן יעאב באפעאלה פיוחמל ד'לך אלעיב דון אלאקתצאץ מנה. וקו' נבזה בעיניו נמאס (תהלים טו:ד) יעני אחתקארה מא יעט'ם מן חאלה תואצ'עא ואנכ'פאצ'א. ויקתצ'י קו' נשבע להרע (תהלים טו:ד) אחתמאלה מכרוהא ינאלה פי מא יחלף עליה מן דון אלחנת. [17 א] וחקיקה לפט'ה נשך (תהלים טו:ה) אלעץ' פהו אד'א מא יעצ'ה אלמקרק' מן מאל אלמקתרץ' זאידיא עלי מא אקרצ'ה וליס אלא פי אלורק. ואמא אלד'י ירבי עליה פי אלסלאע או אלמאאכל פהו תרביית או מרבית כמא קאל את כספך לא תתן לו בנשך ובמרבית (ויקרא כה:לז) וג' ומד'הב אואילנא פיה גיר הד'א. וקו' ושחד על נקי לא לקח (תהלים טו:ה) תביין לקבח אלשחד אד'א כאן אצלה מוצ'ועא עלי תנט'יף אלאבריא ותבריה אלנט'פא פיג'על אלנקי גיר נקי וגיר אלנקי נקי. וקד אצ'אף אואילנא אלי הד'ין אלקסמין קסמא ת'אלת'א והו אן יאכ'ד'ה אלחאכם עלי איג'אב אלחק למן חולה ורפעה עמן ליס עליה וליס מן אללגה. ויעני בקו' עשה אלה לא ימוט לעולם (תהלים טו:ה) מן פצ'ל בבעץ' הד'ה אלפצ'איל דון ג'מיעהא כמא קאל את אלה מהם תאכלו (ויקרא יא:כב) אלה הטמאים לכם בכל השרץ (ויקרא יא:לא).</p>	<p align="right">מכתם לדוד</p>
<p>פסר פי קו' מכתם לדוד (תהלים טז:א) [17 ב] מד'הבה מן כתם תשביהא במא תקולה אלערב למתכ'יר אשעארהא מד'הבאת. וקו' אמרת ליי (תהלים טז:ב) יכ'אטב נפסה. ויעני בקו' טובתי בל עליך (תהלים טז:ב) אלכ'יר אלואצל אלי מנך ליס בחק לי עליך יא רבי ואנמא יסתחקה אלמקדסון אלמחג'ובון פי אלת'רא ואלעט'מא אלמרצ'יין מנך. ולמא ד'כר תוחידה מן דון אלמשרכין באללה עאד ידעו עליהם בקו' ירבו עצבותם אחר מהרו (תהלים טז:ד). יקול כת'רת אלאם אלד'ין סארעוא אלי מעבודאת אכ'ר ואני לא אמזג' מזאג' ד'באיחאהא ולא אקסם באסמהא בשפתי. מהרו (תהלים טז:ד) פעל</p>	

כ'פיף פי מעני מהרו וקד יג'וז אן יכון מן מעני מהר (בראשית לד:יב) עלי מעני אכתסבוא. וקו' **מדם** (תהלים טז:ד) יערב ען אלד'באיח אלתי תכון מעהא אלנסכים כמא קאל אשר חלב זבחימו יאכלו ישתו יין נסיכם (דברים לב:לח) פכאנה קאל נסכי דמיהם או זבחיהם. ועאד יפכר במא צדר בה מן ד'כר אלתוחיד בקו' **ימי מנת חלקי וכוסי** (תהלים טז:ה). וועלם אן **וכוסי** (תהלים טז:ה) מ'כ'פ' מן תכוסו על השה (שמות יב:ד). ומענאה אלנציב **ותומיך** (תהלים טז:ה) פועיל מת'ל הנני יוסיף [18 א] על ימיך (ישעיהו לח:ה). וג'א **נחלת** (תהלים טז:ו) כאנה מצ'אף וליס במצ'אף. לאנה פי מעני נחלה. וקו' **אף לילות יסרוני כליותי** (תהלים טז:ז) יעני אנה אנמא כמל רשדה ואסתקאם תדבירה מן אלהאם אללה לה ומן קלב חכים חמלה עלי מצאלחה. ואסתעאר אלראי ללכליות לאנה קד יכ'אלף מד'הב אלמר פי שי אלי שי וצ'דה חתי ירג'ח ענדה אחד אלמד'אהב פאד'א ופקה אללה מאל אלי אלאצלח לה כמא פעל בקאיל הד'א אלקול ואד'א כ'ד'לה רג'ח אלאסוי עליה כמא ערץ' פי מן קיל לה הנה נתן ייי רוח שקר בפי כל נביאך אלה וייי דבר עליך רעה (מלכים א כב:כג) ולם יכן מא יערב פי אלאעצ'א אלכאטנה ען שיין מ'תלפין גיר אלכליות לאנהמא את'נתאן. וקד יג'וז ד'לך לאנהמא מכאן אלשהוה פאד' לם תחמלה שהותה עלי אלמעאצי ג'על אלפעל להמא מג'אזא ת'ם אתא באלעלה אלמוג'בה לד'לך אנה מן יג'על רבה נצב עיניה ומלאזם פכרה פכאן עונה ומוידה עלי מראדה והו קו' **כי מימיני בל אמוט** (תהלים טז:ח). ת'ם ביין אן נתיג'ה ד'לך כאן אלפרה ואלסרור ואמן אלמחדוד והו קו' [18 ב] **לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי** (תהלים טז:ט) וקו' **תודיעני ארח חיים** (תהלים טז:יא) יחתמל וג'הין. אלאול אן יכון דעא מענאה פי אלפסוקין אלמתקדמין פקו' **תודיעני ארח חיים** (תהלים טז:יא) באד'א קו' **כי לא תעזב נפשי לשאול** (תהלים טז:י). וקו' **שובע שמחות את פניך** (תהלים טז:יא) תלקא קו' **לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי** (תהלים טז:ט) ואן יכון אכ'בארא איצ'א עמא תקדם פיהמא.

תפלה לדוד שמעה

ומעני קו' **שמעה ייי צדק** (תהלים יז:א) הו מעני קו' פי אכ'ר אלפסוק **בלא שפתי מרמה** (תהלים יז:א). יריד אקבל תסביחי ען צדק צ'מירי וצלאתי אלתי לא ישובהא גש פקו' **רנתי** (תהלים יז:א) בדל מן צדק וקד יג'וז כון **צדק** בדלא מן אלמצדר אלמצ'מר פי **שמעה** יעני שמע צדק אי אקבל דעאי אי מא קבולה חק והו רנתי ותפלתי. ויקתצ'י קו' **מלפניך משפטי יצא** (תהלים יז:ב) ד'עא אלא יחכם לה ואלא יסלם חכמה אלי סואה מלכא כאן או אנסאנא ואלעלה פי ד'לך אחאטתה עלמא בפצ'ל טריקתה וג'מיל סירתה כקולה [19 א] **עיניך תחזינה מישרים** (תהלים יז:ב). **בחנת לבי פקדת לילה** וג' (תהלים יז:ג) וקד יג'וז כונה וצפא עלי מעני אנך אנמא אנפרדת באלחכם לי ועלי לאחאטתך במכנון צ'מירי וכ'פי סרי. ומעני קו' **צרפתיני בל תמצא** (תהלים יז:ג) כ'ברתני ואמתחנתני פלם תג'ד פכרתי לא תמר במנטקי אי לם אסר גיר מא אעלנת בי לאסתוי סרי ועלאניתי באלכ'יר. וקו' **בל יעבר** (תהלים יז:ג) דון בל תעבר פמת'ל שפה יהיה לפיו סביב (שמות כח:לב). לפתח חטאת רובץ (בראשית ד:ז). ודכ'ל אלנפי פיה עלי אלנפי פעאד אלמעני איג'אבא. וג'איז אתצאל **לפעולות אדם בדבר שפתיך** (תהלים יז:ד) בקו' **בל יעבר פי** (תהלים יז:ג) יעני אן פכרי מנוט באלקול ואלקול מוצול באלפעל וכל עלי מקתצ'י אמרך ומרתצ'י חכמך. וג'איז קטעה ענה וכונה עלה לקו' **אני שמרתי ארחות פרייך** (תהלים יז:ד) יעני אני תחפט'ת מן טראיק אלפתאך לכי אצל אלי מא יפעלה מטיעוך מן אלבשר. **ותמוך** (תהלים יז:ה) מצדר פי מוצ'ע אלפעל אלמצ'אי אי תמכו אשורי במעגלותיך והי ג'מע מעגל עלי אלת'אניתי [19 ב] וקד ג'מע איצ'א עלי אלתד'כיר ומעגליך ירעפון דשן (תהלים סה:יב). ומעני קו' **הפלה חסדיך** (תהלים יז:ז) אית בגראיב מן פצ'לך עלי מעאנדי קדרתך יא מגית' אלמתורכ'ין עליך פתקדירה הפלה חסדיך ממתקוממים בימיניך מושיע חוסים בך או בו. וקו' **אויבי בנפש יקיפו** (תהלים יז:ט) עלי מע מא בעדה יריד בה אחאטה מן ינוי הלאך רוחי. וקו' **חלבמו סגרו פימו** (תהלים יז:י) ומא בעדה יעני קד סדת

שחומהם אפואהם פנטקת בצולה ואחאטוא באקדאמנא ורצדוא והקהא פי אלארץ' ותקדירה חלבמו סגר פימו עד אשר דבר בגאות פג'א סגרו ודברו עלי אלמעני לאנהם כת'רון. **ואשורנו** (תהלים יז:יא) אלאקדאם וישד שינה תארה אם תטה אשורי (איוב לא:ז) וענהא יקול **לנטות בארץ** (תהלים יז:יא) אי לנטותם בארץ וכ'פך אכ'רי שפכה אשורי (תהלים עג:ב) ואלמעני פי **אשורנו עתה סבבנו** (תהלים יז:יא) מעני הקיפוני כארי ידי ורגלי (תהלים כב:יז). פקו' ידי ורגלי (תהלים כב:יז) בדל אלג'ז מן אלכל אלמצ'מר פי הקיפוני ותקדירה הנא אשורנו תפסיר אלמכאן אלמחאט בה פי אלמצ'מר. [20 א] וקו' **יכסוף לטרוף** (תהלים יז:יב) לאנה קד קיל פי הד'א אלמעני כסף ונכסף קיל כי נכסף נכספת (בראשית לא:ל). למעשה ידך תכסוף (איוב יד:טו). ומעני **קדמה פניו הכריעהו** (תהלים יז:יג) תקדם אליה פכ'פצה וד'ללה כאנה קאל שימנו כורע כמא קאל לטבח תכרעו (ישעיהו סה:יב). וקו' **מרשע חרבך** (תהלים יז:יג) יעני אלמסתחק עקאבך אלמסתוג'ב אלהלאך מנך ולם יצ'פה אלי אלהרב לאנה פי מוצ'ע אלמפעול והו פיה עאמל מת'ל חגור חדשה (שמואל ב כא:טז) לבוש בדים (דניאל י:ה) כמא קאל אשר ירשיעון אלהים (שמות כב:ח). אי אלד'י יוג'בון אלחק עליה. ויתאול קו' **ממתים ידך** ייי (תהלים יז:יד) עלי וג'הין אלאול אן יכון בדלא מן קולה **מרשע חרבך** (תהלים יז:יג) יעני מן קום יסתחקו בליתך. וקו' **ממתים מחלד** (תהלים יז:יד) אבתדי קול והאולי אלקום צ'ד אלאולין ויחתמל כונהם באעיאנהם יעני ד'וי איאדיך ועונך כמא קאל והיתה ידך עמדי (דברי הימים א ד:י). **וממתים מחלד** (תהלים יז:יד) יעני מן ד'וי אלעמראן אלד'ין נציבהם פי אלהיאה ומלאת ד'כ'אירך אג'ואפהם. **ישבע בניהם ואבקו** (תהלים יז:יד) פצ'להם לאטפאלהם אנא מן ג'מלה האולאי אלקום אלפצ'לא אלמחט'יין [20 ב] מנך באלארזאק אלדארה ואלנ'עם אלמפיצה אכ'תך באופר נציב מן רצ'אך ואכבר חט' מן מערפה חקיקתך.

למנצח לעבד ייי לדוד

קו' **ביום הציל ייי אותו** (תהלים יח:א) ליס ט'רפא אד' למ יכן יום הציל ייי כמא קאל יום אירא אני אליך אבטח (תהלים נד:ד) לכנה יעני ביום הציל ייי אותו בו. ומעני **ארחמך ייי חזקי**. (תהלים יח:ב) אסתרחמך אי אסל אלהמה מנך. ומעני **אפפוני** (תהלים יח:ה) ארהקתני ואצ'גטתני. **ונחלי בליעל** (תהלים יח:ה) יעני אלאמראץ' אלסייה אלשדידה ונונה מזידה פי מת'ל נבכי ים (איוב לח:טז). וקו' **ושועתי לפניו** (תהלים יח:ז) מנפצלא ען **תבוא באזוני** (תהלים יח:ז). אי צ'ראעתי בין ידיה תצל אליה. וקו' **ותגעש** (תהלים יח:ח) ידל עלי געש אלכ'פיף פי מעני אלאפתעאל סוי ואלמתעדי מנה גועש יגועש יגועשו עם איוב ויעברו (איוב לד:כ). ומעני **עביו עברו** (תהלים יח:יג) נפד' מנהם אלברד ואלצואעק פאלעוברים הם אלברד ואלגחלים [21 א] **מנגה נגדו** (תהלים יח:יג) יעני אלאת'יר וכל מא וצפה פעלי סביל אלמת'ל פי אלאמתעאץ' לה וכפאיתה אעדאה כמא קאל **ומן אויבי אושע** (תהלים יח:ד). וסוף יעד אלצ'מיר עליהם פי קו' **וישלח חציו ויפיצם וברק' רב ויהמם** (תהלים יח:טו). וקו' **מאויבי עז** (תהלים יח:יח) פעל מאץ' מת'ל **כי אמצו ממני** (תהלים יח:יח) והו פי מוצ'ע אלהאל וקאל אן ד'לך מא ג'זאה אללה עלי טאעתה ותקואה. והו קו' **כי שמרתי דרכי ייי** (תהלים יח:כב). פאן קאל קאיל אלם יכן אלאולי אן יג'על צנע אללה לה פצ'לא מנה עליה דון אסתחקאקה ד'לך מנה. קיל לה אנה לו כאן אלאולי לאכת'ארה מע מא אן פי הד'א אלקול דלאלה עלי אן אללה לא יצ'יע אג'ר אלמחסנון וכמא יקול **עם חסיד תתחסד** (תהלים יח:כז). ומג'אז קו' **עם עקש תתפתל** (תהלים יח:כז) תקארצ'ה במת'ל אעואג'אג'ה מת'ל אם ללצים הוא יליץ (משלי ג:לד). ומג'אז קו' **כי אתה תאיר נרי** (תהלים יח:כט) אן אלנ'ר אלד'י לי אנמא צ'וה מן קבלך ומן ענדך יע' אלדולה כמא קאל ערכתני נר למשיחי (תהלים קלב:יז) ואמא קבל פקד כנת פי חשך חתי אפדת מנך אלאור פכאן לי [21 ב] נר בעד כוני פי חשך כמא קאל **ייי אלהי יגיה חשכי** (תהלים יח:כט). ויג'וז כון **ארוץ גדוד** (תהלים יח:ל) מן מעני אלהצ'ר אי אסבק אלג'יש פי אלהצ'ר והו אולי מן כונה מן רץ לאקתראן **אדלג שור** (תהלים יח:ל) בה פי אלות'וב. וקו' **משוה רגלי באילות**

(תהלים יח:לד) מן הד'א אלמעני איצ'א. ת'ם אבאן פי קו' ועל במותי יעמידני (תהלים יח:לד) אנה סאבק לא פאר ואנמא יחצ'ר סאבקא ויסתקר אמנא מתמכנא. וקו' ונחתה (תהלים יח:לה) יעני אשליתה וקהרתהא וכאן חקה ונחתו לאנה יעני אלזרועות פג'א מת'ל כי קמה על בבל מחשבות ייי (ירמיה נא:כט). חטאתנו ענתה בנו (ישעיה נט:יב). וקו' תרחיב צעדי תחתי (תהלים יח:לז) מצ'אד לקו' יצרו צעדי אוננו (איוב יח:ז). יקיל באלנפי בלכתך לא יצר צעדך (משלי ד:יב) והו מעני תרחיב צעדי מוג'בא ולקד אסתגר קראה אלכאפה צדו צעדינו מלכת ברחובותינו (איכה ד:יח) באלדאל מן דון אלרא מע פשא אללגה אלצ'יקה פי אלצעדים לא סימא מע וג'וד ברחובותינו אלמצ'אד ללצ'יק מעה. ואסתקאמה אלמעני צ'אקת כ'טאנא ען אלסיר פי רחאבנא אלואסעה פאסתות [22 א] אלמטאבקה מע שהאדה אלמת'לה מן לא יצר צעדך (משלי ד:יב). ויצרו צעדי אוננו (איוב יח:ז). ומא אט'ן הד'א אלוהם אלא מן אלנסכ'ה אלואלי אד' אשתבה ראוהא בדאל פגרי בעד ד'לך כד'לך. וקו' על ייי (תהלים יח:מב) פי מכאן אל ייי כמא קאל אשוע אליך (איוב ל:כ) ובשועו אליו (תהלים כב:כה) פג'א מת'ל ותתפלל על ייי (שמואל א א:י) כה תאמרו איש אל רעהו (ירמיה כג:לה). וקו' אריקם (תהלים יח:מג) וקאל פי אלנסכ'ה אלכ'רי אדיקם באלדאל משדד אלקאף מן הדק לעפר (מלכים ב כג:טז) ואמא הד'א אלמכ'פף ובאלרא פמן על הארץ יריקו (קהלת יא:ג) והריקו חרבותם (יחזקאל ל:יא) יריד אנחיהם ואפרג אלארץ' מנהם כמא ינחי אלטין מן אלמחג'את ותפרג מנה. ומעני לשמע און (תהלים יח:מה) מא יתצל בהם מן עדלי פיחרצון עלי טאעתי ויג'חדון מא כאנא עליה קבל מן מעציתי. ומעני יבולו (תהלים יח:מו) סקוט קואהם וכלאלהם ופשלם ען אלקיאם בה. ויג'וז כון ויחרגו (תהלים יח:מו) פי מעני ויערגו ממסגרותם יעני חג'אלהם. וקו' וידבר (תהלים יח:מז) פי מעני וינהג. 'ואלמעני פי קו' ישועות מלכו (תהלים יח:נא) אלמלך אלד'י יכת'ארה והו פי אלנסכ'ה אלת'אניה מגדול (תהלים יח:נא) במעני מגדל [22 ב] אי מעקל והד'א מגדיל (תהלים יח:נא) יריד מכבר אי מעט'ם.

למנצח מזמור לדוד

ולמא קאל השמים מספרים כבוד אל (תהלים יט:ב) וכאן קד יליה יום ליום יביע אומר (תהלים יט:ב) והו יחתמל וג'הין אן יכון יביע עאידא עלי יום וכד'לך יחיה מצרופא אלי לילה יקול אנה מא מן נהאר מצ'א [...] א [...] חד דל עלי אלד'י יאתי אבדא מן בעדה ומא מ'צ'י [...] לילה אנקצ'ת אלא קד אכברת עלי אלמקבלה את'רהא ואבאן אן ד'לך אלאכבאר ד'לאה ותנביה למן חסן אסתדלאלה וג'א[ה] אעתבארה אן יעתבר פי יומה באמסה ופי לילתה בבארתהא ויחתמל ודתהא אל[י] אלרקיע יעני יומא פיומא אללילה פאללילה וד'לך במא ישעד מן עט'ים תאת'ירה ובתשריקה ללשמס מן אלמשרק פי כל כד' סאעה באנתהי דורהא ופיהא יצף אלשמס פי קו' והוא כחתן יצא מחפתו (תהלים יט:ו) ת'ם יצפהא איצ'א בחרכתהא אלכ'אצה בהא מן [...] [24 א] בשמרם (תהלים יט:יב) בדל מן קו' בהם (תהלים יט:יב) בדל אשתמל אל[מ]צדר עלי אסם כאנה קאל נזהר בשמרם עקב פי מוצ'ע בא בשמרם לאנה לו קאל עקב שמרם לכפי או לו קאל בשמרם דון עקב לג'אז. וקו' רב (תהלים יט:יב) מצדר פי מוצ'ע אלחאל. ומעני נזהר (תהלים יט:יב) [יה]תדי בחפט'הא כת'ירא ולמא קד יכון מא לא יתהדי אליה לכפאיה עאד יעתד'ר מן אלתקציר ען אלאחאטה בקו' שגיאות מי יבין (תהלים יט:יג). וסאל אלעצמה מן אלזלל פי מא יכפי ענה בקו' מנסתרות נקני (תהלים יט:יג). וקו' גם מזדים (תהלים יט:יד) צפה מת'ל עליו אמים (איוב כ:כה). אראד בד'לך מא ימכן אן יקע מנה באלעמד מן אלד'נוב פיכון זדים מת'ל זדונים פיקאבל שגיאות ויכון אסמא מת'ל עליו אמים (איוב כ:כה) נשאתי אימך (תהלים פח:טז) אלד'י ג'א מת'לה צפה נעני האימים לפנים (דברים ב:י) ויג'וז [24 ב] פי איתם (תהלים יט:יד) כונה אנפעאלא מכ'פפא ויג'וז כונה מסתקבלא כ'פיפא פעוץ' באלסאכן מת'ל אלמחד'וף מנה ליציר עלי וון איתמם מת'ל אשלח. ואן קיל זדים צפה לקום פסקה ידעו באלנג'אה מנהם ג'א אלאול אליק באלמעני לאחתוי

<p>הד'א אלקול עלי ג'מיע צ'רוב אלכ'טאיא אלתי אד'א עצם מנהא צח מעני איתם. ואמא נג'אתה מן ט'פר אלפאסקין בה פקד ימכן ט'פרהם בה ובקאוה עלי אימאנה אלא אן קיל אנה תוקע אן יגמסוה פי ט'לאלהם ויצרפוה אלי מת'אלהם. וקו' יהיו לרצון אמרי פי (תהלים יט:טו) עאידיא אלי מא תקדם מן דעאוה ענה. ולד'לך מא רתבוה ואילנא פי אכ'ר שמונה עשרה ברכות. וקד אמתת'לנא נחן ד'לך בעד תמאם ברכת כהנים יהי רצון מלפניך ייי אלהינו שתהא ברכה זו שלימה לפניך אל[ד]י בכ'לאף מא קאלה גירנא אן ד'לך קבל אלברכה חמלא עלי הד'א אלמד'הב.</p>	
<p align="right">למנצח מזמור לדוד</p>	
<p>[25 א] ואלמזמור אלת'אלת' הד'א אעני יענך ייי ביום צרה (תהלים כ:ב) הו ממא כ'וטב בה דוד מת'ל קו' נאם ייי לאדני שב למיני (תהלים קי:א) ומעני לדוד הנא מא קיל לדוד תדל עליה מעאניה. וקו' אכ'רא ייי הושיעה המלך יעננו ביום קראנו (תהלים כ:י) וליס תפרקה אלמלחן להושיעה ען המלך אלמפעול בה במאנע לה ען אלתאצאל בה כמא לם תכן פי קו' מי תכן את רוח ייי (ישעיהו מ:יג) במאנע רוח ען אצ'אפתה אלי ייי לאן הי משיה אללה ואראדתה ואלכלאם נפי כמא קאל את מי נועץ ויבינהו (ישעיהו מ:יד) פיוון אד'א לדוד מא קיל לדוד והו אלאכת'ר ויוון מא קיל לדוד והו אלאקל ותכון אללאם פי תאריך' אלמלוח עלי הד'א צ'רב למא מצ'א מן מלכה ולמא בקי ולמא מצ'א מן עמרה ולמא מצ'א בעד מותה ומן בחת' עלי ד'לך וג'ד קולנא צחיחא והד'א אלקול דעא יצלח אן ידעא לה בה פי גזואתה ואואן חרובה ומלאקאתה אעדאוה. וכד'לך אלמזמור אלד'י תלוה אעני ייי בעזך ישמח מלך (תהלים כא:ב) וממא יגיר ד'לך קו' אלה ברכב ואלה בסוסים (תהלים כ:ח) [25 ב] קו' ישלח עזרך מקדש (תהלים כ:ג) דליל איצ'א אנה כאן יומיד פי בלד אלעדו אלד'י הו גיר קדש פדעא באמדאדה באלנצר מן מוצ'ע אלסכינה. ויזכור כל מנוחותיך (תהלים כ:ד) יעני יקבל ערפאה. אי ירצה אזכרתם. וידשנה (תהלים כ:ד) ירתצ'י רמאדהא אלדסם וד'לך מערב ען אסתיפאיהא. וקיל איצ'א פי תנט'יף אלמזבח מנה ודשנו את המזבח (במדבר ד:יג). וידשנה מלחק באלרבאעי וזונה יפעלה לא יפעלל מת'ל שפרה (תהלים טז:ו) ותחרה מתחרה בארז (ירמיה כב:טו) ואמא ואקראה לך (שמואל א כח:טו) פג'איז כונה יפעלה ויפעלל לאן אלאף אללינה הי אלהא אללינה וקד יג'וז אן יכון ממאלא ען ואקראה מת'ל ואשמעה. וכאף אלמכ'אטבה פי בישועתך (תהלים כ:ו) ללמלך והי מפעולה באלישועה אלואקעה עליהא מן אללה. אלא תרי קו' איצ'א ימלא ייי כל משאלתיך (תהלים כ:ו) ואן כאן קד יג'וז כונהא ללה והי פאעלה ועלי אן אלמכ'אטבה אלאכ'ירה לגירה. ומעני ונתעודד (תהלים כ:ט) אעתצ'דנא ותאידינא והו מצ'אעף מן אלמעל אלעיין אד'א לם נג'ד עוד מעתלא [31 א] פי אלמעני פאלאולי ואלאוג'ב אן יג'על מן ד'ואת אלמת'לין אד' אלמת'לין ט'אהרין פיה ואנמא כנא נקול באלתצ'עיף לו וג'דנא לה אצלא נחמלה עליה וכד'לך מעודד ענוים ייי (תהלים קמז:ו). וקו' יעננו ביום קראנו (תהלים כ:י) יחתמל כונה עאידיא עלי אלמלך אללהם אנצר אלמלך פיג'יבנא מתי דעונאה בנצרך לה ועונך איאה. ויחתמל אן יכ'בר בה ען אללה תע' אי אלד'י מן שאנה אג'אבתנא אד'א דעונאה.</p>	
<p align="right">למנצח מזמור לדוד</p>	
<p>ייי בעזך ישמח מלך (תהלים כא:ב) ראינא מן יג'על אלף וארשת שפתיי (תהלים כא:ג) אצליה ואנא ארי אצ'אפתהא אלי כרשיון כורש מלך פרס (עזרא ג:ו) ויוון מענאהא עהדא אי מא עהד בה אלי אלנאס כנת אנת אלמת'בת לה והו קבל אלאצ'אפה ארש'ה ואצלה ארשיה פלמא הדפת אללאם לאלתקאיהא בהא אלת'אניה צארת חרכתהא [31 ב] פי אלעיין קבלהא וצארת חרכה אלעיין פי אלפא פלמא אנצ'אפת בדל האוהא באלתא ואעלית בניה אלכלמה פצאר עלי מת'אל מלחמה מלחמת עטרה עטרת. ומקתצ'י לפט'ה כבוד (תהלים כא:ו) אלכראמה ואלעזה (תהלים כא:ב) והוד (תהלים כא:ו) אלבהא ואלאבהא והדר (תהלים כא:ו) אלאג'לאל ואלתעט'ים כמא קאל והדרת פני זקן (ויקרא יט:לב). וקו' תחדהו בשמחה</p>	

<p>(תהלים כא:ז) פעל ת'קיל מן ויחד יתרו (שמות יח:ט) והו פי מעני שמחה פכאנה קאל תחדהו בחדוה או תשמחהו בשמחה. ואמא צלח ד'לך בזיאדתה את פניך (תהלים כא:ז) אי תסרה במא יסר בה מן רצ'אך ענה. ומעני לעת פניך (תהלים כא:י) ענד חלול גצ'בך ענה. ומעני קו' כי תשיתמו שכב (תהלים כא:יג) אי תעזלהם ג'אנבא ת'ם תרמיהם באלסהאם.</p>
<p align="right">למנצח על אילת השחר</p>
<p>מעני קו' אילת השחר (תהלים כב:א) ענד קוה אלפג'ר ואנדפאעה. ואשתקאקא מן אילותי (תהלים כב:כ) [54 א] כגבר אין איל (תהלים פח:ה). ועל (תהלים כב:א) פי מעני אלמג'אורה כמא קאל והחנים עליו (במדבר ב:ה) אנה אנשאה מע טלוע פג'ר ולד'לך יקול אלהי אקרא יומם ולא תענה ולילה ולא דומיה לי (תהלים כב:ג) לאשתראך ד'לך אלוקת ליל ואלנהאר ודומיה (תהלים כב:ג) פועילה מעני אלקראר ואלהדו. וקו' ואנכי תועלת ולא [איש] (תהלים כב:ז) עלי מעני ואן כנת למ אלחק באבאי' [...] לסת בדונהם פי אלתוכל עליך ואלתקה ב[...] בר תמרה ד'לך ולם אכלו מן עונך ו[...] הד'א אלוקת פלא תבעד עני אד'א קרבת אלשדה מני ואד'א עדמת אלמעונה מן סואך אד' קד אחפט' בי אלאקוויא מן אלאעדא. וקיל פי יבש כחרש כחי (תהלים כב:טז) אנה יעני חכי בדלאלה לשוני. וקו' ולשוני מדבק מלקוחי (תהלים כב:טז) דליל עלי תעדיה ואלמפעולין פתקול הדבק לשוני מלקוחי. ויג'וז עודה אלצ'מיר פי תשפתני (תהלים כב:טז) עלי אללשון לאנה מונת' ומד'כר פשבה לסאנה ופמה בגתאתא פי תראב אי מואת לא חס להא ואן כאנת מכל'אטבה לה פמענאה נצבתי ווצע'תני ללמות. ויראו בי (תהלים כב:יח) ישמתון בי [54 ב] ויכון מן ראה אלמתעדי באלבא מא הו פי מעני אללד'ה ואלארתיאה כי ראו בארון ייי (שמואל א ו:יט) לראות בטובת בחירך (תהלים קו:ה) ואמא מוצ'ע אלמוג'דה עלי בית שמש לאנה סרוא ברג'וע אלארון מן גיר אן יחזנא עלי [...] אבה ויכון מענאה אלאלתפאת ואלתאמל מ[ת']ל אם ראה תראה בעני אמתך (שמואל א א:יא). ויג'וז [...] א מן הד'א מן דון דינך ראו ראיתי [את עני] עמי (שמות ג:ז) וירא את עניינו (דברים כו:ז) ויג'מ(ע) [...] כלב (תהלים כב:כא) ואריה (תהלים כב:כב) כמאם אעדאיה ואג'לאהם ויג'וז פי קו' ומקרני רמים עניתני (תהלים כב:כב) אן יעני כאשר מקרני עניתני. ויג'וז פי קו' ומקרני רמים ויג'וז אן יצ'ע אלמאצ'י פיה מוצ'ע אלמסתקבל עלי מעני תענני. ויג'וז פיה אן יריד מעני אלשרט. וג'ואבה אספרה שמך לאחי (תהלים כב:כג) יעני ואם תושיעני מפי אריה ומקרני רמים עניתני אספרה שמך לאחי לאן אלשרט יצלח פיה לפט' אלמצ'י ואלאסתקבאל ג'מיעא. ומעני קו' מאתך תהלתי בקהל רב (תהלים כב:כו) אי יואפיני מן פצ'לך וג'את'ך מא אפכ'ר בה [32 א] פי אלג'מע אלכת'ר ווצ'ע אלאכ'באר מוצ'ע אלמכ'אטבה פי קו' נגד יראיו (תהלים כב:כו) אי נגד יראיו אי נגד יראיך. וקו' ומושל בגיום (תהלים כב:כט) יעני והוא משל בגיום. ואלצ'מיר פי אכלו וישתחוו כל דשני ארץ (תהלים כב:ל) עלי אלג'יום (תהלים כב:כט) יעני אכלו דשני ארץ וישתחוו אי ינאלוא נעים אלארץ' ודסמהא וסג'דוא שאכרין ללה עליהא ווצ'ע אלפרד מכאן אלג'מע פי ונפשו לא חיה (תהלים כב:ל) יעני ונפשם לא חיו ויריד אנה לא יכון מא נאלו ואלתד'וא סבבא לבקאיהם וחיאתהם בל באדוא ותלפוא ואנמא יבקא בעד אלמות אל'ת'נא עלי אהל עבאדה אללה ואלאחדותה אלג'מילה עלי ד'וי טאעתה כמא קאל זרע יעבדנו יספר ליי לדור (תהלים כב:לא) ויכון מעני כי עשה (תהלים כב:לא) מא צנעה מן ג'מיל מת'ל אולי יעשה ייי לנו (שמואל א יד:ו) רנו שמים כי עשה ייי (ישעיה מד:כג).</p>
<p align="right">מזמור לדוד יי רועי</p>
<p>בנאות דשא (תהלים כג:ב) מרוג' אלכלא. וסמאהא מי מנחות (תהלים כג:ב) למא יחבה מן אל'תודע הנאך ואלראחה. ולמא [32 ב] אועב בד'כר אלמראחל אלכ'צבה ואלמנאהל אלע'ד'בה אלתי יאנס אלי מת'להא ויחן אלי חלולהא ויבקא בהא אמנא מטינא ד'כר איצ'א אנה לא יפארקה אלאמן ואלטמאנינה פי מוצ'ע אלמפאז ומכאן אלמכ'אף איצ'א ת'קה ברבה ותורכא</p>

<p>עליה כמא קאל גם כי אלך בגיא צלמות לא אירא רע (תהלים כג:ד). ויעני בקו' שבטך (תהלים כג:ד) צולתך עלי אעדא. ומשענתך (תהלים כג:ד) מעונתך אלי. וקו' תערך לפני שלחן (תהלים כג:ה) יעני פי גיר מט'אנה כמא קאל לערוך שלחן במדבר. וקד יג'וז אן יג'רי שבטך (תהלים כג:ד) עלי לפט' רועי (תהלים כג:א) אלד'י עליה ג'רי בנאות דשא ומי מנוחות (תהלים כג:ב) אד' שאן אלראעי אן ירתאד ללגנם אלמראעי אלכ'ציבה במרוג' אלכ'לא ואלמנאהל אלעד'בה ואלמיהא אלגזירה ואן ינהצ'הא באלעצא כמא קאל רעה עמך בשבטך (מיכה ז:יד). ומעני ושבתי בבית יי (תהלים כג:ו) א(ס?) תודע ואסתקר מן בשובה ונחת (ישעיהו ל:טו) בשיבתו במחנים (שמואל ב יט:לג).</p>
<p>לדוד מזמור ליי הארץ ומלואה</p>
<p>[33 א] לים יעני בקו' כי הוא על ימים יסדה (תהלים כד:ב) אן אלארץ' ת'אבתה עלי אלבחר ומוצ'ועה עליה לאן כרה אלמא מחיטה בכרה אלארץ' גיר אנהא תעלקת פי מוצ'ע ואחד באד'א מא אנכשף מא אלארץ' אלתי כאנת מגטיה להא ואנמא יריד אן תמאם שכלהא ונט'אם היתהא באלבחר ואלאנהאר. וכתיב אשר לא נשא לשוא נפשו (תהלים כד:ד) וקרי נפשי וקד כאנת אללגה אלמכתובה אחק באלקראה לאטראד אלקול עלי אלכ'באר וכאן יעוד אלצ'מיר עלי יי ונפשו פי מוצ'ע שמו. ויעקב (תהלים כד:ו) בדל מן קו' מבקשי פניך (תהלים כד:ו). ונעם קול אלואיל פי תאוילהם פי שאו שערים ראשיכם (תהלים כד:ז) לאנה ישיר בה אלי דכ'ול אלארון פי בית קדש הקדשים ואנהא מכ'טבה ללאבואב עלי טריק אלמג'אז ללתרחיב ואלתלביה.</p>
<p>לדוד אליך יי נפשי אשא</p>
<p>מעני קו' נפשי אשא (תהלים כה:א) אהדי נפסי מן וישא משאת (בראשית מג:לד) [33 ב] משאת המלך (שמואל ב יא:ח) ואל עונם ישאו נפשו (הושע ד:ח). יריד יהדון נפיהם אלי ד'נובהם אי יביחונהא להא במא יג'ניהא מן תמאדהא. ויג'וז פי קו' על כן יורה חטאים בדרך (תהלים כה:ח) וג'האן אן תכון אלבא פי בדרך מתצלה ביורה ויעני בקו' בדרך אלסראט אלמסתקיי כמא יקול ואורך בדרך זו תלך (תהלים לב:ח) והוריתי אתכם בדרך הטובה (שמואל א יב:כג). ויג'וז כונהא מתעלקה בחטאים וחטאים מפעול יורה פקט לאנה יסתבד פיה מן דון בדרך כמא קאל אלהיו יורנו (ישעיהו כח:כו). אתה הורני (איוב לד:לב) הורוני ואם אחריש (איוב ו:כד). ויכון חטאים מתעדי אלי בדרך בראבט אלבא מת'ל ובמשפטיך חטאו במ (נחמיה ט:כט) ותעלקת אלבא הנא באלפעל מן קבל ומן בעד פאנה לו קיל ובמשפטיך חטאו לכפי וליקאל איצ'א ובמשפטיך חטאו במ לאג'זי אי יהדי אלד'י צ'לוא אלסביל. וקו' צרות לבבי הרחיבו (תהלים כה:יז) מג'אז פי אלכת'רה לאן אלסעה לא תכון מע אלצ'יק. ויקתצ'י קו' תם וישר יצרוני (תהלים כה:כא) אלא יח'יד ען סבל אלפצל אלי סואה פיוכן חקיקה באלחפט' מן רבה וירג'ו כון ד'לך בתורכה עליה כמא קאל כי קויתיך (תהלים כה:כא).</p>
<p>[57 א] (26) לדוד שפטני יי</p>
<p>ויעני בקולה שפטני (תהלים כו:א) אנצפני מן ט'אלמי. ומעד ינתסב אלי ג'מלה אלאנסאן במא קאל הנא וביני בטחתי לא אמעד (תהלים כו:א). ואלי קדמיה לא תמעד אשוריו (תהלים לז:לא) ורגל מועדת (משלי כה:יט). וקאל אבו זכריא אנה פעול ג'א עלי בניה פועל וד'לך מנה גלט לאן אצחאבה אלד'י אדכ'ל מעה אעני אוכל (שמות ג:ב) ולקח (מלכים ב ב:י) ויוקשים (קהלת ט:יב) מתעדיה פכל פעול מנהא מפעול לאן יקוש מתעד פעל מאץ' יקושתי לך (ירמיה נ:כד). ואמא מעד פליס ממא תעדי פליס אד'א מועדה ממא יצלח אן יקול פיה מעודת¹⁵⁴⁵ אנמא ינבגי אן יקול פיה מועדת באלחולם. פאעלה גיר מתעד פעלהא מת'ל אנכי ישבת (מלכים ב ד:יג) פעדל באלחלם אלי אלשרק לא מן אללבס ולאנהמא מן אלצ'ם. ואנא</p>

1545 Ms. מועדם

אעגב מן שיוך' הד'א אלעלם רחמהם אללה כיף לם יאבהוא אלי אנכאר הד'א עליה עלי אן צאחב אלמסתלחק קד אצ'אף אליהא לנער היולד (שופטים יג:ח) ולו אנה יכ'רג' מנהא מועדת וידכ'ל מכאנהא [57 ב] היולד לכאן מציבא וכד'לך כ'צמה צאחב רסאיל אלרפאק. לו לם ימאנעה פיוון לנער היולד מת'להא במעני היולד יהתתדי אלי אנכאר מועדת. ותבקי אלאלפאט' בעדדהא אלאול ולא תצח זיאדה פיהא לא חסן לאן כון היולד פי מעני היולד. אחסון מן כונה במעני אשר יולד כמא קאל לאן כונה פי מעני היולד יכון האוה ללתעריף צפה לנער מת'לה אלד'י הי מערפה. וליס פיה עלה לאן קול אבי זכריא פעול ג'א עלי בניה פועל. לא יוג'ב אלא יכון מפעול גיר פעול. אלא תרי אנהא מפעולה ואן לם תכון פעול חאשי מועדת. ואן כאן אראד אבו זכריא גיר ד'לך פהו [גל]ט אכ'ר ואנמא נקול ד'לך חמלא עלי אלאכת'ר עלי סביל אלמג'אז. ואמא אלחיקקה לאנהם פועלים והי מפעולה ולא חאג'ה בנא אלי כונהא פעולים לאנה קד תאדי מנהא מעני אלמפעול והו בחסבהא פאלחאק לנער היולד בהא ואג'ב אד' הו פי מענאת ואמא כונה פי מעני אשר יולד. פמעלול [34 א] בעלתין והמא אדעאוה פי האוה אנהא במעני אשר מע אמכאן כונהא מת'ל הד'א לנער אלד'י חקה אן יכון להנער פתרתבט אלצפה באלמוצוף ויתצל אלנעת באלמנעות מת'לה ת'ם כון אלמאצ'י מכאן אלמסתקבל עלי ג'הא אנה ביאן מא ועד בה והד'א איצ'א עלה. וקד יקאל מעד איצ'א ללחקוין ומתניהם תמיד המעד (תהלים סט:כד). וקד תקלב עינהמא והמעדת להם כל מתנים (יחזקאל כט:ז). ויחתמל אן יריד בקו' **ועם נעלמים לא אבוא** (תהלים כו:ד) אלמתצאביין אי אלד'י יות'רון טרק אלצבא מן אללהו ואללעב. ויג'וז אן יעני אהל אלריא אלד'י יכפי מנהם אלשר אלד'י הם עליה כמא יט'הרונה מן כ'יר לא חקיקה לה ויכון אשתקאקה עלי אלמד'הב אלאול מן עלם ועלמה לימי עלומיו (איוב לג:כה). ולמא אועב בד'כר אלקום אלד'י ישנאם ויתג'נבהם מן אהל אלשר ואלפסוק אכד פי וצף מא יחבה פי דניאא אי עבדה רבה ומלאזמה ביתה ומהל סכינתה פקאל ייי **אהבתי מעון ביתך** [34 ב] **ומקום משכן כבודך** (תהלים כו:ח). **לשמייע** (תהלים כו:ז) במעני להשמיע מת'ל לשמיד מעזניה (ישעיהו כג:יא) לשבית עניי ארץ (עמוס ח:ד). ת'ם עאד' ידעו פי אלכ'לאץ מנהם ואלנג'אה מן מת'ל עואקבהם פקאל אל תאסוף עם חטאים נפשי (תהלים כו:ט).

[למנצח ייי אורי וישעי ...]

[שמע ייי קולי אקרא (תהלים כו:ז)] [26 א] פי מוצ'ע בקרא[י]. ולך פי קו' לך אמר לבי בקשו פני (תהלים כו:ח) במעני ענך אי ען קולך אערב צ'מירי למן אמרת פקלת אלמתסוא רצ'אי מן כ'לקך ת'ם עדת מאמורא מנך פצרת מלתמסא רצ'אך במא אמרת בה נפסי במת'ל מא אמרת בה מאמורך ענך. ותקדירה בעבורך אמר לבי בקשו פני וגם אני את פניך ייי אבקש פאלמג'מע פי בקשו אלמטיעון אצחאבה וצ'מיר פני עאיד עלי אללה. ומעני **אל תט באף עבדך** (תהלים כו:ט) לא תמל עלי בגצ'ב מנך. **ואף** (תהלים כו:ט) מן אלסמא אלמחד'ופה עינאתהא ואצלהא מן כי אנפת בי (ישעיהו יב:א). פאד'א אתצלת באלמבני אשתד פאוה פט'הר נונה באלאנדגאם קיל אפי אפו אפך ואצלהא אנפי אנפו אנפך. וקו' **למען שוררי** (תהלים כו:יא) צפה מצ'אעפה מן אלמעטל אלעין נעני אשורנו ולא קרוב (במדבר כד:יז) מת'ל משך ידו את לוצצים (הושע ז:ה) ואן כאן שוררי מתעדיא ולוצצים גיר מתעד פכלאהמא ממא'ל ללאצל אלד'י הו מנה. ואמא מֶן אנכר הד'ה אלבניה פי אלמעטל אלעין נעני אשורנו ולא קרוב (במדבר כד:יז) פקד אחאל לאן חג'ה [26 ב] כ'צמה תקוי במא לם יג'ד הד'ין אלמעניין פי גיר אלמעטל אלעין פבוג'ודה איאהמא כת'ירא פיה הו לם יג'ד מנהמא פי ד'ואת אלמת'לין שיא סאג לה אן יקול לה הד'ה אלבניה אלתי אדעיתהא מעדומה פי הד'ה אל ב[ניה] קד וג'דנאהא בוג'ודנא אלבניה פי הד'יין אלאצלין אלד'ין עדמנא פיהא תצריף ד'ואת אלמת'לין אצלא ובק[...].אך תסו[.].א אד' ליס לך אן תמנע אל[מע]אניין אן יציגוא מן אלמעטל אלעין עלי פעלל מתעדיא וגיר מתעד כמא צאגוהא עלי מפעלל פי אלמתעדי כ'אצה לא סימא וקד תראהא עי[נו]נא פי מא

<p>לם תג'ד מנה בד גיר מא אעתל עינה. וקד אל תתנני בנפש צרי (תהלים כז:יב) יריד לא תכליני אלי אמלהם לי ומראה מני. וקד כי קמו בי עדי שקר ויפה חמס לולא האמנתי (תהלים כז:יב-יג) במעני אנהם כאנו במוצ'ע אלט'פר בי ומכאן אלוצאל אלי לולא ת'קתי בועד אללה אלג'מיל לי ומד'הבה אלחסן פי אן ית'בת פי דון ועדהם ויצח מן דון מד'הבהם. וכתם ד'לך באלחת' עלי אלתוכל עלי אללה בקו' קוה אל יי (תהלים כז:יד) וג'א ויאמץ לבך (תהלים כז:יד) מן פעל [27 א] ת'קיל וכו' האמיץ גיר מתעד ואמא אימץ פהו מתעד.</p>
<p>לדוד אליך יי אקרא</p>
<p>קו' יהרסם ולא יבנם (תהלים כח:ה) יגו' כונה דעא עליהם. ויחתמל כונה אכ'בארא עמא סוף ילחקהם למו (תהלים כח:ח) אפעאלהם. וקו' ברוך יי כי שמע קול תחנוני (תהלים כח:ו) עלי סביל אלאסתבשאר ואלתרג'י לכו' מא דעא פיה וקו' ומשירי (תהלים כח:ז) יעני אכת'ר ממא תצ'מנה תסביחי אצ'מרה מן חמדה ושכרה. וקו' יי עז למו (תהלים כח:ח) יריד עז לו וצ'מירה עאיד עלי לבי (תהלים כח:ז). ויג'וז מת'ל הד'א אללפט' פי אלפראד מת'ל קו' מפשע עמי נגע למו (ישעיהו נג:ח) יריד נגע לו יעני אלעבד אלמוצוף בקו' והוא מחולל מפשעינו מדוכא משנותינו (ישעיהו נג:ה). וקו' ורעם ונשאם (תהלים כח:ט) יעני תכפל רזקהם ותחמל מונתהם. ומת'לה ינשאוהו אנשי מקומו (עזרא א:ד).</p>
<p>לדוד הבו ליי בני</p>
<p>וקו' הבו ליי (תהלים כט:א) כאן חקה קבו אמרא מן יָהב מת'ל [27 ב] שבו מן ישב [... ..] במו האוה בלקמץ. ובני אלים (תהלים כט:א) צפה ללמלאיכה ינאדיהם. ואעאד הבו ליי (תהלים כט:א) ת'אניה והו ממתנני ענה לאן אלכלאם יתם פי קו' הבו ליי בני אלים הבו כבוד ועז (תהלים כט:א) פג'א מת'ל אעאדתה בי הנה איביך יי כי הנה איביך יאבדו (תהלים צב:י) נשאו נהרות יי נשאו נהרות קולם (תהלים צג:ג) וגירהמא. ואשאר פי קו' אל הכבוד הרעים (תהלים כט:ג) אלי קואצף אלרעוד. ואמא בקולה קול יי חוצב להבות אש (תהלים כט:ז) אלי אלצואעק אלמנדפעה ענהא ומעני חוצב נחת מן אלמתעדי פשבה אלג'ז אלמנדפע מן אלאת'יר באלחג'ר אלמנקטע מן אלמעדן. ומעני יחולל אילות (תהלים כט:ט) יטלק טלקהא במא תנפתח באלראעד אלקאצף פתלד סריעא. וקו' ויחשף יערות (תהלים כט:ט) קלע שג'רהא פתקרע בד'לך. וקולה ובהיכלו כלו אומר כבוד (תהלים כט:ט) יעני אן אלד'ין פי היכלה ומוצ'ע קדסה שאנהם אלכראמה ואמנון ממא יחל בגירהם מן אלחואדת' יי למבול ישב (תהלים כט:י).</p>
<p>מזמור שיר חנוכת</p>
<p>וקול פי אלמזמור אל[ד'י] ליה שיר חנוכת הבית [28 א] לדוד (תהלים ל:א) [... ..] דון אן יתביין מן מעני חנוכת הבית שי. לאן ד'לך בתעריץ' כ'פי ואמא לטיף אד' כאן דוד לא מחאלה קד חזן ענד מא קיל לה לא תבנה בית לשמי כי איש מלחמות אתה ודמים שפכת (דברי הימים א כב:ח) ת'ם למא קיל לה שלמה בנך הוא יבנה ביתי וחצרותי (דברי הימים א כח:ו) עאד חזנה סרורא וג'מה פרחא אד' לם תכן הד'ה אלפצ'ילה תעדו נסלה אלי גירה פישמת בה אלעדו. ופי ד'לך יקול ולא שמחת איבי לי (תהלים לב:ב). וקו' כי רגע באפו חיים ברצונו (תהלים לו:ו) הפכת מספדי למחול לי (תהלים לב:ב) ווג'ב אן יסבק אלי חמד אללה מן קבל וצול שלמה אלי בניאנה לאן אלד'י בנאה שלמה הו מא נבי דוד בג'מיע שכלה וערצ'ת לה צפאתה ואסלם בג'מיע ד'לך אליה פאמתת'לה כמא קאל הכל בכתב מיד יי עלי השכיל כל מלאכות התבנית (דברי הימים א כח:יט). יקאל ויתן דוד לשלמה בנו את תבנית האולם ואת בתיו וגנזכיו ועליתיו וחדריו הפנימים ובית הכפרת תבנית כל אשר חיה ברוח עמו (דברי הימים א כח:יא). וקדם הד'א אלמזמור פי אול כתאבה ואן כאן מוקעה פי אכ'ר [1]מאנה אהתמאמא מנה באמרה וענאיה [28 ב] וקו' העלית משאול נפשי (תהלים לד:ד) ליס יקתצ'י אחד[.א]. ת'ם</p>

אצעדתי מת'ל מוריד שאול ויעל (א שמואל ב:ו) ואנמא יעני אנך לם תחדרני אליהא כמא קאל כי אני ייי רפאך (שמות טו:כו) ואלמעני אני אעאפך מן אלמרץ' פלא תחתאג' שפא. ויוכד ד'לך קו' **חייתני מיררדי בור** (תהלים ל:ד). ויעני בקו' **כי רגע באפו חיים ברצונו** (תהלים ל:ו) אלג'ז אלצגיר אלד'י לא יחתמל פיה אלקליל מן סכ'טה קד יפצ'י אלי זמאן טויל מן רצ'אה לאן קולה **בערב ילין בכי** (תהלים ל:ו) ינתי אלי קו' **ולבקר רנה** (תהלים ל:ו). ואד'א חצל פי **לבקר רנה** לם תנקרץ' אלרנה אלי אנקראץ' אלעמר והו מת'ל קול יעשיהו בשצף קצף הסתרתי פני רגע ממך ובחסד עולם רחמתיך (ישעיהו נד:ח). וקו' **ואני אמרתי בשלוי** (תהלים ל:ז) מעני בשלותי והד'א אלקול יתצ'מן אלמעני אלמקול ענה ויהי כי ישב המלך בביתו ויניח לו מסביב (שמואל ב ז:א) פקאל ענד מא כון בדואם אלדעה ואלהדו לנתן ראה נא אנכי יושב בבית ארזים וארון ברית ייי יושב בבית היריעה וד'לך אלוקת קאל בשלותו בל ימוט לעולם ואג'אבה נתן אל כל אשר בלבבך לך עשה (שמואל ב ז:ג). וקו' **יני ברצונך העמדתה להררי** (תהלים ל:ח) [29 א] עלי הד'א אלקול מן נתן אלמתצ'מן ען דוד פי ג'מיע מראדה. ודל קו' **הסתרתי פניך הייתי נבהל** (תהלים ל:ח) עלי קו' לה האתה תבנה לי בית (שמואל ב ז:ה) ומא תקדם מן מנעה ען ד'לך ותאכ'ירה חתי לא ילחקה פי עמרה וד'לך יאסף בקו' **מה בצע בדמי ברדתי אל שחת** (תהלים ל:י) שוקא מנה אלי אן ימתד עמרה פישדה ושביה במא ערץ' למשה על אלס' מן אלתאסף עלי מא לם יכדי דכל בני ישראל בלד אלשאם. ומע **העמדת להררי עז** (תהלים ל:ח) העמדתני להר עז אי אסנדתני אלי טור מניע קוי פאליא מזידה פי **הררי** מת'ל חוצבי מרום (ישעיהו כב:טז) בני אתונו (בראשית מט:יא). וחדף אלצ'מיר פי **העמדת** ללעלם בה אנה יעני באלמפעול נפסה וכד'לך קו' **יזמרך כבוד** (תהלים ל:יג) יעני כבודי מת'ל עזי וזמרת יה (שמות טו:ב) יעני וזמרת כי כל ישעי וכל חפץ (שמואל ב כג:ה) יעני וכל חפצי.

למנצח מזמור לדוד

יעני בקו' **השמרים הבלי שוא** (תהלים לא:ז) אלד'י [י]רצדון חרכאת אלג'ום פכת'ארון בד'לך מא יואפק מטלובאתהם [29 ב] וינאלון בה בזעמהם אראדתהם והי הבלים ושוא. ואעתאץ' הו מן ד'לך באלתורך עלי אללה ואלתסלים לה פכאן ד'לך אוכד פי בלוג מראדה ואצח פי ניל מגרובה מן דון רצד לא יכדי ואכ'תיאר לא יג'רי. וג'מע פי קו' **מכל צוררי הייתי חרפה** (תהלים לא:יב) אלצוררים מע אלשכנים אד' אלשכנים ליסוא ממן יוצף אוהבים ולא שונאים גיר אנהם אד'א ראו מא נזל בה מן אלבלאיא ודהמה מן אלרזאיא צאר להם **חרפה** מת'ל אלצוררים. ואמא אלמיודעים אלד'י הם אוהבים פפזעוא ואתקוא מן אן יחל בהם מת'ל מא חל בה פלד'לך קאל **ופחד למיודעי** (תהלים לא:יב) מן דון אן יסמתון בה מת'ל אלצוררים או יפכרון פי עארה מת'ל אלשכנים. ואמא **נשכחתי כמת מלב** (תהלים לא:יג) פאן הד'ה אלשכחה מנסובה אלי אללה תע' לאנה לו כאן מנה בחאל ענאיה למא כאנת חאלה אלתי ד'כר. ויעני בקו' **דבת רבים** (תהלים לא:יד) אגתיאבה איאה ווצפה לה בגיר אוצאפה כמא קאל להוציא דבה על הארץ (במדבר יד:לו). יחתמל **ידמו לשאול** (תהלים לא:יח) מן אלתצריף אן יכון פי מעני וכל אנשי מלחמתה [35 א] ידמו (ירמיהו נ:ל) ויכון [...]ע אלא מכל'פ אלמי[ם] ואן יכון איצ'א מסתקבלא [...] מת'ל מ[...] מת'אלה עלי אלוג'הין ג'מיעא ויתמו ימי בכי אבל משה (דברים לד:ח) **ותאלמנה** (תחלים לא:יט) מסתקבל אנפעאל אד' קיל ונאלמתי וכאן חק אלפה אלתשדיד מת'ל שין פי תשכרנה (תהלים לז:טו), יז ישעיהו כז:יא) [...] ינצרך קו' **ב[ג]אוה ובז** (תהלים לא:יט) אלי חאלהם מן אלאנתכ'א ואלצולא ענד מא יפתכון עלי אלצדיק במא סמג' וכל'שן מן אלכלאם. וקו' **ובז** (תהלים לא:יט) במא ינאל אלצדיק מן ד'לך ומעני קו' **אשר צפנת לראיך** (תהלים לא:כ) אן ד'לך אלכליר כאן להם ענדך מד'כורא ולדיך מכל'נוזא חתי א[י] אה[י]. תה בעד [ת'ם נגד ב] **ני אדם** (תהלים לא:כ). ויעני בקו' **מרוכסי איש** (תהלים לא:כא) מא אעוג' מן אכלאקהם ותוער במנזלה מא תוער מן אלטרק אעני והרכסים

לבקעה (ישעיהו מ:ד) ומן הד'א וירכסו את החשן (שמות כח:כח) ועלי מא פסרנאה פי בעץ' כ'טבנא ובינא אנה ליס חבכא כמא פסר פיה ונחן נעידה הנא למן רבמא למ יקע אליה ד'לך אלמג'מוע. ונקול אן אלאפוד כאנת פסקיה ממדודה עלי כתפי אהרן וולדה מן אלכנהים גדולים ופי טרפיהא אלד'ין [35 ב] באד'א טרפיהא כתפיה אלחג'ראן אלמ[נקוש]אן מן אעלאהמא סלסלתאן מעלקתאן מן אמאם כתפיה אלי חנת' יבתדי מכאן אלחשן מן צדדה פתדכ'ל פי חלקתי אלחשן מן אעלאה פימתסך מן אמאם. ופי אספל אלאפוד הלכתאן תלי הלכתין אלחשן מן אעלאה מכאן יעוג' באלחשן ען מכאנה בכ'יט אלתכלת אלמדכ'ול פי חלקתה חתי תבלג אלי חלקתי אלאפוד [פי] שדד וימתסך מן אלג'אנבין. וידל קו' **כי הפליא חסדו לי בעיר מצור** (תהלים לא:כב) אנה כאן מחצורא פי אחד אלמעאקל פאן תכון קעילה (שמואל א כג:ה) ואלא פמצודה חין נהא¹⁵⁴⁶ גד ען אלבקא פיהא פקאל לה לא תשב במצודה (שמואל א כב:ה) או סואהמא. וקו' **נגזרתי** (תהלים לא:כג) מקתטע מן גרזין. וקו' **בחפזי** (תהלים לא:כג) ישיר אלי אלוות אלמקול פיה נחפז ללכת מפני שאול (שמואל א כג:כו) אד' קארב אלהאך. וקו' **משלם על יתר** (תהלים לא:כד) יחתמל וג'הין אן יריד יסלמהם אלי אלאוראר יעני אלסהאם אלמנדפעה מנהא פכני בהא ענד כמא כני אלקסו איצ'א פקאל דרך קשתו (איכה ב:ד) ואלפעלה ללסהאם. יקול פי מוצ'ע אכ'ר ידרך חציו (תהלים נח:ח). [36 א] ואן יריד יכאפי באקיהם אי מן בקי מנהם עלי אן קד'פני אכת'רהם. ויכון **יתר** עלי הד'א מצ'אפא לעשה גאווה (תהלים לא:כד) וישלם (תהלים לא:כד) יצל אלי מפעולה אלת'ני באללם ישלם שנים לרעהו (שמות כב:ח) לאן שנים מפעול אול לרעהו ת'אני ויצל בעל הגמול אתם משלמים עלי (יואל ד:ד) פגמול אול ועלי ת'אן ודונה מא ישלמוני רעה (תהלים לה:יב) ישלמך טובה (שמואל א כד:כ) פאלצ'מיראן מפעול אול ורעה וטובה מפעול ת'אן.

לדוד משכיל אשרי

נשוי פשע (תהלים לב:א) באליא מתצרף מן נשה באלהא ונשוא עון (ישעיהו לג:כד) מן ד'ואת אלאלף. ו**כסוי** (תהלים לב:א) דאל עלי כסה אלכ'פיה אלמתעדי ואלפאעל מנה וכוסה קלון ערום (משלי יב:טז). ואמא אלכ'פיה אלגיר מתעדי פהו עבית כשית (דברים לב:טו) והו מנחרף ען הד'א אלמעני קלילא אלי מעני אלעבל ואלסמן ואן כאן לא יכלו מנה כמא קאל פי מן סמן כת'ירא פי כסה פניו בחלבו (איוב טו:כז) ומעני **כי החרשתי בלו עצמי** (תהלים לב:ג) אד'א אמסכת מן אלכלאם [36 ב] סאכ'ת עט'אמי במא כאן לי אן אציח מנה מדה נהארי. פקו' **בלו עצמי** (תהלים לב:ג) במעני רקבו עצמי כמא קאל יבוא רקב בעצמי (חבקוק ג:טז) ורקב עצמות קנאה (משלי יד:ל). וקו' **בשאגתי** (תהלים לב:ג) עלי מא כאן יכון שאגה לו (ישעיה ה:כט) למ יחריש ואמא אד'א החריש פצאר יצ'יק במא למ ישאג אד' כאן יסתריח פי ד'לך ורבמא כאנת אלשאגה צותא לא כלאמא פיכון מחריש ושואג מעא פצאר איצ'א יצ'יק במא מנעה אלמה מן אלכלאם אלד'י יסתריח בה ווקפה עלי אלשאגה פקט. וקיל פי קו' **נהפך לשדי** (תהלים לב:ד) דסמי וכ'צבי אסתעארה מן אלשד השמן (במדבר יא:ח). ו**אודה** (תהלים לב:ה) יתאול מעניין מעני אלאקראר והו מתעד באללאם מת'ל **אודה עלי פשעי ליי** (תהלים לב:ה) ותן לו תודה (יהושע ז:יט) יעני אלחמד והו מתעד באללאם איצ'א הודו ליי כי טוב (תהלים קו:א) ודברי הימים א טז:לד) הודינו לך אלהים (תהלים עה:ב) ודונה אודך ייי אלהי בכל לבבי (תהלים פו:יב) אודה ייי מאד בפי (תהלים קט:ל). וקו' **על זאת יתפלל כל חסיד אליך** (תהלים לב:ו) יעני ען גפראן אלד'נב ותג'אז אלכ'טא לאנה ואן כאן חסיד לא יאמן אן יכון מנה זל ידעו אלי אללה פי תג'אזזה ענה וד'לך [37 א] לאנה חסיד ולד'לך מא אתפק לה וקת אג'אבתה כמא קאל **לעת מצוא** (תהלים לב:ו) מת'ל קו' ובקשתם משם את ייי אלהיך ומצאת (דברים ד:כט) וקאל ואני תפלתי לך ייי עת רצון (תהלים סט:יד). וקו' **רק לשטף מים רבים אליו לא יגיעו** (תהלים לב:ו) אראד בתכ'ציצה רק לאנה ואן כאן חסיד ודעא רבה אלד'י

¹⁵⁴⁶ Ms. נחאה

פי אלמט'אן אג'אבתה פאנמא דעא אליה פי דפע אלצ'ר אלד'י קד אחס בקרבה מנה פתוקע וצולה אליה לא פי מקארצ'תה עלי פצ'לה אד' למ יכון ענד נפסה אהלא לד'לך. ומעני קו' **רני פלט תסובבני סלה** (תהלים לב:ז) ותחית בי אצואת אלנג'אה ואלכ'לאץ יריד אצואת אלמלאיכה מבשריה באלנג'אה ואלכ'לאץ וחכאהא פי מא יתלוהא מן קו' **אשכילך ואורך בדרך זו תלך** (תהלים לב:ח) יעני אן תלך אלאצואת תקתצ'י קולהא אלהמך ואחדוך טריקא תציר עליה. **ותסובבני** (תהלים לב:ז) פי מכאן יסובבני מת'ל וברוב יועצים תקום (משלי טו:כב) ועמו על עפר תשכב (איוב כ:יא). וקד יג'וז אן יעני **ברני פלט** (תהלים לב:ז) פתכון מכל'אטבה ללה. ומעני קו' **איעצה עליך עיני** (תהלים לב:ח) אנך תסיר טריקך תלך בחסן תדבירי לך ג'מיל ראיי פין [37 ב] ותקדירה איעצה ואשים עליך עיני ועלי מא ביינא פי קו' שחו גבעות עולם הליכת עולם לו (חבקוק ג:ו) וגירה. וק' **אל תהיו כסוס כפרד** (תהלים לב:ט) הו תביין אלעצה אלמד'כורה אי ארשדך נאהיא לך ען אלתשביה באלדואב אלמלוכה באללג'ם ואלארסאן לילא יצל אדאואהא. **ולבלום** (תהלים לב:ט) לפט'ה מפרדה פי מעני אלסד וקאל אואלנא בלום פין מלדבר. **ועדיי** (תהלים לב:ט) פמה. ומת'לה המשביע בטוב עדיך (תהלים ג:ה). וקד יג'וז פי קו' **בל קרוב אליך** (תהלים לב:ט) אן יכון במעני חאשאך הד'א אלוץף ובעיד ענך מת'לה כמה קאל ועצת רשעים רחקה מני (איוב כב:יח). ווג'ה צלתה בהד'א כקו' **רבים מכאובים לרשע** (תהלים לב:י) לאנה מן גפל תפקד מכאנה מן אלטאעה ואלמעציה ותעת'ר מנזלתה מן אלכ'יר או אלשר חתי לא תזל קדמיה כת'ירא. פיצעב תנקלה מן אלמעציה אלי אלטאעה ויבעד תחולה מן אלשר אלי אלכ'יר פאשבה אלדואב פי אלגפלה וקלה אלשעור ואלפטנה פהו רשע מן חית' כאן ימכנה גיר ד'לך מן אלאחתראם ואלתחפט'. ואמא צלתה בד'לך **והבוטח ביי חסד יסובבנהו** (תהלים לב:י) פלא יושך אן [38 א] יכון אלגאפל ען אמור אכראה אלמשבה **בסוס ופרד** וקד ענא באמר דניאה תציבה אלאוג'אע ואלאלאם וכ'יבה אלמטאלב ואלגאפל ען אמור דניאה אלמעני באמור אכראה והו הבוטח ביי מן חית' תורך פי רזקה ומעישתה עליה ת'ם לם ישגל באלה בגיר מא ינאל בה ת'ואב אלאכ'רא ונעים דאר אלבקא יושך בלוג מרגובה איצ'א פי דניאה פלם יעדס כ'ירא. **והרנינו** (תהלים לב:יא) פעל ת'קיל גיר מתעדי וקד תעדי פי קו' ולב אלמנה ארנין (איוב כט:יג).

רננו צדיקים ביי

ונאווה פי קו' **נאווה תהלה** (תהלים לג:א) מנפעלה ואלמנפעל ומראיך נאווה (שיר השירים ב:יד). וקד קיל אנפעאל נאווה קדש ייי (תהלים צג:ה) ואן כאן ט'אהר אלאלף ולו כאן לינא לכאן מת'ל **נאווה תהלה** ולו ט'הרת אלף **נאווה תהלה** לכאן איצ'א מת'לה אלא תרי אן כי לא נעשה כפסח הזה (מלכים ב כג:כב) אלד'י הו אנפעאל מסאוי לכל נעשה במרחשת (ויקרא ז:ט) אלד'י הו מנפעלה לאנה צפה ללמנחה אלמתקדם ד'כראה [38 ב] [...] וקול [מנפ]עלה עלי אלכנא לי [...] אלמעני לאנא נפסרהמא עמל ומעמולה אי צנע ומצנועה. **ונבל עשור** (תהלים לג:ב) הו זק יזמר פיה ב' אצאבע תתעאודה תכון פיה י' ת'קב. ומעני קו' **כונס כנד מי הים** (תהלים לג:ז) אד' כאן ט'הור סטח אלארץ' באמר אללה ותראה היבשה (בראשית א:ט) לם ינקץ אלמא עמא כאן עליה לכנה אכתנו ותעבא בעצ'ה עלי בעץ' ואלצ'מיר פי קו' **ויהי כי הוא אמר ויהי** (תהלים לג:ט) עאיד עלי אלאמר אלמצ'מר פי **אמר** וכד'לך **ויעמוד** (תהלים לג:ט) צ'מירה עאיד עלי אלצווי אלמצ'מר פי **צוה** (תהלים לג:ט) והד'א אצח מן קול גירנא ען אללה תע' אנה קאל ללשי כון¹⁵⁴⁷ פכאן לאנה קולה ללשי ישיר אלי מוג'וד ואד'א כאן מוג'ודא פקד סבק כונה ולם יחתאג' אן יקאל כן למא קד כאן בעד ואן כאן מעדומא פאלעדום ליס בשי פיקאל לה כן ואד'א קלנא נחן קאל ליכן אמר כד'י וכד'י פכאן מן קאלה אנמא מענאה אן יכון שי לם יכן בעד. **והשגיח** (תהלים לג:יד) פי מעני אלאלתפאת והד'ה אללגה ענד אלאואיל פאשיה. וקולה [39 א] **היוצר יחד לבם** (תהלים לג:טו) מע קו' **המבין אל**

¹⁵⁴⁷ I.e., כן.

<p>כל מעשיהם (תהלים לג:טו) אעתבאר פי כ'לקהם מן טינה ואחדה ואכ'תלאף אהואיהם ואפעאלהם בגיר נהאיה והו מע ד'לך מחיט ג'מיעהא עלמא ומחתוי על אסרארהא אלכ'פיה. וצלחה בד'לך אין המלך נושע ברב חיל (תהלים לג:טו) לאן מן אפעאלהם ואעמאלהם מא לא יג'רי עלי תקדירהם ולא יאוי אלי תדבירהם בל עלי מא קדרה ושאה והו ימאת'ל קו' יין הפיר עצת גוים (תהלים לג:י). וחכה ויחל פעלאן מתעדיין באללאם. אמא חכה פיתעדי דון אללאם איצ'א כמא קאל חכה את איוב בדברים (איוב לב:ד) ואלמעני אנה אמהל עליה ותואני ען מכ'אט־בתה למא כאן אצחאב איוב אסן מנה לא ען כסל ועג'ז מנה פי אלמכ'אטבה וג'א חכה כ'פיפא איצ'א מתעדיא באללאם אשרי כל חוכי לו (ישעיהו ל:יח). ואמא יחל פאנה וצל אלי מפעולה בראבט אללאם יחלנו לך (תהלים לג:כב). ואמא על אשר יחלתני (תהלים קיט:מט) פאנה מתעד אלי מפעולין ואלמעני רג'יתני איאה אי ג'עלתני אן ארג'ו מא סבק מן כרים ועדך פחד'ף אל [39 ב] אלאול ואללאם מן אלת'אני אסתכ'פאפא וחקא אליו אולי כמא קאל באנו אל הארץ אשר שלחתנו (במדבר יג:כז) יעני אשר שלחתני אליה.</p>	<p>לדוד בשנותו את טעמו</p>
<p>ומעני ונהרו (תהלים לד:ו) יסתצ'ון וחפר ממא ינסב אלי ג'מיע אללאנסאן באו עדיה ויחפרו (איוב ו:כ) ואלי אלוג'ה מנה פקט ופניהם אל יחפרו (תהלים לד:ו). וקד ג'א מנה אלת'קיל אלרבאעי גיר מתעדי איצ'א החפיר לבנון (ישעיהו לג:ט) כי לא תחפירי (ישעיהו נד:ד). ואמא ג'ואז נסבה הד'א אלת'קיל אלרבאעי גיר מתעדי איצ'א החפיר לבנון (ישעיהו לג:ט) מת'ל אלכ'פיף פיתכ'אפא פיה אלקול פמן אג'אזה קיאסא עלי אלכ'פיף אד' הו פי מענאה וגיר מתעד מת'לה לא ירד בחג'ה ומן מעני מנה איצ'א וקאל אני אנמא וג'דת ד'לך מן אלכ'פיף מן דון אלת'קיל ליס תקם עליה חג'ה. ואלמפעול פי הביטו (תהלים לד:ו) זה עני קרא ייי שמע (תהלים לד:ז) ואצ'מר פי הביטו ג'מאעה אלמנאפסין פי טאעה אללה אלחרצא עליהם אנהם אד'א [40 א] אלתפתוא אלי ע'אן דליל קד דעא אלי אללה פאג'אבה ואגאת'ה תחללת וג'וההם ואיקנא באלנג'אה ואמנא אלכ'יבה. וקו' טעמו (תהלים לד:ט) יעני אכ'תברוא ואלבוא עלי טריק אלתשביה באלד'וק אלד'י הו אכ'תבאר אלאטעמה. ויא ויראו ייי (תהלים לד:י) אמר מחד'וף אללאם ואן כתב פי אלכ'ט ואצלה יראו מת'ל קראו לי לבת שבע (מלכים א א:כח) והו ח'יניד' ישבה מסתקבל ראה אעני יראו צדקים וישמחו (איוב כב:יט) ורבמא אכ'תיר פיה אלחד'ף עלי ט'אהר מן אג'ל ד'לך. קו' מי האיש החפץ חיים (תהלים לד:יג) פי מוצ'ע אלנדא יעני איאה אלרג'ל אלמריר אלח'יאה אחפט' לסאנך ען קול אלשר. וקו' צעקו ויין שמע (תהלים לד:יח) ינבי ען מוצ'ע אלתובה אנהם ואן כ'אטא קד תנאהו פי אלשר ובאלג'וא פי אלפסק חתי אסתחקו מן גצ'ב אללה מה יביד ד'כרהם וימחי את'רהם פאנהם מתי תאבוא אסתצרכ'ו מן גצ'ב אללה אגאת'הם ואסתנקד'הם. ויג'וז פי קו' יאשמו (תהלים לד:כב) יוחשון מת'ל האשימים (תהלים ה:יא). למען יחרדו ויאשמו (יחזקאל ו:ו).¹⁵⁴⁸ יג'וז כונה יאת'מון. ואלאול ענדי אליק באלמעני לכונה עקובה מת'ל תמותות (תהלים לד:כב) [40 ב] פי אול אלפסוק.</p>	<p>לדוד ריבה ייי את יריבי</p>
<p>יריבי (תהלים לה:א) יעני כ'צומה ויאוה מזידה כמא [...]א פי את כל היקום (בראשית ז:כג) לא תתן את יבולה (דברים יא:יז) עלי כי בול הרים ישאו לו (איוב מ:כ). ואלמג'אז פי קו' החזק מגן וצנה וקומה בעזרתי (תהלים לה:ב) והרק חנית וסגר (תהלים לה:ג) אד' כאן אללה מתעאליא ען מת'ל הד'ה אלצפאת אן אלחנית ואלמגן ואלצנה אלתי אסתלחהא פי חרב אעדאיי יצחבהא עונך ותאיידך פתכון מנסובה אליך. וקו' וסגר לקראת רדפי (תהלים לה:ג) יעני אחג'בה לעזרתי יעני מטאלב וסד פי וג'וההם אבואב אלוצול אלי כמא קאל ויסגר ייי בעדו (בראשית ז:טז). ישועתך אני (תהלים לה:ג) והו</p>	

¹⁵⁴⁸ Ms. למען יאשמו ויחרדו.

אסם אלפעל יוג'ב אן יוצף אלבארי ישועה ועזרה ומגן לאן אלנצרה ואלאגאט'ה ואלמעונה מן ענדה פכאנהא הו. וקו' **ומלאך ייי דוחה** (תהלים לה:ה) וקד כאן קו' **כמויץ לפני**¹⁵⁴⁹ **רוח** (תהלים לה:ה) כאפיה אד' ימכן דפע אלריח אלהשים אלי מוצ'ע יסתקר פיה באלא יכון לה מנה מנפד' ואד'א כאן מלאך ייי דוחה בעד פלא יסתקר [...] **בחנפי לעגי מעוג** (תהלים לה:טז) [...] [41 א] יש לי מעוג (מלכים א יז:יב) יעני מא יעג'ן מת'לה פלמעני אנהם יצ'יפון אלי אגתיאבי ואלסכ'ריה בי אלחנק ואלאנתקאם עלי ויכון **משואיהם** (תהלים לה:יז) ג'מע שואה אסם אלפעל לאפאעלא מת'ל שגו ברואה (ישעיהו כח:ז) ועם שאול עשינו חוזה (ישעיהו כח:טו) ויג'וז כונה ג'מע שואה עלי אלתדביר יריד משואתם משואותיהם. וכנא קד קלנא פי כתאב [ש]רחנא איוב פי עורי רגע (איוב ז:ה) תשקק וקרנא בה **ועל רגעי ארץ** (תהלים לה:כ) אי שקאק אלארץ' ונקול פיה ההנא איצ'א מע אלאחיאן ודקאיק אלזמאן. **העירה והקיצה** (תהלים לה:כג) הנא פעלאן ת'קילאן גיר מתעדיין ואן כאן אתי העיר מתעדיא ויעירני כאיש אשר יעיר משנתו (זכריה ד:א) ואמא הקיץ פלסנא נד'כרה מתעדיא אלא פי מעני אלתקריץ' נעלה ביהודה ונקיצנה (ישעיהו ז:ו). ועטפה ייי עלי **אלהי** פלמא ג'מע העיר והקיץ פי מעני **ומשפט** פי מעני ואחד אצ'אף ייי אלי אלהי לתסתוי בה אקסאם אלפסוק פכאנה קאל העירה ייי למשפטי והקיצי אלהי לריבי. ופסר בעץ' אלשיוך' **האח** (תהלים לה:כה) ואהא וקאל אנהא לפט'ה [.].הזה בהא אלמסתטיב ללשי אלמסרור בכונה.

[41 ב] למנצח לעבד ייי לדוד

וג'ה זיאדתה הנא **לעבד ייי לדוד** (תהלים לו:א) מת'ל מא קאלה פי אלשירה כלמא אתי בד'כר סו מעתקד אלפאסקין פצדר בקו' עבד ייי ליביין אלתברו מן מת'ל מד'אהבהם ואלאענתזאל מן ג'מלתהם ואנה עאבד אללה מן ד'ונהם ויעני בקולה **נאם פשע לרשע בקרב לבי** (תהלים לו:ב) אן אלד'י אנאג'י בה צ'מירי ען אלרשע ואחדת' בה נפסי מן סוא מעתקדה אנה לא יתקי עקובה אללה עז [...] ולא יכ'אף מע [...] [...] הא ולא צ'ררהא למא [...] אמהאלה לה וח[...] [...] על[י]ה פי מחאבה ואנמ[א] ד'לך ליציבה ב[...] איהא [...] בומה [...] במא קד שנאה ד'לך [קול] **כי החליק אליו בעינו למצוא עונו לשנוא** (תהלים לו:ג). וקד יג'וז אן יכון **לשנוא** (תהלים לו:ג) עאידה עלי אללה אי ליזודאד פיה שנאה ובגצ'ה ועלי כלי אלוג'הין אל[עאידה] מחד'ופה לאנה יריד לשנאו פיג'וז אן תק[...] [...] [...] נאה ואלבגצ'ה מ[ן] אללה] תע' עלי רשע ותש[...] [...] לרשע [91 א] ויג'וז אן תכן עלי אללה ותכון אלואו צ'מ[יר] אללה [...] אן אללאם עלי הד'א אלוג'ה אלאכ'ר במעני מן אג'ל ועלי אלוג'ה אלאול במעני אן אלמפתוחה או אם נחדל (מלכים א כב:טו) יאתי בעדה אללאם ויחדלו לבנות העיר (בראשית יא:ח) **וחדל להשכיל להיטיב** (תהלים לו:ד) ומן מת'ל ויחדלו מבנות את הרמה (מלכים א טו:כא). וקו' **אמונתך עד שחקים** (תהלים לו:ו) עלי סביל אלמג'אז כאנה תרקי מן אלארץ' חתי תנתהי אלי אלסמא. וד'כר ד' אוצאף מן אלכ'יר והי חסד ואמונה וצדקה ומשפט וג'על מקר אלחסד אלסמא כאן מן הנאך יצל ג'מיע אלפצ'ל ואן כאן קד קיל איצ'א כי גדול מעל שמים חסדך (תהלים קח:ה) וקאל כי גדול עד שמים חסדך (תהלים נז:יא) פתלך עבארה עמא ינאל אלכ'לק אלמנה חתי ינתהי אלי אלסמא עלוא וקד קאל איצ'א פי מוצ'ע אכ'ר אנה יתג'אז אלסמא פי קו' כי גדול מעל שמים חסדך (תהלים קח:ה). ובהד'א אלוג'ה איצ'א קאל **ואמונתך עד שחקים** (תהלים לו:ו) לאן אלאמנאה מנצועה פי אלארץ' בין אלנאס והד'ה אלאוצאף באעיאנהא קד יוצף בהא אפאצ'יל אלנאס פקאל פי אברהם על אלס' לעשות צדקה (בראשית יח:יט) [91 ב] ופי דוד עושה משפט וצדקה ללכל עמו (שמואל ב ח:טו). וקאל רודף צדקה וחסד (משלי כא:כא) גומל נפשו איש חסד (משלי יא:יז) וצדיק באמונתו יחיה (חבקוק ב:ד). איש אמונות רב ברכות (משלי כח:כ) ויעני בקו' **צדקתך כהררי אל** (תהלים

¹⁵⁴⁹ Ditto. לפני.

לו:ז) מא יעג'ז אלורי מן תחמל שכרהא כמא יעג'זהם תחמל אלג'באל וקו' **משפטיך תהום רבה** (תהלים לו:ז) מא ימתנע עליהם מן תקצ'יהא ואלבלוג אלי ג'איתהא מת'ל מא ימתנע מן בלוג ג'איה תהום כמא קאל הבאת עד נבכי ים ובחקר תהום התהלכת (איוב לח:טז) וקו' **בצל כנפך יחסיון** (תהלים לו:ח) מעטוף עלי מא **יקר חסדך אלהים** (תהלים לו:ח) עלי מעני בני אדם אשר בצל כנפך יחסיון יעני מא אעז אלקום אלד'י יתורדוא עליך במא תבדו עליהם מן ג'מיל אנעאמך ותסדי אליהם מן ג'מיל אלאיך. וקו' **אל תבאוני רגל גאווה** (תהלים לו:יב) יעני לא תטאני קדם אלצולה ויד (תהלים לו:יב) אלט'לם לא תזעזעני והמא אסתעארתאן. קו' **שם נפלו פעלי און** (תהלים לו:יג) יעני אד'א האמת הד'ה אלי קדאם וסאתי עת'ר אצחאבהא פ[....] ואד'א המת הד'ה אליד בה ותחב[....] [43 א] ארבאהא אפלא יסתיעון קיאמא. ו**שם** (תהלים לו:יג) במעני הינד' ט'רף זמאן מת'ל שם יצעקו ולא יענה (איוב לה:יב) כאנה לא ישיר אלי מכאן בעינה יצר'כ'ון מנה לכנה יומי אד'א כאן אמר מא פהו במעני אז יצעקו [אל יי] ולא יענה (מיכה ג:ד) וכד'לך שם פחדו פחד (תהלים יד:ה) ו**דוחו** (תהלים לו:יג) מא לם יסם פאעלה מן דחה מאצ'יא וללואחד דוחה ללג'מאעה דוחו.

לדוד אל תתחר במרעים

קו' **אל תתחר במרעים** (תהלים לו:א) אן מאצ'יה תחר כ'פיף ת'ם ת'קיל מתעדיא מלחקא באלרבאעי פקיל ואיך תתחרה את הסוסים (ירמיהו יב:ה) **מהרה ימלו** (תהלים לו:ב) וכאן חקה תשדיד לאדגאם אחדי [ב] מא פי אלאכ'רי מת'ל יקלו רודפים (ישעיהו לו:טז). פג'א ת'קיל העזה פניה (משלי ז:יג) מכל'פא. מי יתן בספר ויוחקו (איוב יט:כג) וקו' **בטח יי ועשה טוב** (תהלים לו:ג) יקול אנה עלי ניה אלתקדים יעני עשה טוב ובטח ביי רעה אמונה ושכון ארץ. וקד יתג'ה שרחה פלא [י] כון אלמתאכ'ר סבב אלמתקדם אי אנמא תצח תצלך אד'א כנת מססנא וידום בקאוך אד'א [43 ב] כנת מתמנא. **גול על יי** (תהלים לו:ה) יעני פוץ' אמרך ווכלה אלי אללה והו אמר מן גלל מת'ל סוב מן סבב. ומעני קו' **דום ליי והתחולל לו** (תהלים לו:ה). כון מנה בחאל אלרג'א אד'א צברת והו מעני **דום** ובחאל כ'וף ופזע והו מעני **והתחולל** והו מצ'אעף מן חול ותחול אם מפני לא תחילו (ירמיהו ה:כב). ומת'לה כל ימי רשע הוא מתחולל (איוב טו:כ). ומעני קו' **אל תתחר אך להרע** (תהלים לו:ח). נהי ען אלאמתעאץ' לאהל אלשר ואלאמר פי טי ד'לך באלאמתעאץ' לאהל אלכ'יר ואן תג'אזו קוה אלמתעץ' אחתסאבא ללה ואכתסאבא ללאג'ר מא כאן מכל'אטרא בנפסה ופי מת'ל ד'לך יקול אלאואיל נתן להצילו בנפשו (סנהדרין עג:א). וקו' **יי המה יירשו ארץ** (תהלים לו:ט) דאל עלי קוה יקוה והו דאל עלי אלכ'פיף כמא דל וקו' **יי** (תהלים לו:ט) עלי קיה יקיה מבדלא יאווה ואו וכאן ג'מלה הד'א אלמזמור מקסום עלי ד'כר פצ'איל אלפצ'לא ות'ואבהם ומסאוי אלאשראר ועקאבהם. קו' **חרב פתחו רשעים** (תהלים לו:יד) יעני שהרוא ומת'לה חרב פתוחה (יחזקאל כא:לג) והמה פתיחות (תהלים נה:כב). וקו' **יודע יי ימי תמימים** (תהלים לו:יח) יעני יצלהא וימדהא וכמא קלנא [44 א] כי יודע יי דרך צדיקים (תהלים א:ו). וקו' **כיקר כרים** (תהלים לו:כ) יעני שחום אלחמלאן אלתי פנית באלדכאן מת'להא פנוא. **פכלו** (תהלים לו:כ) אול צ'מירה ליקר **כרים** וכלו (תהלים לו:כ) אלתי'אני צ'מירה עאיד עלי **אויבי יי** (תהלים לו:כ) פתקדירה ואויבי יי כלו כיקר כרים אשר כלו בעשן. וכני **כיקר כרים** ען אלשחם אד' הו אפצ'ל מא פיהא כמא יכני בחלב איצ'א ען כ'ירה אלשי ואפצ'ל מא פיה ויכני ען כ'יר אלארץ' ואכלו את חלב הארץ (בראשית מה:יח) מת'ל מכל חלבו את מקדשו ממנו (במדבר יח:כט). ואמא אעתלאל אללחן פי פא אלתי'אני פכמא ג'א פי תעו במדבר (תהלים קז:ד). ואמא לא חזו ימיו (איוב כד:א) פהו ענדי והו מן אלחיאזה ומנה אל מחזו חפצם (תהלים קז:ל) אי אלי חזו מרגובהם וקד ד'כרנא ד'לך פי שרח איוב. וקד תצ'אד וצף **חונן ונותן** (תהלים לו:כא) מע וצף **לוה רשע ולא ישלם** (תהלים לו:כא) לאן אלצדיק הו הד'א יג'וד במא הו לה ואלרשע לא יודי מא עליה. וקו' **ודרכו יחפץ** (תהלים לו:כג) בחד'ף אשר ואלעטף עלי **כוננו** (תהלים

לז:כג) יעני וכוונן דרכו אשר יחפץ לאן **מצעדי גבר** (תהלים לז:כג) הי אלכ'טא אלתי קד כ'טאהא בעד ואמא **ודרכו יחפץ** (תהלים לג:כג) פהו מא מר בוהמה [44 ב] באלקוה ולם יכ'רג' אלי אלפעל. ואמא קולה **כי יפל לא יוטל** (תהלים לז:כד) פיריד אנה לא יבקא לקא מטרחהא פלא יסתטיע קיאמא כמא קאל שאוני והטילוני אל הים (יונה א:יב) ואלעלה פי ד'לך עון אללה לה עלי אלקיאם ען בעד ד'לך. וג'א **לא תמעד אשוריו** (תהלים לז:לא) במעני לא ימעדו עלי מא ביינא מת'לה פי כי קמה על בבל מחשבות ייי (ירמיה נא:כט) ואצחאבה. וקו' **ולא ירשיענו בהשפטו** (תהלים לז:לג) יעני אד'א תחאכם אלצדיק מע אלרשע פלא ימכן אן ית'בת חק ללרשע עליה ואלא פכאן ד'לך מודיא אלי דכ'ול כל ואחד מנהמא עלי כ'צמה פי צפתה פיתנאקין' אלמעני. ויעני בקו' **מתערה כאזרח רענן** (תהלים לז:לה) אנה יכשף ען צ'מיר ימכן אן ית'ור במת'לה אלמתקין אד' כאן לא יכ'שא עאר אלדניא ולא יתקי עקאב אלכ'רא וקו' **כאזרח רענן** (תהלים לז:לה) יעני כרים אלשג'ר ומלתפהא לאן רענן צפה למוצוף מחד'וף והו עץ כמא יקול ותחת כל עץ רענן (דברים יב:ב) ואזרח מצ'אף אלי רענן לאנה פתח. פקיל אזרח פי אלעץ עלי סביל אלמתמ'ל באצול אלנאס ושריפהם פאן כאן ישבה הד'א אלשג'ר [45 א] פי אנה **מתערה** (תהלים לז:לה) פיואזי תבאהי הד'א אלרשע כמא הו פיה בתט'אהר כרים אלשג'ר בג'זיל ת'מרה וטיבה. ואן כאן קד קיל הד'א אללפט' בכשף אלעורה תשכרי ותתערי (איכה ד:כא) פקיל הנא עלי סביל אללהג'ין לפעלה ועלי מא תפצ'י בה אלחאל אליה ואן כאן לא ישבה פי אנה **מתערה** מן דונה לכנה רשע. ו**מתערה** אי מסתהתר פי אלמעאצי מפתצ'ה פי אלרד'איל מע הד'א ואן כאן כאזרח רענן פי אלנתעם ואלגצ'ארה פסוף יד'הב סריעא ויד'בל ושיכ'א והו קול **ויעבר והנה איננו** (תהלים לז:לו). פתקדיר לפט'ה ראית רשע כאזרח רענן ועריץ ומתערה ויעבר. ולפט'ה **אחרית** (תהלים לז:לז) מנבהה ען עאקבה אלכ'יר מפרדה אלא אן תנעת בכ'לאף ד'לך אי תצ'אף אליה קיל פי אלכ'יר **כי אחרית לאיש שלום** (תהלים לז:לז). אם מצאת ויש אחרית (משלי כד:יד) פאן אצ'יפת אלי אלשר כאנת שרא ואחריתה מרה כלענה (משלי ה:ד) **ואחרית רשעים נכרתה** (תהלים לז:לח).

מזמור לדוד להזכיר

קו' **מזמור לדוד להזכיר** (תהלים לח:א) יעני בקו' להזכיר וצף [45 ב] אחואלה ואג'רי ד'כרהא בין ידי רבה תע' לירף עליה וירחמה וואפק ד'לך מא תצ'מן אלמזמור. וליס **ניחתו בי** (תהלים לח:ג) מקטטעא מן **ותנחת עלי ידיך** (תהלים לח:ג) ואן כאן פי מענאה לאן ניחתו בי מקטטעא מן אנפעאל ואצלה ננחתו בי ותנחת פעל מסתקבל אללפט' אלמאצי אלמעני וזונה ותפעל ואתצל באלאול אלבא ובאלת'אני על וכלאהמא גיר מתעד והמא מת'ל קמו בי עדי שקר (תהלים כז:יב) זרים קמו עלי (תהלים נד:ה). **ואין מתום בבשרי** (תהלים לח:ח) הו מת'ל מעיר מתים **עד בהמה** (איוב כד:יב)¹⁵⁵⁰ והי לפט'ה מפרדה תשתמל עלי מעני אלנאסאניה והי אכ'ץ מן יקום לאנהא תעם אלחיואניה כמא קאל וימח את כל היקום אשר על פני האדמה מאדם עד בהמה (בראשית ז:כג) וג'. פקו' **אין מתום בבשרי** (תהלים לח:ח) ינפי ענה מזאג' אלבשריה **בבשרה**¹⁵⁵¹ אלנאסאניה פעלי הד'א יכון מי מה אלאול אצליא ואלת'אניה לאחקה עלי כ'לאף מא אעתקדה מן ג'עלה משתקא מן תם. פאכ'טא למא קד ביינאה עליה פי שרחנא ספר ישעיה. **והבאישו נמקו** (תהלים לח:ו) גיר מתעדיא והו פי [46 א] קולה יבאיש יביע שמן רוקח (קהלת י:א) מתעד ולמא ראינא פי הד'א אלפסוק מן כלל שרח אלמפסר לה ארדנא אן נביין גרצ'נא פיה. והו דון אלחכים מע מא חתי עלי תכסב אלחכמה ופצ'ל חאמלהא קאל ואנה ואן כאן ד'ו אלפצ'איל לא יסלם מן נקין' ורב אלמחאמד לא יכ'לו מן ד'ם. פאן ד'לך לא ינבגי אן יהון ענדה בהמא הו עליה מן אלפצ'ל ולא יזהדה פיה לאן פצ'לה לא

¹⁵⁵⁰ Possible copyist error, mixing it up with Judg. 20:48 Judg. 20:48.

¹⁵⁵¹ It should be omitted.

יכ'תלט בנקצה וחסנה לא ימתוג' בעיבה כמה ימתוג' אלד'באב אלמ[ית] באלדהן אלדכי פיעוד כלה נתנא אסנא פיקול לד'לך ממת'לא אלד'באב אלמית ינתן בהא דהן אלעטאר אלג'ליל אד' נס עליה אכת'ר ממא יסקט מן אלחכמה ואלוקאר אלג'הל אלקליל. ויביע (קהלת י:א) אסתעארה פי מא נס מן אלאיחה תמת'ילא לה באלנוב ענהא אלשהאדה עליהא מת'ל יביעון בפיהם (תהלים נט:ח) וכמא קאל איצ'א פיה דובב שפתי ישנים (שיר השירים ז:י) פי מא יכ'בר ען ראיחה אלכ'מר עלי אלפם מן דבת רבים (ירמיהו כ:י ותהלים לא:יד) פתקדירה זבובי מות יבאישו שמן רוקח יקר בהביעם מאשר יבאיש [46 ב] חכמה וכבוד סכלות. ומעני נקלה (תהלים לח:ח) אסם עלי בנא אלנפעאל וליס אנפעאל מת'ל ותבואת רשע נעכרת (משלי טו:ו) והבאת עד נבכי ים (איוב לח:טז). ואמא מעני פיג'וז כונה פי מעני רזון יכון משתקא מן מקלה אביו (דברים כז:טז) עלי מעני אן מא הזל קד כף או האן כמא קלנא פי צ'דה אעני יקר כרים. ויג'וז כונה מן אלאחתראק אעני אשר קלם מלך בכלי (ירמיהו כט:כב). ויחכי פי קו' **נפוגותי** (תהלים לח:ט) פתורה ופשלה והו אנפעאל מן ויפג לבו (בראשית מה:כו). וקו' **שאגתי מנהמת לבי** (תהלים לח:ט) ואן כאנא מעא צותין ללאסד כמא קאל ישאג ככפירים וינהום (ישעיהו ה:כט) פאלשאגה מנה פוק אלנהמה ואלנהמה פי הד'א אלפסוק עלה ללשאגה לאן אלנהמה תעת'ריה אולא והו חנק ואזבאר חתי תודיה אלי אלשאגה. וקד קיל פי אללה ייי ממחרום ישאג (ירמיהו כה:ל) ולם יקל ינהום. וקד שרך אלבחר אלאסד פי אלנהמה פקאל וינהם עליו ביום ההוא כנהמת ים (ישעיהו ה:ל) וליס קולה ישאג ככפירים וינהום במכ'אלף למא קלנאה לאנה באלשאגה אלמתקדמה אמאת חס אלמפתרם וקטע חרכתה חתי [47 א] אנה אד'א ות'ב עליה חנק ואזבר וכאן לה מע ד'לך צות אקל מנהא וכנא נקול פי נהם ככפיר נאם והי אקל מן אלזייר לולא כנהמת ים. ו**סתחרר** (תהלים לח:יא) מצ'אעף מן עינה ולאמה ומענאה סרר ותחזיר. וקו' **וינקשו מבקשי נפשי** (תהלים לח:יג) מחד'וף אלמפעול. ותקדירה וינקשו נפשי מבקשיה. פלמא צאר נפשי פי צלה אלפאעלין נעני אלמבקשים לם יסתקים אן יכון מפעולא לאן מבקשי נפשי נעני אלכלמתין במנזלה ואחדה והי אלפאעל. וחסן פי קו' **כי לך ייי הוהלת אתה תענה ייי אלהי** (תהלים לח:טז) בעד קו' **ואהי כאיש אשר לא שומע ואין בפיו תוכחות** (תהלים לח:טז) יעני אנה אלמג'יב חית' לא אג'יב ואלנאיב עני חית' לא אנוב. וקו' **כי אני לצלע נכון** (תהלים לח:יח) מת'ל ובצלעי (תהלים לה:טז). ורבמא פסר צ'לעא עלי אלמג'אז בפתח אלצאד אעני אלצ'עף ואמא אלצ'לע אלמכסור אלצאד פהו פתח אללאם ומלרע. וקד אסתוי צלע וצלע פי אלצ'אפה אלי אלצ'מיר ואלוי אלט'אהר ג'מיעא קיל פי מצ'אף צלע ולצלע המשכן (שמות כו:כ) על צלעו האחת (שמות כה:יב) והד'א אלקול הו עלה לתכברה אעדאיה עליה [47 ב] ואסת[ב] שארהם בהלאכה. וקו' **ואויבי חיים עצמו ורבו שנאי שקר** (תהלים לח:כ) פהו חאל מן אלשנאה. וקד יג'וז כונה מפעולא מן אג'לה ואלחאל בה אליק לאנהם לם יתכלפוא מעאדאתה באטלא לכנהם רבמא כאנא פי ט'נהם עלי חק ורבמא קצדוא אלבאטל איצ'א כמא קאל **ישטנוני תחת רדפי טוב** (תהלים לח:כא) ואן כאן קד יג'וז כון ד'לך עלי מעתקדה פי נפסה לא עלי מעתקדהם פיה.

למנצח לידיתן מזמור לדוד

קו' **למנצח לידותון מזמור לדוד** (תהלים לט:א). קד ביינא מת'לה מן אן ידותון כאן אלמלחן לה עלי אלה אלמוסיקי ואלקול לדוד. וקו' **אשמרה לפי מחסום** (תהלים לט:ב) תקד[יר] אשים לפי מחסום ואשמרה יעוד אלי אלפם לא[ן] אלשמירה לה והי ווצ'ע אלמחסום עליה וקדם תקדם מת'לה. ואלעלה פי קו' **החשיתי מטוב** (תהלים לט:ג) חד'רה מן אלרשע לאנה לא יואפקה אלנטק באלכ'יירא והגיגי (תהלים לט:ד) יכון מן צפאת אללסאן ואלקלב פהו מן אלקלב [50 א] מא יכ'תלג' בה קבל אן יג'רי עלי אללסאן כמא קאל לבך יהגה אימא (ישעיהו לג:יח) לב צדיק יהגה לענות (משלי טו:כח). וקד ג'רי אן נד'כר מא ענדנא פי קו' לב צדיק יהגה לענות (משלי טו:כח) אד' קאל גירנא פיה אן לענות ג'מע לענה (איכא

ג'יט) וג'עלה פי מעני קול אלחכים אן אלפלספה אגתמאם ואהתמאם וענאיה באלמות והד'א אלקול ירד מן ג'הה אללפט' ואלמעני ג'מיעא. אמא מן ג'הה אללפט' פלאן לענה עלי זון נערה נחלה פג'מיעהא אד'א לענות מת'ל נערו רבות (אסתר ב:ח) אלה הנחלות (יהושע יט:נא). ואמא מן ג'הה אלמעני פאן מא קאלה אלחכים לא יסתקים וצפה באנה לענות בל חאצל מענאה צוף דבש אמרי נעם (משלי טז:כד). ולם נג'ד ד'כר לענה אלא פי עקאב אלאשראר או מע פסאד אגראצ'הם אלתי תצ'אד אגראצ' אלפילסוף במא קאל פי אלבאב אלאול הנני מאכילם את העם הזה לענה (ירמיהו ט:יד) פי אלבאב אלאכ'ר כי הפכתם לראש משפט ופרי צדקה ללענה (עמוס ו:יב). ואנמא אראד אלחכים אן חדית' אלפאצ'ל פי נפסה ענאיתה במא יג'יב בה אלסאיל ממא יתלג' צדקה ויואפק גרצ'ה [50 ב] פלד'לך¹⁵⁵² מא ירדדה פי נפסה חתי יציב בה שאכלה אלרמי ויטאבק אלמפצל. ואמא אלפאסק פאנה לא יעני בסואל סאילה ולא יעבא בכ'טאב מכ'אטבה ואנמא ינבעת לסאנה אבדא במא יחווה מן אלשר ויטרד כלאמה במא ינטוי עליה מן אלאחנה ואלגל. וכד'לך קולה הנא **בהגיגי תבער אש** (תהלים לט:ד) יעד'ב כמא פי צ'מירה מן אלאסי חתי ינטק בה לסאנה במא קאל **דברתי בלשוני** (תהלים לט:ד). **הודיעני יי אל קצי** (תהלים לט:ה) הו פי מעני קו' כמה ימי עבדך מתי תעשה ברדפי משפט (תהלים קיט:פד) והו אלאסתצגאר למד'ה עמרה ולו אעלם בה כם עסי יכון חתי יקצ'י אוטארה ויבלג אמאלה והו יסיר מנקרץ' וקליל מנצרם. אלא תראה יקול **הנה טפחות נתתה ימי** (תהלים לט:ו) וקו' **מה חדל אני** (תהלים לט:ה) יעני בה כם עסי אכון עאמרא ללדניא במעני מה יהיה חלדי לאן חלד וחדל מוג'ודאן במעני ואחד. ומעני **טפחות** (תהלים לט:ו) משתק מן טפח סביב (שמות כה:כה) והי קבצ'ה אליד ואלגרץ' בה אלקלה ועוללי טפוחים (איכה ב:כ) מג'אז פי תדרג'הם פי אלנמו ג'זא פג'זא. וקיל פי קו' **אך כל הבל כל אדם נצב סלה** (תהלים לט:ו) אנה מכ'אטב [51 א] אלרב יעני יא ת'אבתא ללאבד. ואלד'י ארי אנה אראד אנה **הבל** ת'אבת לא ינתקל ען הד'ה אלצפה מע אנתקאל צפאתה ולא יסתחיל ען הד'ה אלצורה מע אסתחאלה צורתה במא קאל **אך בצלם יתהלך איש אך הבל יהמיון** (תהלים לט:ז) יעני מהמא ינתקל פי צפאתה פי ג'מלתהא הבל. ויתאול קו' **יצבור ולא ידע מי אספם** (תהלים לט:ז) פי תעביה אלאמואל פקאל אנה יעביהא ולא יעלם מן יצ'מהא. וצ'מיר **אספם** יחתמל אן יעוד עלי אלמצ'מר פי **יהמיון** לאן אלמאל יעבר ענה בלפט' המון כמא קאל טוב מעט לצדיק מהמון רשעים רבים (תהלים לז:טו). וקאל אהב כסף לא ישבע כסף ומי אהב בהמון לא תבואה (קהלת ה:ט). ושרחה מחב אלמאל לא ישבע מנה וליס מן יחב כתירה מן דון גלה יעני עלי מן אלמאל מרגוב פיה ולא יקנע צאחבה כתירה פאנה גיר מרגוב פיה לד'אתה בל למא תנאל בה אלאוקאת וגיראה מן אלמשתהיאת. וקד יכון צ'מיר **אוספם** עאיד מנצרפא אלי אלמצ'מר פי יצבור אי יצבור צבורים ולא יעמי אוספם. וקו' **ועתה מה קויתי יי** (תהלים לט:ח) [51 ב] יעני מע קצר אלעמר אי שי ארג'וה מן בלוג אלאמל סוי מא ארג'וה מן פצ'לך פי גפראן ד'נובי ולא תשמת אעדאיי בי אלד'ין אחג'מת ען מקאומתהם ואפחמת ען מנאט'רתהם במא קויתתהם עלי ואצ'עפתני מן דונהם. וקול פי קו' **מתגרת ידך** (תהלים לט:יא) מן תוקע אסתך ואשתקה קאיל ד'לך מן לא תגורו מפני איש (דברים א:יז) והו ענדה מחד'וף אלעין וג'על נט'ירה לכל תכלה ראיתי קץ (תהלים קיט:צו) וכל בשליש עפר הארץ (ישעיהו מ:יב) אי לכל מסאחה. ואכ'תר מא וג'דנא בנא אלאסמא מן אלמעטל אלעין פעלי מת'לא תקומה תנומה ואמא עלי הד'א אלמת'אל פלם נג'דה אלא מן אלמעטל אללאם נחו תקוה פהו אד'א מן מעני יגרה מדון (משלי טו:יח) אל תתגר במ (דברים ב:ט). וקו' **כי גר אנכי עמך** (תהלים לט:יג) ליס עלה למא קבלה מן קו' **שמעה תפילתי יי** (תהלים לט:יג) לכן למא בעדה מן קו' **השע ממני ואבליגה** (תהלים לט:יד) **והשע** אמר מן אלמעטל אלעין מת'ל השב אל תערה (יחזקאל כא:לה) גיר אן פתח שין השב אכ'תיארא לאנה קד קיל השב והו אלוג'ה פי מא לם יכן לאמה חלקיא ופתח שין

¹⁵⁵² פלד'לך פעמים. Ditto.

השע מן אג'ל אלחלקי אלד'י בעדה והו [52 א] גיר מתעד ומענאה פי אלמעטל לללאם אלכ'פיה אכ'תר שעה מעליו ויחדל (איוב יד:ו) שעו מני (ישעיהו כב:ד) כמא לא תשעה ממני (איוב ז:יט).

למנצח לדוד מזמור

קוה קויתי (תהלים מ:ב) מצדר ת'קיל ומת'אלה מעדום וג'א עלי מת'ל אם ענה תענה (שמות כב:כב) ונקה לא אנקך (ירמיהו ל:יא) ועל מת'אל יום ענות אדם (ישעיהו נח:ה) לחלות את פני יי (זכריה ח:כא). וקד ג'א מת'לה פי ד'ואת אלאלף ורפא ירפא (שמות כא:יט) ויאמר קנא קנאתי (מלכים א' יט:י). וינן (תהלים מג:ג) צפה לטיט וג'א מת'ל זרת האחד (יחזקאל מג:יג) אל גוים המורדים (יחזקאל ב:ג). וקולי צפה עלי סביל אלמג'אז לאן טיט וזרת וגוים נכראת. ומא בעדהא מן היון והאחד והמורדים מעארף ואלנכרה לא תנעת באלמערפה לכן יכון עלי וג'הין אן יכון צפה למוצוף מחד'וף יכון מערפה מת'לה אעני הזרת הטיט הגוים תכון אלמכתובה דלילה עליהא ויכון תקדירה טיט הטיט היון. וכד'לך נקול פי מא וקע מן מת'ל הד'א פי מא בין אלכלמתין מוצופא מערפה מת'ל ופר השני (שופטים ו:כה) וכד'לך נקול איצ'א [52 ב] פי מא וקע פי אולה הא אלתעריף וג'א מא בעדה כאנה מצ'אף לאן אלתעריף קד ערפה בד'אתה ופצלה עמא בעדה מת'ל המלך אשור (ישעיהו לו:ח) כל¹⁵⁵³ הממלכות הארץ (ירמיהו כה:כו). ויג'וז אן נצ'ע בינהמא אכ'רי ועלי סביל אלבדל יעני המלך מלך אשור כל¹⁵⁵⁴ הממלכות קמץ אללאם ויכון [הממלכות] ממלכות הארץ שבא אללאם בדלא מנה וכד'לך המלך מלך אשור. ואלוג'ה אל'אני אן יכון היון והאחד והמורדים ואצחאבהא מן אלמעארף אלתי יתלוא אלנכרהא תביינא ותכ'ציצא למא בעד אחתמאלהא אלעמום מן לפט טיט וזרת וגוים ואמא מא וקע כ'לאף ד'לך איצ'א מן נכרה תתלו מערפה מת'ל את הכבש אחד (במדבר כח:ד) פנעתקד [פיה?] מוצופא נכרה מחד'ופה יכון אחד צפה לה עלי סביל אלבדל איצ'א לאן אלנכרה קד תבדל מן אלמערפה כאנה קאל את הכבש כבש אחד ואן כאן קד יג'וז פי אחד מן הכבש אחד אן יכון חאלא מן תעשה אי תצנעה מפרדה. ואכת'רת כון **היון** צפה עלי אצ'אפה טיט אליה לוג'וד[ה] מצ'אפה [71 א] עלי בנא אלצפאת אעני ביון מצולה (תהלים סט:ג) מת'ל וירא מצוה (משלי יג:יג) מן דון בנא אלמצוה אסמא¹⁵⁵⁵ כתף הבית (מלכים א' ו:ח, ז:לט) גדר החצר (יחזקאל מב:י) וג'מיע בין אלכ'וף ואלרג'א פי קו' **יראו רבים וייראו ויבטחו ביי** (תהלים מד:ד) לאן אלמתקי ללה הו אלרג'א ללה. ויג'וז אן יכון הנא אלרג'א ללה גיר אלכ'אף פכ'אף אלכאפר עקובתה וירג'ו אלמומין רחמתה. **ושטי כזב** (תהלים מ:ה) מן שטה ישטה יכון שטים קבל אלצ'אפה מת'ל שקים בלים (יהושע ט:ד) קשים ממני (שמואל ב ג:לט) גיר אנה לם יתגייר ענד אלצ'אפה מת'ל חזקי מצח וקשי לב (יחזקאל ג:ז). וסמענא עמן אעתק[ד] פי קו' **אזנים כרית לי** (תהלים מז:ז) אנה מעטוף עלי **לא חפצת** אי לא כרית לי ואנא לא אעלם כיף יכון שרחה [הד'ה]. ואמא ואלד'י אפסרה אנא פיה פאנה יקול אנך מא אבתגית אלד'באיח ואלהדאיא ולא סאלת אלצואעד ואלכ'טאיא אנמא כ'לקת לי אד'נין אן אסמע ואטיע [...]. א מג'אז **כרית** (תהלים מז:ז) פי אלד'נין מן חית' המא תנתאן [...] אן אלי אלדמאג פקד ג'על אלחפר להמא מג'אזיא וקד אסתעמלהמא אלפתח איצ'א כקו' יי אלהים פתח לי און (ישעיהו נ:ה) באד'א מא קאל פי אלבור כי יפתח איש [71 ב] בור או כי יכרה איש בור (שמות כא:לג) ומעני הד'א אלקול הו מעני קול ירמיהו כי לא דברתי את אבותיכם ולא צויתים ביום הוציא אותם מארץ מצרים על דברי עולה וזבח.¹⁵⁵⁶ כי אם את הדבר הזה צויתי אותם לאמר שמעו בקולי (ירמיהו ז:כב-כג) ומעני קול שמואל החפץ ליי בעולות וזבחים ולשמוע בקול יי (שמואל א טו:כב) ואלגר'ן פי אלקולין

¹⁵⁵³ Ms. בכל.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Ms. בכל.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ms. ביון מצולה.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Ms. כי יכרה איש בר.

<p>אעני קול דוד וקול ירמיהו אנה לים אלקרבא לד'אתהא מטלובה אלא מן חית' הו טאעה ואמא אד'א צחבתהא אלמעציה לם תפר שיא בל כאן צ'ררא. ויעני בקו' אז אמרתי הנה באתי (תהלים מ:ח) אנך לם תסלני קרבאנא תשרכה מעציה ענדמא קפלת מן בין ידיך בצחיפה מכתובה עלי פהו מתצל בקו' עולה וחטאה לא שאלת (תהלים מ:ח) וישיר אלי קו' ויקח ספר הברית ויקרא באוזני העם (שמות כד:ז) וקו' לעשות רצונך אלהי חפצתי ותורתך בתוך מעי (תהלים מ:ט) כבֹרֵךְ בה ען אלוג'הין אלד'י יבלג בה מא אלי רצ'א רבה אחדהמא אלתי יתג'הא עקלה אלצחיה מן אסתחסאן אלחסן ואסתקבאח אלקביח. ואלת'אני קו' ותורתך בתוך מעי (תהלים מ:ט) יערב ען כתאב [53 א] אללה אלד'י אחתוי עליה פעלמה מא לם יעלמה עקלה וערפה מא לם יערפה פכרה. וקו' בשרתי צדק בקהל רב (תהלים מ:י) ואלפסוק אלד'י יתלוה פי שכר אללה עלי אחסאנה אליה ואעלאנה באלאקראר באנעאמה עליה. ולקו' הנה שפתי לא אכלא (תהלים מ:י) פאלג'זא בלפט' לא תכלא רחמייך ממני (תהלים מ:יב). ומעני ולבי עזבני (תהלים מ:יג). בדלני לבי ועקלי מת'ל קונה לב (משלי טו:לב) לקנות חכמה ולב אין (משלי יז:טז) ומעני קו' השיגוני עונותי ולא יכולתי לראות (תהלים מ:יג) לחקתני עקובתהא פלם יבקא לי קלב אנט'רהא בה פאתביין מנהא פאנתהי ענהא לראות (תהלים מ:יג) הנא מן ראי אלקלב במא קאל ולבי עזבני (תהלים מ:יג) אלא תראה יקול פי אכ'ר אלפסוק ולבי עזבני. ומעני ישומו על בשתם (תהלים מ:טז) יסתוחשון את'ר כ'זיהם יעני מא יכון פי את'ר מא יכ'בון מן מטאלבהם אלסייה פיעודון מסתוחשין מגתמין בעד מא ט'נוא אולא אלט'פר בי ואלנתקאם עלי ואמא ישובו על עקב בשתם (תהלים ע:ד) מענאה יעודון עלי את'ר כ'זיהם אלי מת'לה</p>	<p>למנצח מזמור לדוד</p>
<p>[53 ב] מעני משכיל אל דל (תהלים מא:ב) אלמלתפת אלי אלמריץ' מת'ל ככה דל בן המלך (שמואל ב יג:ד). ויכון משכיל מן מעני אללתפאת מת'ל אשכילה בדרך תמים (תהלים קא:ב) ואלמזמור באסרה הד'א מענאה ויושך אן יערב בד'לך ען מרצ'ה נפסה פית'ני עלי עואדה אלמהתבלין בה וינהי עלי אלשאמתין בה אלמסתבשרין בהלאכה. וקו' ואל תתנהו בנפש אויב (תהלים מא:ג) יעני לא תג'ר בה אעדאיה והו לפט' מכ'אטבה עקב אכ'באר. ואמא ייי יסעדנו על ערש דוי (תהלים מא:ד) פיושך אן ידעו בה ללמריץ' אד' לא יסתקים אן ידעו בה ללעאיד' פיתמני לה אלמריץ' ודני אסם אלדא מת'ל שאר מעט. ואסם ד'י אלדא דוי משרר ולבי דוי (ירמיהו ח:יח) מת'ל רגז. ויג'וז פי קו' כל משכבו הפכת בחליו (תהלים מא:ד) וצף חאל אלמריץ' פי מרצ'ה מן תגייר מצ'ג'עה ונומה פיושך אן ידעא לה באלשפא אד' חאלה הד'ה. ויג'וז כונה מן תמאם אלדעא ואן כאן בלפט' אלמצ'י גיר אנה אי גייר חאלה ומצ'ג'עה מן אלסקם אלי אלצ'חר ומן אלעלה אלי אלברו. ת'ם ביין אנה הו אלשאכי בעינה מן דון גירה בקו' רפאה נפשי כי חטאתי לך (תהלים מא:ה). ת'ם וצף תמני אעדאיה בהלאכה [56 א] ואסתבשארם במא ירון פיה מן עלאמאת אלמות פהם יבשרונה באלחיאה בחצ'רתה ויתחדת'ון ענה באלמות בט'הר גיבתה ד'לך קו' ואם בא לראות שוא ידבר לבו (תהלים מא:ז). וקו' דבר בליעל יצוק בו (תהלים מא:ט). חכאיה קול עואדה אלמעאדין לה אנה ירון לה אנבאסו ואנה לא ברחלה מן אלמות ויתנאבון בד'לך. וקו' ואשלמה להם (תהלים מא:יא) יחתמל אן יריד בה אן אקארצ'הם במת'ל אפעאלהם ויחתמל כונה בצ'ד אפעאלהם והו אלאליק בה וכמא יקול פאכרא אם גמלתי שולמי רע (תהלים ז:ה). וקו' ואני בתומתי תמכת בי (תהלים מא:יג) אסתבשארה מנה באלבקא וכפאיה אלעאדה.</p>	<p>למנצח משכיל לבני קרח</p>
<p>אסם משכיל (תהלים מב:א) פי אלמזאנמיר יקתצ'י מא יפיד עקל מתאמלה פיכון פאעלה מתעדיא אלי מפעולין חד'פא מן אללפט' ובקיא פי אלמעני כאנה קאל משכיל קוראו בינה כמא קאל להשכילך [56 ב] בינה (דניאל ט:כב) ויג'וז כונה אסם אלפעל יעני אנה בד'אתה עין אלפהם ואלביאן מת'ל תהרגו למשחית (יחזקאל ט:ו). ותאנית' איל (תהלים מב:ב) פי תערג</p>	

<p>(תהלים מב:ב) לאנה אראד אלנוע מת'ל שה בריה שה רזה (יחזקאל לד:כ) ואמא קו' כי אעבר בסך (תהלים מב:ה) פיעני אנה למ יזל פי טריק אלחג' פי מט'ל ינקלה מן מכאן אלי אכ'ר אלי אן יצל אלי אלמכאן אלמחג'וג' אליה. וג'מע פי אדדם (תהלים מב:ה) אלסך עלי אלמעני ואן כאן לפט'ה לפט' אלפראד לאנהא כאנת מט'אל כת'ירה פי מחאל שתי. וקד ימכן אן יריד אלקום אלד'ין כאנוא מעה פי אלמט'אל חג'אג'א. וג'מע פי קו' מה תשתוחחי ומה תהמי (תהלים מב:יב) וצפין ממא ערצ'ה מן אלד'לה ואלאנכ'פאץ' לחזנה עלי מא פקדה מן אלחאל אלמתקדמה אלד'כר ובעד ד'לך אחתאג'ת נפסה ואהתאמת כאנהא תטלב ת'אר ד'לך מן אלעעדא אלמתגלבין אלמולדין ד'לך. ועאד ירתג'י אדראכה ועודתה אלי מת'ל תלך אלחאל אלוליי בקו' הוחילי לאלהים כי עוד אודנו (תהלים מב:יב). ויחתמל כון ישועות פניו (תהלים מב:יב) מפעול הוחילי ויחתמל כונה מפעולא ת'אניא מן אדנו ואלולא אצה. ויעני בקו' ישועות פניו מקדמה.</p>	<p>(למנצח לבני קרח משכיל)</p>
<p>[58 א] ואלמזמור אלד'י ילי הד'א קרב מן מענאה פי ד'כר מא תקדם מן צנע אללה ואעאדתה באלדעא אליה אן יפעל פי אלמסתאנף מת'ל מא פעל פי אלסאלף. ואדכ'אלה ידך (תהלים מד:ג) בין אתה (תהלים מד:ג) וגוים הורשת (תהלים מד:ג) למא כאנת אליד מן אלמכ'אטב אג'אז כון אלמכ'אטבה לה פי הורשת דון אלכ'באר ען אליד פי קו' הורישה פכאן יכון ד'לך אולי אללהם אלא לו קאל אתה גוים הורשת וקו' כי ימינך וזרועך ואור פניך (תהלים מד:ד) מעני עלי זורעם לא הושיעה למו כי ימינך הושיעה כי הו במעני לכן מת'ל כי אל ארצי (בראשית כד:ד) ואלעלה פי ד'לך כי רצייתם (תהלים מד:ד) אי אנהם מא נאלהם ד'לך בקדרתהם וקותהם לכן בחולך וקותך ומא ד'לך איצ'א באסתחקא[ק] לפצ'להם לכן בג'מיל מד'הבך פיהם ורצ'אך ענהם אלת'ם צאר ידכ'ל במת'ל ד'לך ליסתג'לבה בקו' אתה הוא מלכי אלהים (תהלים מד:ה). ואכ'ד' פי וצף אלחאל אלתי תעוצ'וא מן אלוליי בהא מן אלד'לה ואלצ'ג'ר ואלתפרק פי אלממם. ואמא כיף יסוג לה קולה ולא רבית במחירהם (תהלים מד:יג) בעד קו' תמכור עמך בלא הון (תהלים מד:יג) פעלי מעני פצ'לא אן תגלי פי את'מאנהם [58 ב] אולא סימא אן תפעל ד'לך. ומנוד ראש (תהלים מד:טו) אסם מצ'אף מן אלמעטל אלעין והו קבל אלצ'אפה מנוד מת'ל מקום מלון. ומע אלצ'אפה מת'ל מקום המשפט (קהלת ג:טז) מלון אורחים (ירמיהו ט:א) קו' באתנו (תהלים מד:יח) יעני באה אלינו כמא קאל על כן באה אלינו הצרה הזאת (בראשית מב:כא) לאן בה לא יתעדי דון וסיט אלי ג'רר אלמכאן מת'ל באו שמה (שופטים יח:יז, יחזקאל לו:כא, יחזקאל מז:ט) ויבא יעקב שלם (בראשית לג:יח). ויעני קו' כי דכיתנו במקום תנים (תהלים מד:כ) חטמתנא במוצ'ע אלוחוש וגממתנא באלט'למאת פאן אמרנא נפוסנא בתנאסי רבנא ודעונא אלאהא אכ'ר ורג'ענא אן נקול אליס אללה יתקצ'י ד'לך אד' הו עאלם בכפיאת אלקלוב אי אנה יעלם אן ד'לך מנא עמד לא סהו ותנאם לא נסיאן פלם נפעל ד'לך לכן צברנא עלי אלמכארה ובדלנא אנפסנא ללקתל מן דון אלכרוג' ען טאעה רבנא. ועזרתה פי קו' ען עזרתה לנו (תהלים מד:כז) חאלא מן אלקיאם אי קם לנא נאצרא והו פי מכאן עוזר כמא כאן איצ'א עזרתי היית (תהלים כז:ט) מכאן עוזרי.</p>	<p>למנצח על שושנים</p>
<p>[59 א] שושנים (תהלים מה:א) אסם אלה מן אלאת אלמוסיקי. ומעני משכיל שיר ידידות (תהלים מה:א) מבין פי ג'נא אלחב פהד'א אלמזמור כ'אטב בה בנו קרח אעני הימן ואסף דוד עאלס' יתצ'מן וצף¹⁵⁵⁷ ט'פרה פי גזואתה ומא יחצל עליה מן אלפי ואלד'כ'איר ואלג'וארי מן בנאת אלמלוך ואלסרארי וד'לך ביין פי אלמזמור וד'לך כמא השיר ידידות אי ג'נא אלחב ואלתואר. ורחש (תהלים מה:ב) ולחש במעני אלתנאג'י אי נאג'ית נפסי במא סוף יג'רי בה לסאני ג'רי אלקלם פי יד</p>	

¹⁵⁵⁷ Ms. ה. וצ'פ.

אלכאתב נחריר וד'לך אול מא כ'אטבה פקאל **יפיפית מבני אדם** (תהלים מה:ג) והו מצ'אעפ מן עינה ולאמה לאן יא יפיפית אלאולי פא אלפעל אלפא בעדהא עינה ואליא בעדהא לאמה ת'ם תצ'אעפ מן אלעין ואללאם בעד ד'לך ת'ם קאל **חגור חרבך על ירך גבור** (תהלים מה:ד) אכ'תץ סיפך יא ג'באר פד'לך תחאוך וג'לאלך ואן תסתולי עלי אלחך וחלם אלצדק ותלהמך נג'דתך [ו] מעג'זאת וסהאמך מצקולה תציב קלוב אעדאיך ותצ'רע אלאמם בין ידיך ומנברך מויד באללה ללאבד וצולה אלעדל צולה מלכך. ויעני בקולה [59 ב] **כסאך אלהים** (תהלים מה:ז) כסא אלהים או מעצ'וד מנה באלבקא ואלדואם כמא קאל וישב שלמה על כסא ייי למלך (דברי הימים א כט:כג) פחד'ף אלמצ'אף ואקאם אלמצ'אף אליה מכאנה. וקו' **שמך ששון** (תהלים מה:ח) יעני ולאך רבך ולאיה מרך בהא אכ'ת'ר מן כפוך יעני שאול אלמנצ'רם מלכה **וענוה** (תהלים מה:ה) מצ'אף אלי **צדק** (תהלים מה:ה) ואן לם יכן באלתא ואצ'אפתה אליה ליביין אנה באלחלם עלי אלחקיקה לא עג'ז ותקציר ודליל אצ'אפתה אליה אנה יכון מת'ל ולפני כבוד ענוה (משלי טו:לג, יח:יב) וקו' **מר ואהלות קציעות** (תהלים מה:ט) יעני אלטיב אלמטיבה ת'יאבה בה ואלתבאכ'יר אלמנת'כבה מן מסך ועוד וגיר ד'לך. וג'א **בגדוטיך** (תהלים מה:ט) ג'מע בגד עלי אלתאנית. ת'ם בייך וקאל אנהא מן קצור אלמלוך מן אלד'יין סרוך אד' צאר בנאתהם מן כראימך ווקף סראריהם ען ימינך בד'כ'איריהם ואעלאקהם. ת'ם עאד יכ'אטב מנהן אחרה בנת אלמלך ירגבהא פי דין אלמלך אלת' צארת אליה וען דין אבאיהא ורהטהא ליוכ'ד' חברא פי נפסה וימכן מכאנהא מן קלבה אד'א כאנת עלי דינה. וקו' **כי הוא אדוניך** (תהלים מה:יב) [60 א] ליוסיהא מן אלחצול ענד גירה ויגבטהא במא צארת אליה מן אלחט'וה ואלג'לאל ענד צידאת אלמלוך מן גיר קימה בחצולהא ענדה אד' כאן ט'אפרא בהם [ו] יו'אידא עליהם בקו' **ובת צר במנחה פניך יחלו** (תהלים מה:יג). וקאל **כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה** (תהלים מה:יד) יעני כל כרימה פי כ'דרה מן בנאת אלמלוך לאבסה מעין אלד'הב ומרקומה ג'לבת אליה באלאבכ'אר צואחבהא ג'לבת באלפרח ואלסרור וד'כלת בהמא פי קצרה ודעא באתצאל אלחאל לד'ריתה בעדה בקו' **תחת אבותיך יהיו בניך** (תהלים מה:יז). וקו' בעדה **אזכירה שמך בכל דור ודור** (תהלים מה:יח) עטף בה עליה חמד אללה עלי דואם אלחאל אלת' דעא פי דואמהא.

אזכירה שמך בכל דור ודור

קו' **על עלמות שיר** (תהלים מו:א) מן ג'מלה צ'רוב אלאחאן אלמסתעמלה עלי אלאלות אלמתכדה ויושך אנה קאל הד'א אלמזמר אלד'י הד'א ענואנה ענד חדות' כ'סוף ואחואל אלכחאר והיג' חרוב ופתן סאסתבשר [60 ב] מע ד'לך באלנג'אה בפצ'ל אללה ועצמתה וד'לך קו' **על כן לא נירה בהמיר ארץ** (תהלים מו:ג) וקו' **בהמיר ארץ** (תהלים מו:ג) יעני וצ'ע אספלהא פי מוצ'ע אעלאהא. וקו' **ובמוט הרים בלב ימים** (תהלים מו:ג) מודי אלי מא דכאה מן היג'הא ותכדירהא וקו' **יהמו יחמרו מימיו** (תהלים מו:ד) [תכו]ן דון מימיהם אד' ימים ג'מע פאנה אפרדה עלי ניה אנה מקוה ימים כמא קאל אלכתאב[ה] ולמקוה המים קרא ימים (בראשית א:י). ופלגיו בקו' **נהר פלגיו** (תהלים מו:ה) בדל אלגז מן אלכל אלמעני אנא אמנא תלך אלכ'סוף ואלאחואל ואלסיוול ולו כאן לנא נהר תשק ג'דאולה וסואקיה עלי מדינה אלקדס ואכ'י' מכאן מסאכן אללה פעוצ'נא מן סילה בנילה ומן צ'ררה בנפעה קו' **קדוש משכני עליון** (תהלים מו:ה) יעני אלמקדס מן מסכנה וקו' **יעזרה אלהים לפנות בקר** (תהלים מו:ו) יעני ענד מטא מד אלכחאר ופמה כמא קאל לפנות בקר לאיתנו (שמות יד:כז) וענד אלאהתא[ג'] אלאמם ואצ'טראב אלממאלך ומוג'אן אלארץ' כאן אללה לנא מעינא ועאצמא. ת'ם דעא אלי אעתבאר אפעאל אללה פי נקץ' עזאים אל [61 א] מחארבין ופסך' אראיהם בקו' **לכו חזו מפעלות ייי** (תהלים מו:ט). מצ'אד למעני קו' **משבית מלחמות עד קצה הארץ** (תהלים מו:י) לאנה וצף אלאצ'אד מן אפעל אללה תעאלי מן אנה יוחש אלבלאד מן עאמריהא מתי ישא פתפניהם אחרוב אלסיוף פאנה יבטלהא וחולהא מתי אחב ויז'ע אלסלאם פי מא ביניהם.

למנצח לבני קרב מזמור
<p>קו' ידבר עמים תחתינו (תהלים מז:ד). יג'וז פיה יסוריהם פי טאעטנא ומלכנא עלי מעני ינהיג. ויכ[ון] את גאון יעקב (תהלים מז:ה) יעני עץ אלמנבר אלמקול ענ[ה בקו'] הנני מחלל את מקדשי גאון עזכם (יחזקאל כד:כא) ומענ[י] עלה אלהים בתרועה (תהלים מז:ו) אן יגלב ען עלי אעדאינא ומנאוניא פיולון מנהזמון וינקלכון מדברון ומעני קו' מגני ארץ (תהלים מז:י) מלוך אלארץ' אלתי יד'ודון ענהא ד'וד אלסלאח ויחג'בונהא חג'אב אלמג'ן פאנמא קדם אלמרתצ'י מלכא מן אל אברהם. [61 ב] מלכא מן דון גירה אד' לה תקדים מן ישא אד' כאן אלמלך עלי אלדניא יעני אן דוד הו אלמרתצ'י מן דון גירה מן מלוך אלארץ'.</p>
שיר מזמור לבני קרח
<p>מעני יפה נוף (תהלים מח:ג) מעקל ג'מיל נוף אסם לה מן טריק אלאשראף ואלארטפאע וכד'לך אקול פי נפת דור (יהושע יב:כג) אנהא כאנת מואצ'ע משרפה מרתפעה. ת'ם בדא פי וצף אצפאק מלוך אלארץ' עליהא ואתפאקהם עלי גזוהא פלמא וצלוחא בהתוא [...דה מעניהא ותעד'ר אלחצול עליהא ואנחפזא [...]] אלאנצראן ענהא. ואמא קו' ברוח וקדים תשבר אניות תרשיש (תהלים מח:ח) פלין כאן אגאזוהא מן אלבחאר כסרת אלריאח ספנהם וחיל בינהם ובין פמא ישתחון. ת'ם נטק עלי לסאן אלד'ין וצלוא פאנהם יקולון כאשר שמענו כן ראינו (תהלים מח:ט) יקולון ד'לך ען עיר ייי צבאות עיר אלהינו (תהלים מח:ט) פאלמתכלמון אלאולין אלאעדא אלגאזון חכי ד'לך ענהם אל</p>
(למנצח לבני-קרח מזמור)
<p>... [55 א] תמאם קו' כי יראה חכמים ימותו (תהלים מט:יא) פקיל אד'א כאן אלמות אמרא עאמא ללבריה באסרהא פהל כאן צ'מיר האולאי אן יעמרו ביותהם ומסאכנהם אבדא ואן ינאדי באסמאיהם מא עמרת אלבלאד ואן הד'א אלט'ן לפאסד מעאן אדם ביקר בל יליו (תהלים מט:יג). ונדמו (תהלים מט:יג) יעני בה אנקרצ'וא ופנא מ'תל אוי לי כי נדמייתי (ישעיהו ו:ה) נדמה נדמה מלך ישראל (הושע י:טו) וליס מן אלשבה אד' לם יאתי מנה אלאנפעאל לכן אלפעל אלכ'פיף מתעדיא באללאם דמייתי לקאת מדבר (תהלים קב:ז) ובאל לא דמה אליו בפיפו (יחזקאל לא:ח). וג'א מנה אלת'קיל אלמשדד בללאם איצ'א מה אדמה לך (איכה ב:יג) ואל מי תדמיוני (ישעיהו מ:כה). ואלפתעאל בללאם איצ'א מה אדמה לעליון (ישעיהו יד:יד). וקד גלט מן פסר דמייתי בת ציון (ירמיהו ו:ב) מן אלשבה מן וג'הין אחדהמא אנה לם יג'ד פי לגה דמה כ'פיה ות'קילה שיא דון אללאם או אָל בוג'ה ולא צח מנה מעני ואנמא יסתקים כונה מן מעני נדמה ונדמו מתעדיא אי אקרצ'ת ואפנית מת'ל ודמייתי אמך (הושע ד:ה) בדמי ימי (ישעיהו לח:י) לאנה למא קאל הנוה והמעונגה דמייתי (ירמיהו ו:ב) [55 ב] או דמייתי בת ציון הנוה והמעונגה פהו פי מעני אלעקובה ויתצל בה איצ'א מא הו עקובה יעני אליה יבאו גוים ועדריהם (ירמיהו ו:ג). ת'ם קאל זה דרכם כסל למו (תהלים מט:יד) אי אן כאן הד'א מד'הבהם פהו ג'הל מנה ומעני ואחריהם בפיהם ירצו סלה (תהלים מט:יד) אן סאקתהם ועקבהם עלי קדריהם יסתופון מרמדא. ואחריהם יעני מן יולד בעדהם ובפיהם מת'ל כפיהם פי מעני כפי שניו (ויקרא כה:נב) וירצו מת'ל ירצה כשכיר יומו (איוב יד:ו) אז תרצה הארץ את שבתותיה (ויקרא כו:לד). וקו' כצאן לשאול שתו (תהלים מט:טו) אי וצ'עוא מצ'מום אלואו מכסור אלצ'אד והו פי קו' שתו בשמים פיהם (תהלים עג:ט) וצ'עו מפתוח אלואו ואלצ'אד פהו אדא אעני כצאן לשאול שתו פיהם מעני הושתו פלמא סבההם כאלצאן¹⁵⁵⁸ ג'על להם אלמות ראעוא. וקו' ישרים (תהלים מט:טו) יעני מתאתין מסתרסלין מסתסהלון למא צעב מנה[ם]. ומעני לבקר (תהלים מט:טו) פי אול מא יטלכון לא יסתטיעון בה מטלא ולא תאכ'ירא. וקו' וצורם (תהלים מט:טו) יעני</p>

¹⁵⁵⁸ Ms. באלצאן.

צורתם והו מפעול בקו' **לבלות שאול** (תהלים מט:טו) יעני אותם שאול. וקו' **לו** (תהלים מט:טו) במעני להם מת'ל בכל צרתם לא (ישעיהו סג:ט) [62 א] נעני מן אן יכון להם וט'ן יעידון אליה לאן אלת'רי יפני צורתהם. ויעני בקו' **אך אלהים יפדה נפשי מיד שאול** (תהלים מט:טז) אלא ישרכהם פי סו אלעאקבה פי דאר אלאכ'רי. ומעני **כי יקחני סלה** (תהלים מט:טו) אי יכ'תצני לעבאדתה ויקרבני לטאעתה פד'לך יכון אלסבב לפדיתי מן מת'ל מא צאר אליה אלמד'נבון. ובעד תביינה הו מא ד'הב אליה אלמגתרון בנעמתהם והי גיר דאימה להם ולא באקיה עליהם ואן אלמר לא יפדי וליהם מן מכרוה הו בה חאל ולא יוקיה מן מחד'ור הו בה נאזל חד'ר אלמרשדין מן מת'ל ד'לך בקו' **אל תירא כי יעשיר איש** (תהלים מט:יז). וקו' **כי נפשו בחייו יברך** (תהלים מט:יט) יקתצ'י אן לים ללמר אלא מא יחסן בה אלנפסה פי חיאתה וענה יחמד ת'ם תואפיה אלמניה פילחק בסלפה אלמאצ'יין ופי יקול **תבוא עד דור אבותיו** (תהלים מט:כ) וצ'מיר **תבוא** עאיד עלי **נפשו** (תהלים מט:יט). ואמא אלמשל ואלחידה אלד'ין צדר בהמא פי קו' **אטה למשל אזני אפתה בכנור חידתי** (תהלים מט:ה) פאלמשל הו קו' **עון עקבי יסובני** (תהלים מט:ו) ומת'ל קו' **כצאן לשאול** (תהלים מט:טו) **נמשל כבהמות** (תהלים מט:כא) ואלחידה אנה ג'רי אלקול עלי [62 ב] אלעמום וקד כני בה ען קום באעוואנהם לם יפצ'ח באסמאיהם וקד ימכן כונהם מן חאשיה שאול פצ'ארע אלחידה מן הד'ה אלג'הה לאן אלחידה מן אלכלאם מא לה תאויל באטן סוי מא יט'הר מן לפט'ה. אלמזמור אלמתצל בה מתמם למענאה לאן הד'ה אנקצ'י בתוקיף אלג'א'..]ן עלי אגתרארהם בכת'רה אמואלהם וקואם אחואלהם מע אן ד'לך גיר באק להם ואלד'י יתלוה ויקתצ'י עקאב אללה להם עלי תצ'ייעהם שראיעה אהמאלהם לואזמה ותוקיף אלצאלחין עלי מא ינזל בהם פיגתבטון בפצ'ל מא הם עליה מן דונהם.

מזמור לאסף

ויעני בקו' **דבר ויקרא ארץ** (תהלים נ:א) אסתדעא אהל אלארץ' מעא ליוג'ב אלחג'ה עליהם וילזמהם אלאקראר בתקצירהם וקו' **מציון מכלל יופי** (תהלים נ:ב) לאנה אמחל עפה ומוצ'ע סכינתה ומכלל **יופי** בדל מן קול **ציון** ומעני **מכלל יופי** (תהלים נ:ב) אכליל ג'מאל או ג'מלה אלג'מאל. וקו' **יבא אלהינו ואל יחרש** (תהלים נ:ג) חרץ מן אלפצ'לא [63 א] אלד'י ינת'רון מנה אלג'זא ואלאיקאע באצ'דאדהם אלפאסקין. וקו' **נשערה מאד** (תהלים נ:ג) יעני אסתערת ישיר אלי אלנאר אלמתקדם ד'כרהא וקו' **יקרא אל השמים מעל ואל הארץ** (תהלים נ:ד) יעני מלאיכה אלסמא פצ'לא אהל אלארץ' כמא קאל **אספו לי חסידי** (תהלים נ:ה). וקיל פי תכ'ציץ אלמלאיכה באלשהאדה ויגידו **שמים צדקו** (תהלים נ:ו). ת'ם אכ'ד' פי וצף אלמקוקף עלי אלסיאת ואלמחאסבה ענהא כקו' **שמעה עמי ואדברה ישראל** (תהלים נ:ז) וג' וקו' **ועולותיך לנגדי תמיד** (תהלים נ:ח). ויחמתל קו' **בהררי אלף** (תהלים נ:י) אן יעני אלפא מן אלג'באל. ויג'וז אן יריד ג'באלא פיהא אלוף מן אלאמואל וזיז **שדי** (תהלים נ:יא) יעני בה אלוחוש. וקו' **אם ארעב** (תהלים נ:יב) עלי מעני לו כנת ממן יקאל עלי הד'ה אלקול א[ן] מואצפי בהד'ה אלצפה מן אלאחג'אג' אלחאג'ה לם אחתג' פי מא אמלך ג'מיעא אלי מן לא ימלכה אלא בעצ'ה פכיף בי אד'ה תעאלית ען מת'ל הד'ה אלצפאת כמא קאל **האוכל בשר אבירים** (תהלים נ:יג) פאלקראבא אלתי אמרתכם בהא לים חאג'תי אנא אליהא. ואמא תכ'ציצה **זבח לאלהים תודה** (תהלים נ:יד) מן ג'מלה אל[מד']אבח פלוג'הין אחדאהמא אמא אן תקדם מא [63 ב] סואהא כאלחטאת ואלעולה ואלאשם יקרב מן ד'נוב סלפת ואתאם סבקת יסתגפר בהא מנהא בעד אלחזאם אלחובה ואד'ה לם יד'נב אלמר פלם יחאג'ה אלי שי מנהא ואמא אלחודה פחאצל מענאהא אלשכר ללה עלי מא אנעם או אלופא בנדר תקדם. ואלוג'ה אלח'אני אן אלעולה תחרק ג'מלה ואלחטאת ואלאשם תחרק שחומהא עלי אלמדבח ויאכל לחומהא אלכהנים ומן אלחטאות מא יחרק ג'מלה מת'ל פר ושעיר של יום הכפורים ופר הבא עלי כל המצות והו אלמקול ענה אם הכהן המשיח יחטא לאשמת העם וג' (ויקרא ד:ג-יב) ופר העלה דבר של ציבור והו אלמכ'בר

<p>ענה ואם כל עדת ישראל ישגו ונעלה דבר וג' (ויקרא ד:יג-כב) ושעיר עב' זר' והמא אלמקול פיהמא והיה אם מעיני העדר נעשתה לשגגה (במדבר טו:כד) ואיצ'א אם נפש אחת תחטא בשגגה וגו' (במדבר טו:כז) ואמא אתודעה ואשלמים פמע מא אנהא מכ'ר ללה פאן אצחאבהא יאכלונהא מא חאשי חזה ושוק פאנהמא ללכהן פכאנה יקול אן תקריבכם מא תאכלון אכת'רה מע אלתזאמכם סביל אלתקוי וסלוככם סביל אל [64 א] הד'י לאפצ'ל ממא תקרבון אכת'רה או ג'מועה מע צ'לאלכם וכשחכם ען אלטאעה והד'א מת'ל קול ירמיה עולותכם ספו על זבחים (ירמיה ז:כא) לאן לפט'ה זבח מכ'צוצה באלתודה יזודא צואעדכם אלת'י תקרבון ג'מיעהא עלי ד'באיחכם אלת'י [ת]אכלון מעט'מהא וכלוא אלג'מיע [...] ת[...] ען אנה ליסת הד'ה מחאסבה אלעצאה לכנה אסתצלחא אלמטיעון אלי מא ינדפע בה ענהם אלתקציר ויצח להם מעה אלופא ואלכמאל. ת'ם אכ'ד' פי וצף מטאלבה אלעצאה וד'וי אלשר מן ק' ורשע אמר אלהים (תהלים נ:טז). וק' ותרץ עמו (תהלים נ:יח) [...] תמ[...] בניה פי מעני אחצ'רת מעה כמא ג'א מן הד'א אלאצל פי הד'א אלמעני והחיות רצוא ושוב (יחזקאל א:יד) ויג'וז כונהא איצ'א מן ארצא כאנה קאל ותרץ לחיות עמו. וק' תשב באחיך תדבר (תהלים נ:כ) יעני ת[...] אבה עבת'א מן גיר סבב יכון לך אליה וק' תתן דופי (תהלים נ:כ) [...] אן ינסב אליה מא ליס פיה וא[...] יחתמ[...] תשב באחיך תדבר (תהלים נ:כ) אן [...] ומת'אל בה וכלא אלפעלין [...] ע[...] [64 ב] והחרשתי (תהלים נ:כא) יערב ען אמהאל אללה אהל אלשר לעלהם יתובון פאד'א לם יתובון גלט' עקאבהם ומתן עד'אבתם ואנקטע הג'תהם עלי אללה ועד'בהם ענד אלכל'ק ולד'לך ינד'רהם בק' בינו נא זאת שוכחי אלוה פן אטרופ ואין מציל (תהלים נ:כב) ועד פצ'ל זובח תודה (תהלים נ:כג) מן חית' לם יכן לה ד'נב יקרב ענה סואה וא[...] אף אליה ושם דרך (תהלים נ:כג) יעני מן אסתבאן טריק אלהדי[ה] פסלכה. וקד וג'דנא הד'ה אללפט'ה במעני אלביאן ואלתביין כמא קאל וישימו וישכילו (ישעיהו מא:כ) יעני יתביינון ותפהמון וכד'לך מבלי משים לנצח יאבדו (איוב ד:כ) וכד'לך השימי השמילי (יחזקאל כא:כא).</p>	<p>למנצח מזמור לדוד</p>
<p>ק' הרב כבסני מעוני (תהלים נא:ד) יחתמל כון הרב אמרא וכבסני מצדרא עלי מעני אכת'ר תנטיפי ויחתמל כון הרב מצדרא וכבסני אמרא עלי מעני כת'רא נט'פני יכון אצל הרב הרבה עלי אלוג'הין ג'מיעא. וכד'לך טהרני (תהלים נא:ד) [יכון] אמרא ויג'וז איצ'א כונה מצדרא בעטף ואו. ומחטאתי (תהלים נא:ד) [65 א] עלי הרב אי ומחטאתי טהרני עלי מעני אכת'ר תנטיפי מן כ'טאיאי. וק' הן בעון חוללתי (תהלים נא:ז) עלי סביל אלאגי¹⁵⁵⁹ ואלאבלאג. ויחמתני (תהלים נא:ז) ת'קיל גיר מתעד לאן אלמעני תוחמת מני אמי אלא תרי אן ק' ליחמנה במקלות (בראשית ל:מא) באעמאל אלמצדר פי אלכנאיה אן אלמיחם להא יעקב והי אלמיוחמת ואמה הנא מיוחמת ולא מיוחמת פאלמעני אד'א יוחמת ממני אמי ורבמא אראד בק' אמי (תהלים נא:ז) אם אלבשר אעני חוה לאנהא לם תלד אלא בעד ד'נב סבק מנהא. וכד'לך ק' חוללתי (תהלים נא:ז) אלאב אלאול אעני אדם. וק' הן אמת חפצת בטוחות (תהלים נא:ח) יעני אנה ואן כנת אד'נבת ואבטאת פאלצ'מיר מני כ'לאץ צאדק והו מא תרצ'אה מן אלאנסאן. ומעני ק' ובסתום חכמה תודיעני (תהלים נא:ח) אנך תרשדני אלי מא כפי עני מן אלחק ותגפר לי מא סבק מן אלזלל. וק' לב טהור ברא לי אלהים (תהלים נא:יב) אקראר באנה אנמא חמלה עלי תלך אלמעציה מא פי ג'בלה אלבשריה מן אלאנקיאר ללשהואת ואלאנפעאל ללהוי. פדעי פי אן יוקי מת'ל ד'לך פי מא יסתאנף מן עמרה וק' ורוח קדשך אל תקח ממני (תהלים נא:יג) לאנה תוקע ארתפאע [65 ב] אלוחי ענה באלולה אלחאדת'ה מנה. ואלצ'מיר פי תסמכני (תהלים נא:יד) עאיד עלי רוח נדיבה אי אן אלרוח אלכרימה תמסכני בעד אן תגפר לי ען מת'ל הד'ה אלכ'טיה. וידעו פי ק' הצלני מדמים (תהלים נא:טז) פי אלתכ'ליץ עמא יוג'ב קבלה תארא או יטלב ענה</p>	

¹⁵⁵⁹ Ms. אולי אלאג'רא.

<p>בד'חל. וידעו פי קו' ייי שפתי תפתח (תהלים נא:יז) אן ינטלק לסאנה בחמד אללה מן חית' יסדי אליה מן אלכ'יר מא יסתוג'ב אלחמד ענה. ומעני קולה כי לא תחפוץ זבח ואתנה (תהלים נא:יח) יקתצ'י אן חמדי איאך יכון ען ניה וצ'מיר צאדק הו מראדך מני מן דון קרבאן אקרבה בין ידיך ואזולף בה אליך ולד'לך אתבעה בקו' זבחי אלהים רוח נשברה (תהלים נא:יט). ואמא קו' את'ר הד'א היטיבה ברצוך את ציון (תהלים נא:כ) פלעלמה אנה אלמכאן אלמרתצ'י לתקריב אלקראבין מן דון גירה אד'א בני והיא כ'לאף מא כאן עלי אלאמר עליה פי זמאן אלמשכן אלד'י כאן עלי זמאן דוד מן ג'ואז אלתקריב פיג'רה. ווצף אלמזמור אלת[א] לי להד'א בקו' משכיל לאנה אבאן ען פצ'ל צבר אלצאברין וסו עואקב אלט'אלחין.</p>	<p>למנצח משכיל לדוד</p>
<p>[66 א] והא הגבור (תהלים נב:ג) ללנדא יעני יאיהא אלג'באר מת'ל הדור אתם ראו דבר ייי (ירמיהו ב:לא) הקהל חקה אחת (במדבר טו:טו). ומלטש (תהלים נב:ד) מן לטש אלת'קיל אד' לם יכן לטוש. ועושה רמיה (תהלים נב:ד) עאיד עלי אלסאן וכל דברי בלע (תהלים ב נב:ו) יחתמל אן יריד מא תהלך מן אג'לה אלד'י תג'ני עליה מת'ל פן יבלע למלך (שמואל ב יז:טז). ויחתמל אן יריד איצ'א מא יכ'פי מן אלכ'יר. ויחתך (תהלים נב:ז) יעני יקתלעך ונקלך וקד קיל פי אלצ'ראם היחתה איש אש בחיקו (משלי ו:כז) כי גחלים אתה חותה על ראשו (משלי כה:כב) תחת גערה במבין (משלי יז:י) עלי מעני אנהא תחל מנה מחל אלנאר פי צ'ראיהא פיה. וקו' ויסחק (תהלים נב:ז) מסתקבל נסח ואלאנפעאל מנה ונסחתם מעל האדמה (דברים כח:סג) והו מן אלנקל ויקרב מן לפט' אלערבי והו פי אלסריאני אפתעאל יתנסח אע (עזרא ו:יא). ושרשך (תהלים נב:ז) פעל ת'קיל ומסתקבלה ובכל תבואתי תשרש (איוב לא:יב). ומענאה אלסתיצ'אל והשריש צ'דה אעני אתסאע אלאצול ונמאיהא ומת'ל ותשרש שרשיה (תהלים פ:י). והוות תחשוב לשונך (תהלים נב:ד) יעני קביח אלקול והג'רה. וקד יראד בה אלחואדת' ואלנואיב מת'ל והותי במאזנים ישאו יחד (איוב ו:ב) עד יעבר הוות (תהלים נז:ב) ואכת'ר מא אתי פראד הד'א אללפט' הוה במא קאל הוה על הוה [66 ב] תבוא (יחזקאל ז:כו). וקו' ואקוה שמך כי טוב (תהלים נב:יא) יחתמל אן יכון טוב מאצ'יא ופיה צ'מיר עאיד עלי שמך ויחתמל כונה איצ'א צפה אי טוב הוא. ועלי הד'ין אלוג'הין יג'וז עודתה עלי אלמצ'מר פי ואקוה אעני אלמקוה אי אלרג'א כמא יקול מקוה ישראל ייי מושיענו (ירמיהו יד:ח).</p>	<p>למנצח על מחלת משכיל לדוד</p>
<p>ומחלת (תהלים נג:א) אבתדא אלמזמור אלה אליה אסם נאקץ מן ד'ואת אלמת'לין אעני והעם מחללים בחלילים (מלכים א א:מ) ועלי בה מכסת נפשות (שמות יב:ד) מן תכסו על השה (שמות יב:ד). וכל מסמ[י] הד'א אלפסוק אעני אמר נבל בלבו (תהלים נג:ד) עלה לצאחבה לאן ג'חוד אלנבל אללה מן אג'ל אנה השחית והתעיב עלילה פעלי הד'א יכון אכרה עלה לאולה אנה אנמא אפסד אלסירה וגיייר אלסנה למא לם יכן פי אעתקאדה אלאהא ית'יבה עלי אלחסנה ויעאקבה עלי אלסייה פיציר אולה עלה לאכ'רה. וקו' לא היה פחד (תהלים נג:ו) יעני לא היה הפחד כמוהו [67 א] ומת'לה הן ארץ כשדים זה העם לא היה (ישעיהו כג:יג) יעני לא היה כמוהו. חונך (תהלים נג:ו) פי מעני חונה עליך יעני מנאזל בלדך יא ולי אללה יעני דוד פאכ'זיתיהם לאן אללה כרההם. הבישותם כי אלהים מאסם (תהלים נג:ו) לאן אלרבאעי פי הד'א אלמעני מן אלמעטל אלעין מתעד ומשנאינו הבישות (תהלים מד:ח) ואל תבישני משברי (תהלים קיט:קטז). ומן אלמעטל אלפא גיר מתעד הובישו חכמים (ירמיהו ח:ט) הובישה הורתם (הושע ב:ז).</p>	<p>למנצח בנגינו משכיל</p>
<p>וקו' ייי בסומכי נפשי (תהלים נד:ו) ליס יעני אנה ואחד מן ג'מאעה מת'ל קו' אל תהי בתוקעי כף (משלי כב:כו) אל תהי בסובאי יין בזוללי בשר למו (משלי כג:כ) לכנה יריד אנהו אלעוץ' לה מן כל סומך ובאד'א כל סומך ועלי מא פסרנא וגילו</p>	

<p>ברעדה (תהלים ב:יא) ויג'ז פי קו' כי מכל צרה הצילני (תהלים נד:ט) אן יכון פי מכאן הצלתני ואן כאן עאידא עלי שמך פיקום אלסם מקאם אלמסמי.</p>
<p>למנצח בנגינות משכיל</p>
<p>[67 ב] קו' אריד בשיחי (תהלים נה:ג) יעני אדל ואכצ'ע ומנה ועניים מרודים (ישעיהו נח:ז) וקד יג'ז אן אקול אצ'ג' וכד'לך פי ועניים מרודים יעני אלד'ין יצ'ג'ון בשדה אלפאקה. ועקת רשע (תהלים נה:ד) יעני אחאטתה בי ותחויקה עלי פלן אג'ד דון צ'רה מחיצא ומנה הנה אנכי מעיק תחתיכם (עמוס ב:יג) יעני אני אחדק עלי אמכנתכם ואחוק עלי מואצ'עכם חתי לן תג'דוא מנהא מנפד'א כמא קאל ואבד מנוס מקל (עמוס ב:יד) ואמא מעני כאשר תעיק העגלה (עמוס ב:יג) פאנהם כאנוא ידרסון אנאדרהם באלעג'ל פלאסתדארה אלעג'לה חולהא כאנת תחדק פיהא כ'טא מסתדירה לא יכן להא מנה תג'אזו מן ספא אלסנבל ומא ינפצל מנהא מן סקט כמא קאל המלאה לה עמיר (עמוס ב:יג) והמלאה מת'ל המלאה הזרע (דברים כב:ט) יעני אד'א צ'ם אנדר אלזרע וקד צאר פיה מן חק גלה אלכרם ובאלעכם. וקו' הנה ארחיק נדד (תהלים נה:ח) ואחישא מפלט לי (תהלים נה:ט) מן תמאם קו' מי יתן לי אבר כיונה (תהלים נה:ז) וסועה (תהלים נה:ט) לפט'ה מפרדה מן סעה יסעה מת'ל כי רועה (בראשית כט:ט) מן רעה ירעה פאמא שן רועה (משלי כט: יט) עמן תרועם בשבט ברזל (תהלים ב:ט) [68 א] הירוע ברזל ברזל (ירמיהו טו:יב) והי צפה ד'אתיה לאנפצ'אצ'הא או מפעולה מת'ל סוגה בשושנים (שיר השירים ז:ג) ופלג לשונם (תהלים נה:י) בפתח אללאם מת'ל כתר לי זעיר (איוב לו:ב). וקו' כי לא אויב יחרפני (תהלים נה:יג) אעתד'אר מן דעאיה עליהם באלסו למא לם יטיק אחתמאלה ולא לה מחיץ ענה לאטלאעה עלי אסררה ועלמה בוג'ה אצ'ררהא בה. לפט'ה ברגש (תהלים נה:טו) יעני בהא אלתאהב ואלתסעד. ומעני נמתיק סוד (תהלים נה:טו) נתסאר פיג'ד לד'לך חלאוה אלטמאנינה ואלאסתרסאל כאנה קאל נדבר סוד וימתק לנו. ומעני ישי מות עלימו (תהלים נה:טז) יכון להא ג'רי מא יודון ענה ארוואהם. וקו' כי רעות במגורם בקרבם (תהלים נה:טז) יעני פי מכנון צ'מאירהם ומג'תמע ניאתהם ומנה העוד הזרע במגורה (חגי ב:יט) על דגן ועל תירוש יתגוררו יסורו בי (הושע ז:יד). ויעני בקו' מקרב לי (תהלים נה:יט) מן אן ידנו לי. ובא כי ברבים היו עמדי (תהלים נה:יט) מת'ל בא והוא באחד ומי ישיבנו (איוב כג:יג) וקד כאן יסתגני ענהא. וקד ימכן אן יעני בקו' כי ברבים (תהלים נה:יט) קומא כאנוא פי כת'רה מן אשג'אעהם ואעואנהם עלי אלאצ'ראר בה. ויג'ז פי קו' והוא באחד (איוב כג:יג) יכון אחד אסם אלוחדניה עלי וזן שכר [68 ב] וצלע כמא אן מלך חית' מא וקע מלך ויקע עלי אסם אלמלך ומלך ומלך והשכיל (ירמיהו כג:ה) ¹⁵⁶⁰ יעני וימלך מלכא וכד'לך למלך ייי צבאות (זכריה יד:טז) אי למלכות ייי צבאות נדמה שומרון מלכה (הושע י:ז) לאנה לו אראד מלכהא לכאן קול שומרון גלטא או סהוא פאסתרך ד'כר אלמלך ומת'ל הד'א לא יכון פי כלאם אלוחי לכנה אראד מלכהא והו בדל אלמצדר אלמשתמל עלי אלסם מנה אי אנקראץ' מלך שומרון כאנקראץ' אלזבד אלקאים עלי אלמא וקו' ישמע אל ויענם (תהלים נה:כ) אדא כאן בתקדיר נדמה מלך שומרון או מלך שומרון נדמה לם יכון גלטא ולא סהוא כמא קלת אנמא ילגי אלי הד'ה אלמצ'איק אד'א לם ינג'ד מנדוחה ען אלשי ¹⁵⁶¹ יעני יד'להם מת'ל זמיר עריצים יענה (ישעיהו כה:ה). וקו' אשר אין חליפות למו (תהלים נה:כ) יעני לא יבאדלון סו מד'הבהם ולא יתואלונה בשי מן אלכ'יר. וקו' חלקו מחמאות פיו (תהלים נה:כב) יעני אכת'ר מן אלסמן ויעני בפיו דברי פיו והו אלמג'מוע פי חלקו. וקרב לבו (תהלים נה:כב) מן אלחרב ומנה המלמד ידי לקרב (תהלים קמד:א) ופתיחות (תהלים נה:כב) חדאד מנה חרב פתחו רשעים (תהלים לו:יד). ווג'דת הד'א אלפסוק פי שרח חפץ' בן</p>

¹⁵⁶⁰ Ms. Heb. e. 99 42r-43v

¹⁵⁶¹ Ms. Heb. e. 42r-43v

אלבר אלקוטי [69 א] אלין מן אלסמן כלאם פיה ואלקלב מנה כאלחרב פיה אלפאט'ה תפות לין אלזית והי חדאד מת'ל סהאם אלמות. וקו' **השלך על ייי יהבך** (תהלים נה:כג) בחד'ף מפעול דרכך או דברך עלי מעני אלקי אליה רגבאתך ופון' אליה אמרך **ויהבך** פעל מאץ' עלי מעני אסתדל ברזקה איאך פי מאצ'י זמאנך עלי אנה יפעל מת'ל ד'לך אלמסתאנף.

למנצח על יונת אלם

פסר פי **יונת אלם רחוקים** (תהלים נו:א) חמאמה קצר אלאבעדין והד'א מא לא יעקל ולא יודי מעני ואלד'י ארי פיה אן אלחמאמא מן אלאגאני קד אסתעמלת פי שג'י אלאחאן ופי מעני אלפראק וקד כאן דוד פי וקת אלתקבץ' עליה פי גת מפארקא לאהלה ומתשוקא אליהם פסמי אלחמאמה אלתי אבתאחהא וחמאמה אלפה אלאבעאד. **ואלם** (תהלים נו:א) משתק מן מאלמים אלומים (בראשית לז:ז) אלם צדק (תהלים נח:ב) וי'גוז איצ'א אן ינסב אלאלפה ואלאג'תמאע ללחמאמה מן חית' כאנת אולא לא ללגראב חין אטלקהמא נות ועאדת אליה [69 ב] מן דונה פנסבת אלי אלאיתלאף ב[מ]א מא נ'סב אל[...]. אלבין ואלפראק. וקו' **שפאו שוררי** (תהלים נו:ג) יריד אנהם יתשופון אבדא אן ינזל בה מא יתמנון לה ולם ישערו באן אלמחארבין ענה מן ג'נד אלסמא כת'יר כמא קאל כי רבים אשר אתנו מאשר אתם (מלכים ב ו:טז) לאן לגה מלחמה אד'א קארנהא אלבא או על או עם פאלחרב ואקע עלי מן יתצל בה אחדהא וילחם בה (יהושע י:לא, שמואל ב יב:כט, מלכים א כ:א) להלחם עליה (דברים כ:י דברים כ:יט) וילחם את¹⁵⁶² אפרים (שפטים יב:ד) ותכון את מכאן עם מת'ל לחם את לחמו (תהלים לה:א) ועלי¹⁵⁶³ אנה יג'וז פי הד'א תעדיה בלא וסיט כמא וג'דנא בנא אלנפעאל מנה אעני וילחמוני חנם (תהלים קט:ג) פתכן את הנא עלי אלמעפולין ואד'א אנצ'אף אלי ל[ג]ה מלחמה אללאם פאלחרב עמן תתצל בה ואקעה עלי צ'דה כקו' ייי ילחם לכם (שמות יד:יד) נלחם להם (שמות יד:כה) **כי רבים לחמים לי מרום** (תהלים נו:ג) ויעני בקו' **באלהים אהלל** (תהלים נו:ד) **אהלל דבר** (תהלים נו:יא) אנה מא כאן מן נצרי וט'פרי לם אג'על לנפסי פכ'סא מן [...]. [צאפת]... נאצרי ונסבתה אלי מט'פרי. וקו' **דברי יעצבו** (תהלים נו:ו) יחתמאל אן יעני בה אנהם יכד'בוני במא כ'אטב [70 א] בה מן סו אלמ[...].ה וקבחה ויכון תאוויל דברי דברים אלתי תכן מנהם אלי כקו' ואנכי מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם (ישעיהו סו:יח) יעני מעשי בהם ומחשבותי עליהם לאנה אראד פעל אללה בהם ומד'הבה פיהם והו אלג'אלב אלמם אלמתבאעדה לתשאהד עזה וג'לאלה לא פעלהם הם ואפכארהם כקו' באה לקבץ את כל הגיום והלשונות (ישעיהו סו:יח) ויג'וז פיה אנהם יכד'בון אנפסהם באחואלי אלתי ט'הרת עליהם ואליהם פירג'עון אלי אגתיאלי כאנה קאל בדברי יעצבו נפשם ויגורו (תהלים נו:ז) יעני יג'תמעון ויתולבון והו מן מעני במגורם (תהלים נה:טז) וגירה ממא תקדם. **ויצפוניו** (תהלים נו:ז) יעני פי אלכמון כקו' נצפנה לנקי חנם (משלי א:יא). וקו' **עקבי ישמרו** (תהלים נו:ז) יעני אנהם ירצדון תורט פי חבאלהם ותנשבי פי אשראכהם כמא קד אמלוא ד'לך מן הלאך נפסי מן אג'ל גלהם פנגהא מנהם ואכ'פהם ואכ'פצ'הם בסכ'טך יא אללה. פקו' **פלט** (תהלים נו:ח) עאיד עלי **נפשי** (תהלים נו:ז) ולמו (תהלים נו:ח) במעני מנהם כמא קאל ויבא שלמה לבמה אשר בגבעון (דברי הימים ב א:יג) יעני מן הבמה. וקו' **על און** (תהלים נו:ח) מתצל בקו' **המה עקבי ישמרו** (תהלים נו:ז) אי אנהם אנמא יחמלהם עלי [70 ב] ד'לך גלהם וצ'ג'נהם. ת'ם יקול פ[לט] מהם ואכת [ר]ה אעאדה אלצ'מיר עלי **נפשי** (תהלים נו:ט) אגאזא ואתכאלא עלי אלפהם ענה. וקד יג'וז פצל **נפשי** ען **און** (תהלים נו:ח) ואן נג'עלהא מפעול פלט מהם ונסתגני ען אעאדה אלצ'מיר עליהא יעני כאשר קו' על און ת'ם יקול נפשי פלט מהם. וקו' **נודי**

¹⁵⁶² Mss. עם.

¹⁵⁶³ Ms. Heb. e. 99 42r-43v

ספרתה¹⁵⁶⁴ **אתה** (תהלים נז:ט) יעני מנאזל גרבתי ומחל תג'ולי אנת אחציתהא פלכון איצ'א דמועי מחצאה ענדך ותגית'ני אד'א דעותך ותגיתני מתי אסתגת'תך. **ונאדך** (תהלים נז:ט) אסתעארה נוי בהא מג'אנסה נודי לתכון כאנהא מחפוט'ה פי ועא פלא יצ'יע מע אי שי וידל איצ'א עלי פיצ'הא וגזרתהא.

למנצח אל תשחת לדוד מכתם

מעני **אל תשחת** (תהלים נז:א) פי הד'א אלמזמור ואלד'י בעדה אד' כאן מן נפסה עלי כ'טר וכאן קד אשרף עלי אלהלאך פי כלי אלמוקפין אעני ענד מא אפלא מן בין ידי שאול פי אלגאר וענד מא נגתה מיכל אד' רקב עליה שאול. וקו' **יעבור הוות** (תהלים נז:ב) מן דון יעבר [74 א] מת'ל גירה וימכן כון **הוות** (תהלים נז:ב) מצדרה מת'ל יום ענות אדם נפשו (ישעיהו נח:ה) יעני אלתכוין אלמכוון וקיל פי **גומר** (תהלים נז:ג) אנה יעני אלמסתהתרין עלי מן אלאעדא כאנה קאל קמו והו ענדי בעיד וקד קיל פי גיר הד'א אלמכאן כי גמל עלי (תהלים יג:ו) פאן תכון הנא אלרא מבדלה מן לאם ג'אז ד'לך ואן יכון מן תמאם קו' **אקרא לאלהים עליון** (תהלים נז:ג) עלי מעני אדעו אן יתם עלי מא אדעו ענה וארגב אליה פיה ג'אז איצ'א. וקו' **חרף שאפי סלה** (תהלים נז:ד) יתאוול מעניין אן יכון צ'מיר **חרף** עאידא עלי אללה תע' ואלמראה אן יצירה חרפה ושואפי מפעול. ואן יכון אלשואף הו אלמחרף ואלמפעול והו דוד מחד'וף מן אללפט' ויריד אן יסכ'ט עדוי דאיבא פפצ'ל אללה מתצל בי ודאב עני **ולבאים** (תהלים נז:ה) ג'מע לביא עלי גיר קיאס וכאן חקה לביאים מת'ל נביא נביאים נשיא נשיאים ושכב פי קו' **אשכבה להטים** (תהלים נז:ה) ליס ממא תעדי [אלי] **להטים** אד' ליס יעני מצ'אג'עתהם לאן שכב אלמתעדי אלי אלאנסאן ד'כרא כאן או אנת'י מעני [74 ב] אלוטי ואלמג'אמעה כמא קאל ושכב איש אותה (במדבר ה:יג) אשר ישכב את זכר (ויקרא כ:יג) גיר אנה יתעדי אלי אלמכאן כמא קאל ושכב ארצה (שמואל ב יב:טז) וכד'לך אראד הנא מקום לזהטים. **וכפף נפשי** (תהלים נז:ז) ועני וכפפו נפשי אי אדלווא ואכ'צ'עוא לאנה מתעד מן הלכוף כאגמון ראשו (ישעיהו נח:ה) **וכבודי** (תהלים נז:ט) יעני ג'סדי פנאדאה אולא בקו' **עורה** (תהלים נז:ט) ת'ם ינאדי אלאת אלג'א עלי מג'אז ללתיקט' בה וקט'הם ת'ם יקול אנה אלמיקט' להא וקת אנתבאהה סחרא אי אלמחרך אשר אעירה שחר וד'לך באסתמעאלה להא וקת אנתבאהה

למנצח אלתשחת לדוד מכתם

קו' **האמנם אלם צדק תבדרון** (תהלים נח:ב) ואתבעה בקו' **אף בלב עולות תפעלון** (תהלים נח:ג) יעני אי ימכן אן יכון קולכם צאדקא וחכים¹⁵⁶⁵ עדלא מע מא תצ'מרונה מן אלג'ל ותצ'רון עליה מן אלאחנה. וקד ביינא תפסיר **אלם צדק** (תהלים נח:ב) יעני אנה ג'מאע אלצדק וקרנ בה אלם רחוקים (תהלים נז:א) פי מא תקדם. ומעני קו' **המס** [75 א] **ידיכם תפלסון** (תהלים נח:ג) יעני בה אנכם תצ'עון ג'ורכם פי מוצ'ע אלעדל ותנזלון ט'למכם מנזלה אלאס(ת)קאם. **ועולות** (תהלים נח:ג) אסם מעתל אלעין פי מעני עול ועולה **וזורו רשעים** (תהלים נח:ד) פעל מאץ' אי צארוא זרים. וקו' **חמת למו** (תהלים נח:ה) מצ'אף מע בקא אללאם פי **למו** מן דון קו' חמתם או חמה למו מת'ל אם אתן שנת לעיני (תהלים קלב:ד) מימין לבית (יחזקאל י:ג). **ומלחשים** (תהלים נח:ו) הו אלמנאגון באלרקי. וקו' **יאטם אזנו** (תהלים נח:ה) ליס אן ד'לך מנה עמד לכן לאסתילא קוה אלסם עליה פצארת אלרקה לא תנג'ע פיה פג'עלה כאלאצם ען תלך אלמנאגאה מן חית' לם תנג'ע פיה. וכד'לך אקול פי אם ישוך הנחש בלא לחש (קהלת י:יא) אנה יריד בלא שמע¹⁵⁶⁶ לחש או מן דון אן יקבל אלרקה

¹⁵⁶⁴ ספרת

¹⁵⁶⁵ וחכמים

¹⁵⁶⁶ סמע Ms. Heb. e. 99 42r-43v

פלא פצ'ל לד'י אללסאן אן יעני אלראקי אד'א לם תטיעה אלחיה פהו מת'ל צ'רבה למן עאני אמרא לם יחסן תנאולה או פאת קדרתה פכאב סעיה ונילה כקו' דברי פי חכם חן ושפתות כסיל¹⁵⁶⁷ תבלענו (קהלת י:יב) והו מן אלבאב אלמתקדם אי אן אלחכים אנמא חט'י ענד אלנא[יב] [75 ב] במא אטרד עלי לסאנה מן אלחכמה צ'ד מא הדם אלג'אהל אלחט'יה במא נטק בה מן עורה ופאחשה. וג'א **מלתעות** (תהלים נח:ז) ומתלעות (איוב כט:יז, יואל א:ו, משלי ל:יד) פהו מת'ל כשב וכבש שמלה ושלמה ולעל אג'ד אלסביל אלי אשתקאקה מן ושמת סכין בלועך (משלי כג:ב) ושתי ולעו (עבדיה א:טז) באן אקול אנהמא מחד'ופאן אלעין ותאהמא זאידתאן פיכון וזן מלתעות מפתעלות וזון מתעלות מתפעלות עלי אלכמאל. ואלאלף פי **ימאסו כמו מים** (תהלים נח:ח) מזידה מת'להא פי והאזניחו נחרות (ישעיהו יט:ו) והו אנפעאל מן אלמעל אלעין מת'ל עוד יקנו בתים (ירמיהו לב:טו). ואלצ'מיר פי **ידרך חציו** (תהלים נח:ח) עאיד עלי אללה יקול מא הו אלא אן יותר קוסה פינקצפון קבל וצול אלסהם אליהם ולמא קאל **כמו מים** (תהלים נח:ח) אבדל מנה **כמו שבולל** (תהלים נח:ט) והו אלסיל מת'ל¹⁵⁶⁸ שבולת מים (תהלים סט:טז) והו מצ'אעף מן לאמה. ותמס **יהלוך** (תהלים נח:ט) צפה ללסיל והו חאל מן סירה אן שית עקל אנה חאל מן סירהם אי יסירין דובא והו מן ד'ואת אלמת'לין אסם עלי וזן תבל עשו (ויקרא כ:יב). ויעני בקו' [76 א] **נפל אשת** (תהלים נח:ט) כנפל אשת אי יכונן כסקט אלג'נה אלד'י לם יר שמסא. ואשת מת'ל אשה כמא קאל ואשת יפת תאר (דברים כא:יא). וקו' **בטרם יבינו סירותיכם אטד** (תהלים נח:י) יקתצ'י אנה בעד מא וצפהם באלתלאשי ואלד'האב מת'ל סיול אלמא שבהם באלשוך פי הד'א אלפסוק ואלשוך אנמא תפעל פיה אלנאר. פשרחה קבל אן יסערו אנהם שוך וחסך תסתערהם אלנאר צחאחה מן קבל אן יט'הר עליהם את'רהא והד'א אגראק אכ'ר אלי **ידרוך חציו כמו יתמוללו** (תהלים נח:ח) פתקדירה בטרם יבינו כי הם סירות ואטד יסערהם אש חיים וייחרו. וסירות מת'ל כי כקול הסירים (קהלת ז:ו) וקד ג'א מונת'א מבור הסירה (שמואל ב ג:כו) בסירות דוגה (עמוס ד:ב). וג'א **אלהים שופטים** (תהלים נח:יב) כמא ג'א נגלו אליו האלהים (בראשית לה:ז) כי אלהים קדושים (יהושע כד:יט). ונסל הנא קבל שרחנא הד'א אלמזמור אלתאלי להד'א כיף נסתג'יו דוד על אלם" אן נצף שאול פיה בהד'א אלאוצאף אלקביחה וידעו עליה בתלך אלאדעיה אלבאלגה פי אלסו והו אלמלך אלממסוח באמר אללה אלמרתצ'י וליא [76 ב] עלי אמתה. ונג'יב ען ד'לך אנה מרפע ען כל ד'לך לכנה אלמזמור משתרך לשאול ולגירהם מן אעדאיה פאלד'י יצלח אן יצ'אף אלי שאול מנה מת'ל קו' הצילני מאויבי אלהי ממתקוממי תשגבני (תהלים נט:ב).

למנצח אל תשחת

אמא קו' **הצילני מפועלי און** (תהלים נט:ג) וקו' **ישוּבו לערב יהמו ככלב** (תהלים נט:ז) פליס ממא ינבגי אן יצף במת'לה שאול ולא חאשותה לכן סואהם מן ארד אלאעדאיה וכ'סאסהם. ואן כאן קו' **כי הנה ארבו לנפשי** (תהלים נט:ד) לאיקא בשאול לאנה רקב עליה פיושך אן יכון פי אעואנה אלמתרקבין עליה מן הד'ה צפתה אלא תראה יקול פיה **הקיצה לפקוד כל הגיום** (תהלים נט:ו) ת'ם אבדל מנה **אל תחן כל בגדי און סלה** (תהלים נט:ו). וקו' **בוגדי און** (תהלים נט:ו) יעני פועלי און או אנשי און. ותאויל ד'לך אן גלהם וסו מעתקדהם חמלהם עלי אלגדר פכאנה קאל אל תחן כל בוגדי און סלה כי הם פועלי און או אנשי און. ופי קו' **ישוּבו** [77 א] **לערב יהמו ככלב** (תהלים נט:ז) מא יקתצ'י אלדעא עליהם באלפאקה ואלאכ'תלאל בחית' יטופן ויסאלון אלקות ויסתג'דון אלגד'א. וצ'מיר עזו פי קו' **עזו אליך אשמרה** (תהלים נט:י) עאיד עלי יי והו אכ'באר פי מוצ'ע מכאטבה אעני עזך אליך אשמרה ומענאה ארקב וצול תאיידך ועונך אלי וארצדה ומת'לה בשמור

¹⁵⁶⁷ כסילים

¹⁵⁶⁸ כמא קאל

<p>יואב על העיר (שמואל ב יא:טז) יעני ענד אחתראסה אלמדינה. וחסן קו' בעד ד'לך אלהי חסדי יקדמני (תהלים נט:י) אי תקדמני מתלקיא במא אנת'ט'רה מן פצ'לה ומבאדרה אלי מא אומלה מן אלכ'יר. וקו' חטאת פימו דבר שפתימו (תהלים נט:יג). ודעו אן יואכ'דו באכ'בארהם והג'ר אקואלהם וען לען וזור יתחדת'ון בהמא. ומן פי ומאלה ומכחש (תהלים נט:יג) מת'ל בא בגאונם (תהלים נט:יג) אלא תרי אן מעני בא [...]מ[...] אשתו ומאשר יקרת בעיני (ישעיהו מג:ד) ואחד שרחהמא מן אג'ל או למא וכד'לך יצלח הנא אן יכן מעני מאלה (תהלים נט:יג) מן אג'ל איצ'א. וקו' המה יניעון לאכול (תהלים נט:טז) יעני בעד טופהם דאך אלי דכ'ול [77 ב] אלליל לם יג'דוא מן אלגד'א מא [...]אהם פיבקו באיתין עליה לכנהם יסעון באקי אלליל טאיפין איצ'א עמא יכמלון בה קותהם. וקו' עזי אליך אזמרה (תהלים נט:יח) יריד אסבחך עמא קבלי מן תאיידך לי.</p>	<p>למנצח על שושן עדות</p>
<p>וקו' שושן (תהלים ס:א) ואחד שושנים ואכ'תרה בחלם פי אלשין וקד ג'א שרק הנא פי קו' מעשה שושן באולם (מלכים א ז:יט) אלג'זאה שהאדם עלי אכ'תצאץ לאללה לה ודלילא עלי רצ'אה ענה. וקולה ללמד (תהלים ס:א) יעני אן עלם ד'לך מן יג'הלהם מן חאלה. וקאל בעץ' קום פי בהצותו את ארם נהרים (תהלים ס:ב) אנה מן מעני כי ינצו אנשים (שמות כא:כב) והו עבארה ען אלחרב ואייד ד'לך במא קאלה וירב בנחל (שמואל א טו:ה) מצ'אדא למן ג'עלה מן ארב לין אלפא פי מעני אלכמון והו קול צ'עיף מן וג'הין אחדהמא אנא לם נג'ד לפט' אלכ'צאם יד'כל פי מעני אלחרב בוג'ה פאד'א אמכן כ'צמה אן יקול פי [72 א] וירב בנחל (שמואל א טו:ה) קולא יכון אצח פי אלמעני ואקרב אלי אללפט' לם ימכנה אן יחצרה עלי אן יקול אנה מת'ל וירב העם עם משה (שמות יז:ב) מסתעארא מן אלכ'צאם אלד'י לם יג'דה פי גירה ואיצ'א אנה מא ד'כר שי מן מעני אלמריבה אלא יד'כר אלמנאזעין כמא קלנא וירב העם עם משה (שמות יז:ב) מסתעארא מן אלכ'צאם ויריבון אתו¹⁵⁶⁹ (שפטים ח:א) ואד'א כאן אחד אלכ'צמין ט'אפרא באלת'אני פיתעדי אליה בגיר וסיט מת'ל ריבה ייי את יריבי (תהלים לה:א) ואת יריביך אנכי אריב (ישעיהו מט:כה) ואמא וירב בנחל (שמואל א טו:ה) פליס הו גיר מא ד'כר אלמכאן פאן כאן הו אלמפעול כמא קאל וירב בו הבעל (שופטים ו:לב) פאד'א אנמא כ'אצם אלואדי ויעוד ד'לך אלכ'צאם חרבא ואנמא ד'כר אלכתאב אלמכאן אלד'י פיה אלכמון מת'ל ויארב בשדה (שופטים ט:מג). ואלוג'ה אלת'אני אנא לם נג'ד מן נצה פי מעני אלכ'צאם אלד'י ידעי בה אסתעארתה פי אלחרב גיר אלפאעל נחו נצים (שמות ב:יג), מלכים ב יט:כה, ישעיהו לז:כו) וינצו (ויקרא כד:י, שמואל ב יד:ו) פאי שי [ת]כ'רג'ה אלי אצה אלת'קיל אלא אלתעדי פיוכן אלמעני אנה ג'על ארם נהרים מע ארם צובה מתכ'אצמין מתנאזעין במא מנאפקאן מתצ'אפראן עלי [72 ב] דוד פאן אעדי אנה מן מעני אלנפעאל קיל לה אן מת'ל הד'א אלמעני אנמא יכון מסמועא ומא אט'ן אנה יג'ד הפעיל ונפעל פי מעני ואחד ולו וג'ד לם נצ'ף הד'א אליה אד'א אמכן פיה גיר הד'א והו אן נקול אן בהצותו יריד אכ'לא בלאדהם ואקפארהא בקתל רג'אלהא לאן ארם נהרים הו אסם אלבלד כמא הו אסם אלקביל כמא קאל ויקם וילך אל ארם נהרים אל עיר נחור (בראשית כד:י). והצותו (תהלים ס:ב) מן עריך תצינה (ירמיהו ד:ז) תצינה כ'פיף ד'אתי והצותו ת'קיל מתעדי ת'ם קאל וישב יואב ויד את אדום בגיא מלה (תהלים ס:ב) פד'כרה נצרה פי אלג' מואצ'ע ואמא אבתדאוו בקו' אלהים זנחתנו פרצתנו (תהלים ס:ג) מן קבל שכר אללה תע' עלי נעמתה עליה פכאנה פעל ד'לך ליד'כר עט'ם אלמחנה בתלך אלג'יוש אלעט'ימה ואלים מכאבדתה להם אלי אן יוקע שכר אללה תע' מועקה ויצ'ע אלחמד מוצ'עה והד'א מת'ל מן ברי מן עלה עט'מי בעלאג' טביב חכים פבדא בוצף עט'ם אלעלה ואנה כאן יאסא מן אלברו מנהא חתי יכון ד'לך אוג'ב לשכר אלטביב ואולי בחמדה [73 א] ואנפת תשובב לנו</p>	

¹⁵⁶⁹ אוטו MSS

<p>(תהלים ס:ג) יחתמל אן יכון פי מעני תעוד עלינא בעד אנפתך כמא קאל כי אנפת בי ישוב אפך (ישעיהו יב:א) פיון קד אומי הנא אלי ד'כר שי מן אלנצר קבל אן יסתופי ד'כר אלשדה פי אול אלחאל אלתי סיקול ענהא הרעשתה ארץ פצמיתה (תהלים ס:ד) יעני פצמיתה¹⁵⁷⁰ אי שקקתהא ודעא פי את'נא ד'לך פי קו' רפה שבריה כי מטה (תהלים ס:ד). פאן כאן תשובב לנו (תהלים ס:ג) מן תמאם קו' אנפת (תהלים ס:ג) פיון ד'לך עלי וג'הין אן יריד תחמלנא עלי אללג'אג' ואלאצ'ראם חתי נשתוג'ב ענה מא סכ'טך פיון מא בעדה מוג'בא למא קבלה ואן יריד תשעל עלינא אלחרב פיון עלי אלוג'ה אלול משתקא מן וילך שובב (ישעיהו נז:יז) ועלי אלוג'ה אלול'אני מן שביב אשו (איוב יח:ה) וכלי אלוג'הין יחתמל איצ'א פי קו' ושובבתיך ושאשאתיך (יחזקאל לט:ב) ועלי אלוג'ה אלול תכון רתבה אלפסוק תשובב לנו אנפת זנחתנו פרצתנו ואמא עלי אלוג'ה אלול'אני פבחסבה. ותרעלה פי קו' יין תרעלה (תהלים ס:ה) בדל מן יין. וקו' נתתה ליריאך נס להתנוסס (תהלים ס:ו) אבתדא וצף אלחאל אלול'אניה מן אלנצרה. וקו' מפני קשט סלה (תהלים ס:ו) יריד מן חיתתם אחקא באלנצרה אד' הם [73 ב] יריאך (תהלים ס:ו) ויג'וז אן ינסב ד'לך אלי אל[לה] וקול למען יחלצון ידיך (תהלים ס:ז) ינבי עלי אנה אנמא ידע[א] אלי אללה פי אלנצרה [י] צותה ליכ'לץ מן ידב ענהם מן חזבה ושעבה. ומעני קו' אלהים דבר בקדשו אעליו (תהלים ס:ח) אן אללה קד ועדני באלאסתקראר ואלהדו פי בלאד קדסה ומלכני סאיר אלבלאד פאנפד' חכמי פי שכם וסכות ובלאד גלעד ומנשה ואפרים ויהודה. וקו' אחלקה (תהלים ס:ח) ואמדד (תהלים ס:ח) כנאיה ען אנטיאעהא לה ונפוד' חכמה פיהא. ואמא תכ'ציהא ואפרים מעוז ראשי (תהלים ס:ט) לאנהם כאנו א'ולו באס שדיד ומסתכט'ין באלחרב ומלאקאת אלקתאל ואמא יהודה פאנהם סכ'טה ורהטה. ואמא מואב סיר רחצי (תהלים ס:י) פאנה וצף אלבלאד אלתי ג'מעהא ספר שמואל בית קול ען פלשתים ויך דוד את פלשתים ויכניעם (שמואל ב ח:א) ת'ם יקול ויך את מואב וימדדם בחבל (שמואל ב ח:ב) יקאל הנא ויך את אדום בגיא מלח (תהלים ס:ב) פמעני מואב סיר רחצי (תהלים ס:י) אן בלד מואב הו ענדי כאלמר'ג'ל אנטפה מן אלוצר ווסכ'ה כנאיה ען סטע צ'רהם. וקו' על אדום אשליך [78 א] נעלי (תהלים ס:י) עלי מעני אנ[י א]טאהם בנעלי כמא קאל על במותימו תדרוך (דברים לג:כט). ואמא קו' עלי פלשת התרועעי (תהלים ס:י). צ'רב מן אלועיד ופי אלקול אלכ'ר עלי פלשת אתרועע (תהלים קח:י). והד'א אלקול אלכ'ר אט'הר פי אלשרח לאנה אולי באלג'לבה עליהם אד' כאן אלט'אפר בהם פכאן קול עלי פלשת התרועעי (תהלים ס:י) צ'רב מן אלועיד כאנה יקול להם ג'לבוא עלינא וכברוא באנכם ט'אפרון בנא סוף תכון עואקבכם רדיה וכאן לכם אלאתעאל באדום אלד'ין וטינא בלאדהם כמא קאל מי יובילני עיר מצור מי נחני עד אדום (תהלים ס:יא) והד'א מת'ל קו' חבור עצבים אפרים הנח לו (הושע ד:יז) בואו בית אל ופשעו (עמוס ד:ד). ואמא קו' הלא אתה אלהים זנחתנו (תהלים ס:יב) פיאתמל וג'הין אן יריד אלי מא מצי' מן אלחאל קבל תלך אלג'יאה כאנה יקול אנת אלד'י אוטאתנא בלאד אלעדו אלן ואנת אלד'י אמת'לתנא ותכלפת ענא פי מא מצי' ואן קלת אנה אראד ען מן יסתאנף ג'אז ד'לך יעני סקוטא אלמגבה ואנקטאע אלדולה. ויומי בקו' ושוא תשועת אדם (תהלים ס:יג) אלי אסתנצאר בני עמון בארם נהרים וארם [78 ב] צובה אלד'ין הלכוא מעהם מן גיר אן ינצרוהם.</p>	<p>למנצח על נגינת לדוד</p>
<p>קו' על נגינת (תהלים סא:א) בפתח עלי ניה אלצ'אפה ואן עאקבת[ה] אללאם מא קלנא פי מימין לבית (יחזקאל יג:א) מבית לפרכת (שמות כו:לג, ויקרא טז:ב, ויקרא טז:טו). ובעטף לבי (תהלים סא:ג) הו מן מעני אלעטף ומעני קו' בצור ירום ממני תנחני (תהלים סא:ג) אנת תצ[ד]רני פי מעני רפיעה תמנע מן אלוצול כמא יקול מגדל עוז מפני אויב (תהלים</p>	

¹⁵⁷⁰פצמיתהא

<p>סא:ד). וקו' נתת ירושת יראי שמך (תהלים סא:ו) יריד נתת ראי שמך ירושתם אי מלכתהם מא ירת'וא מן אבאיהם מן פצ'לך ואנעאמך וד'לך מת'ל קו' בעד ימים על מי מלך תוסיף (תהלים סא:ז). ומן (תהלים סא:ח) אמר מן אלת'קיל אעני אשר מנה את מאכלכם ואת משתיכם (דניאל א:י) עלי וזן צו את בני ישראל (במדבר כח:ב) גל מעלי חרפה (תהלים קיט:כב)</p>
<p align="right">[79א] למנצח על ידותון</p>
<p>קו' למנצח על ידותון (תהלים סב:א) יעני על שיר ידותון ועלי מא ד' כרנא מרארא. וקו' לא אמוט (תהלים סב:ג) יעני ישועתי ומשגבי רבה לא אמוט. אי נאצרי ומעקלי כת'ירא. ורבה (תהלים סב:ג) מצדר ינוב ען אלצפה כמא קאל כי אערון המון רבה (איוב לא:לד) ופי וצפה באלמצדר ינוב ואמא אד'א נעתה פהו מד'כר המון הגדול והעמיד המון רב (דניאל יא:יא). וכד'לך תהום רבה לאן תהום איצ'א מד'כר כקו' תהום אל תהום (תהלים מב:ח) יסורא עינות ותהומות. ותהותו (תהלים סב:ד) ענדי פי מעני תהותתו אי תכ'ופון ותפזעון. וקרי תרצחו כלכם (תהלים סב:ד) בקמצות אלאר פיוכן מא לם יסם פאעלה עלי סביל אלדעא עליהם וקרי בפתחהא ויוכן מסתקבלא מן אלת'קיל אלמתעדי ואלפאעל מנה בן המרצח הזה (מלכים ו:לב) מן וצף אפעאלהם מת'ל תהותתו על איש (תהלים סב:ד). וקו' כקיר נטוי (תהלים סב:ד) לם ישבה פעלהם ד'אך לכן אלד'י ילחק אלמפעול מנה ויוכן איש אלמד'כור קבל כאנה קאל ויהיה כקיר נטוי. וק' אך משאתו (תהלים סב:ה) צ'מיר אלאיש [79 ב] יעני בה נכסה פיקול מן היבטה אשארוא עליהם בארא יט'הרון בהא נצחה ובאטנהא כד'לאנה לאנהם מראגון לה מסתסרון בעדאותא כמא קאל בפיו יברכו ובקרבתם יקללו סלה (תהלים סב:ה). וקו' במאזנים לעלות (תהלים סב:י) מתוסט קולין יחתמל צרפה אלי כזב בני איש (תהלים סב:י) קבלה ויחתמל אצ'פאתה אלי המה מהבל יחד (תהלים סב:י). ויעוד באלועט' עלי ד'וי אלרגבה פי אלדניא וג'מאעי אלמאל גיר חלה בקו' אל תבטחו בעשק ובגזל אל תהבלו (תהלים סב:יא) וחל אהל אלקנאעה ואלמקסטין פי טלב אלחק אל[...]. יבלאו באת'מאר אמואל אלגאצ'בין ונמאיהא פאן עאקבתהא לדל'האב ואלפנא. ואלצחית הו קו' אחת דבר אלהים שתיים זו שמעתי (תהלים סב:יא) אי אלד'י ג'א בה אלוחי ען אללה עלי סמענא אן אלחול ואלקוה ללה יעני כי עוז לאלהים (תהלים סב:יב) פלה אלחמד מן קבל ומן בעד ומן מ'גדר אלעז ואלד'לה ואלגנא ואלפקר ואלפצ'ל עלי אלבשר ואלג'זא ללצלחין כמא קאל ולך ייי חסד כי אתה תשלם לאיש כמעשהו (תהלים סב:יג).</p>
<p align="right">מזמור לדוד בהיותו במדבר יהודה</p>
<p>[80 א] מעני כמה לך (תהלים סג:ב) אלצ'נא ואלנחול ועיף (תהלים סג:ב) אסם אלפעל ואלצפה מת'לה כת'יר וכד'לך הולך יחף (שמואל ב טו:ל) צפה מעני רגלך מיחף (ירמיהו ב:כה) אסם אלחפא ואלגרץ' פי הד'א אלקול אנה כאן פי מדבר יהודה מתשווקא אלי מוצ'ע אלקדם פמע שוקה ד'אך כאן יראה בעין אלבצירה ואן לם ירה בעין אלבצר. וק' מחיים שפתי ישבחונך (תהלים סג:ד) מנפצל ען כי טוב חסדך (תהלים סג:ד) יעני אפצ'ל תסביחך עלי אלחיאה. וקד יג'וז אן יריד מדה חיאתי. ויעני בקו' כמו חלב ודשן תשבוע נפשי (תהלים סג:ו) כמו בחלב פחד'ף אלבא אי אנמא אנעם בד'כר אסמך ואלתד'י בה כנעמתי ולד'תי באדסם אלאגד'יה ואעד'בהא וקו' ושפתי רננות יהלל פי (תהלים סג:ו) ג'ואב שרה יתקדם אם זכרתך עלי יצועי (תהלים סג:ז) יעני אד'א ד'כרתך עלי מצ'ג'עי ולהג'ת בד'כרך פי אלאסחאר לדדת בהא לד'ה אלגנא ותהללת מעה תחלל אלמסרור. וקו' בי תמכה ימינך (תהלים סג:ט) ג'זא מא תקדם מן קו' דבקה נפשי אחריך (תהלים סג:ט) אי עמא לצקת נפסי בטאעתלך אסמכתני ימינך וק' יגירוהו על ידי חרב (תהלים סג:יא) פצ'מיר אלמפעול בה [80 ב] עאיד עלי אלמקול ענהם והמה לשואה יבקשו נפשי (תהלים סג:י). ואמא אלפאעלון פג'מאעה לם יד'כרהם מת'ל</p>

<p>יבקשו למלך (אסתר ב:ב) ויגידו למלך (מלכים א א:כג) ויעבירו קול במחנה (שמות לו:ו) וקו' פי תמאם והמה לשואה יבקשו נפשי יבואו בתחתיות (ה)אריץ (תהלים סג:י) יחתמל וג'הין אן יריד אנהם יסתכ'פון פי אעמאק אלארץ' חתי יג'דוא אלפרצה פי כמה יקול יארב במסתר כאריה בסכה (תהלים י:ט) ואן יבתגי אלדעא עליהם מן כמה קאל ואתה אלהים תורדם לבאר שחת (תהלים נה:כד). וקו' מנת שועלים יהיו (תהלים סג:יא) יעני בעד קתלהם באלסיף יכונון טעאם אלוחוש. ואמא קו' והמלך ישמח באלהים (תהלים סג:יב) פיבעד ענדי אן יעני בה נפסה והו ליס במלך בעד. ואלאולי אן יעני בה שאול לאנה דעא אולא עלי מטאלביה מן שיעה שאול ואלואשין בה אליה ת'ם יברא שאול מן מת'ל פעלהם ובה ערץ' פי קו' יתהלל כל הנשבע בו כי יסכר פי דברי שקר (תהלים סג:יב) לאנה אד'א סדת אפואה אלכאד'בין ואנקטע אלס[אן] ואשין ברת ימין שאול לדוד חי יי אם יומת (שמואל א יט:ו) ובאן לה אלפכר מן חית' יחדר עליה אלחנת' בתר אלי אלוש[א] [81] א [א] ותואתר אלנם.</p>	<p>למנצח מזמור לדוד</p>
<p>ובעד ק' דרכו חצם (תהלים סד:ד) ביין אן ד'לך אלחץ' הו דבר מר (תהלים סד:ד). וקו' אמרו מי יראה למו (תהלים סד:ו). יחתמל וג'הין אחדהמא אן יכון אלצ'מיר עאידיא עלי אלמוקשים (תהלים סד:ו) אי אנהא אכ'פי מן אן תרי פיושך ללמקצוד בהא אן יתורט פי אשראכהא אד'א לם ישער באלתחפט' מנהא ואלוג'ה אלת'אני אן יעתקדוא אן אללה תע' לא יטלע עלי סי מד'אהבהם פיאמנוא מן עקאבה ויאסו מן עד'אבה נחו קול אלנבי והיה במחשך מעשיהם (ישעיהו כט:טו) וקו' יחפשו עולות (תהלים סד:ז) מן מעני עולה (שמואל ב ז:י) ושרח אלפסוק בחת'ון ען אלגש ויסתועבון אלפתש מפתש צ'מיר אלננסאן ואפכארהם עמיקה. ותקדירה יחפשו עולות תמנו חפש מחפש ויחפשו תמנו קרב איש ולבם עמוק. ת'ם קאל ויורם אלהים חץ פתאום (תהלים סד:ח) יקול בעד מא אסתועבוא אפכארהם וגאצוא פי אלשר ואלגל ואשרפוא עלי בלוגהם אלמרדא פג'אתהם בליה [81 ב] עקובה מן אללה חאלת בינהם ובין מא ישתהון ותקדיר ויכשילוהו עלימו לשונם (תהלים סד:ט) ויכשילום לשונ[ותם] עליהם אן¹⁵⁷¹ נטק לסאנהם במא נטק מן אלפחשא אלעורא או חקתהם¹⁵⁷² ואנשבהם פאפרד כמה אפרד פי יגירוהו עלי ידי חרב (תהלים סג:יא). וג'מע לשונם (תהלים סד:ט) פי קו' ויכשילוהו עלי אלמעני לאן אלקום כת'ירון מת'ל פימו דברו בגאות (תהלים יז:י). ומעני קו' יתנודדו כל רואה בם (תהלים סד:ט) אן מן כאן בהם שאמתא מן אעדא[הם] עאד נאדבא להם ומתחזנא עליהם לשדה כ'טבהם ואתקוא אללה ומיזוא אפעאלה והדת'וא במא פהמוא מן אעמאלה אלרתבה אן יתקוע ומעשהו השכילו (תהלים סד:י) עלי ויגידו פעל אלהים (תהלים סד:י) לאן אלאכב'אר לא יכון אלא בעד אלפהם.</p>	<p>למנצח מזמור לדוד</p>
<p>דומיה פי קו' לך דומיה תחלה (תהלים סה:ב) פועילה והו מן מעני אלמת'ל ואלשביה (ישעיה נב:ב) או משאכלה ומואפקה סלים מת'ל נאלמתי דומיה (תהלים לט:ג) ולא דומיה לי (תהלים כב:ג) לאנ[ה]מא [82 א] מן מעני אלסכות ואלאמסאך. וקו' ישכן חצריך (תהלים סה:ה) במעני לשכון חצריך ועלי מא ערפתך אן כל פעלין מתואליין יכון אלת'אני פי גיר מעני אלאול אן אלת'אני מנהמא פי מעני אלמצדר מת'ל אל תרבו תדברו (שמואל א ב:ג) כי לא אוסיף עוד ארחם (הושע א:ו). וקו' קדוש היכלך (תהלים סה:ה) בדל מן קו' בטוב ביתך (תהלים סה:ה). וזעם בעץ' אלמפסרין אנה במעני היכלך הקדוש וכד'לך יקול פי בגדול¹⁵⁷³ זרועך (שמות טו:טז) יריד בזרועך הגדול ופי על דל שפתי (תהלים קמא:ג) אנה יעני שפתי</p>	

¹⁵⁷¹ appears twice.

¹⁵⁷² הקתהם

¹⁵⁷³ גודל

הדלות ומעני קול **נוראות בצדק תעננו** (תהלים סה:ו) יקתצ'י אלדעא אלי אללה פי מעג'זה מן אלנצר י[פ]ידהא ויכון אלקום מסתחקון להא עמא ילתזמא מן טאעה רבהם והו במעני צדק. וקו' **רחוקים** (תהלים סה:ו) צפה למוצון מחד'וף עלי מעני איים רחוקים וג'א **משביח** (תהלים סה:ח) [ב]מעני אתהדין ואלתקריר וקד אסתעמאל פיה נעת אן מן אלת'קיל בשוא גליו אתה תשבחם (תהלים פט:י). ושרחו ויראו **ישבי קצוות מאותותך** (תהלים סה:ט) כ'אף אהל אלאקאצי מן איאתך אד' ג'עלתהם אן יסבחו צבאח ומסא יעני אנהם כמא שהאדוא עט'ים [82 ב] אעג'ובאתך ברא ובחרא ועא[...].א בחאר איאתך בכרה ואצילא צארוא מתקיין לך ומסבחין [לך] ותקדירה ויראו מאותותיך יושבי קוצוות אשר מוצאי בקר וערב תרנין. וקע ביינא וקוע **תרנין** (תהלים סה:ט) מתעדיא וגיר מתעד. וקו' **ותשוקקה** (תהלים סה:י) יע' אפצ'תהא נעמא והו מצ'אעף מן והשיקו היקבים (יזאל ב:כד) ומת'לה שוקק בו (ישעיהו לג:ד) והו מתעד אלי **פלג אלהים** (תהלים סה:י) ושרחה מע מא יתלוה אלי אכ'ר אלמזמור תפקדת אלארץ' ואפצ'תהא מצ'וול וכת'ירא מא אגנית אהלהא וחיית אקואתהא באנה כד'לך תרתבהא ותוג'ת סנה נעמתך פתקר אלסבל דסמא ואד'האל אלבר ותשמל אלרפאע אלסרור ותחיט אלגנם באלמרוג' ותלתחף אלב[...].אח באלבר תג'לב טרבא ותגני פרחא וקולה **תכין דגנם** (תהלים סה:י) לאנה אעתקד פי אעאדה אלצ'מיר עלי הארץ אהל אלארץ' מת'ל וכל [זקני ארץ] מצרים (בראשית נ:ז) עלי גיר מא הו פי **פקדת הארץ** (תהלים סה:י) וקו' **כי כן תכינה** (תהלים סה:י) יעני אנה עלי הד'ה אלתבה רתבתהא מן אנזאל גית'הא וארואיהא ואנמי נבאתהא וריק [...]אנה [83 א] וקר מן אלאסמא אלמשתרכה פיוון שרחהא מרג'א מת'ל **לבשו כרים** (תהלים סה:יד) כר נרחב (ישעיהו ל:כג). וחמלא וחמלאן עם חלב כרים (דברים לב:יד). ונג'יבא שלחו כר מושל ארץ (ישעיהו טז:א). וקיל יתצ'אעף ובכרכרות (ישעיהו סו:כ). יעתקד סכ'פא אלנצארי פי שלחו כר (ישעיהו טז:א) כ'רופא יכנון בה ען אלמסיו והד'א כבאטל וקתב אלג'מל בכר הגמל (בראשית לא:לד). וקד אצ'אף אליה אלאואיל אסם אלפראס פקאלו ולא כר מבית הכרר (תלמוד בבלי מועד קטן יג:ב).

למנצח שיר מזמור

וקו' **זמרו** (תהלים סו:ב) ייי זמרו ליי (תהלים ט:יב). ויעני קו' **שימו כבוד תהלתו** (תהלים סו:ב) אג'עלוא אכראמכם לה חמדכם איאה. ויעני בקו' **נורא עלילה** (תהלים סו:ה) מהיב אלסבאב. וקד ד'כרנאה מע **מה נורא מעשיך** (תהלים סו:ג) פי כתאב אלתד'כיר ואלתאנית' מע ד'כרנא איצ'א קול גירנא פיה ורדנא עליה. יחתמל קטע **על בני אדם** (תהלים סו:ה) עמא קבלה וצלתה במא בעדה. אעני **חפך ים ליבשה** (תהלים סו:ו) אי מן אג'ל **בני אדם** [...] אלבחר בי [...] מת'ל כי עליך הורגנו כל היום (תהלים מד:כג) על [...]עתם. על כל הטובה אשר עשה יי (שמות יח:ט). [83 ב] וליס קו' **ברכו עמים** (תהלים סו:ח) עלה למא קאלה בעד ד'לך לכן למא קדמה מן ד'כר אלקדרה פי **חפך ים ליבשה** (תהלים סו:ו). וקול **השם נפשונו בחיים** (תהלים סו:ט) יעני אלד'י ג'עלנא מן אלאחייא מע אלשדאיד אלד'י יסתאנף וצפהא מן קו' **הבאתנו במצודה שמת מועקה** (תהלים סו:יא) והו מן כאשר מעיק (עמוס ב:יג) ועלי מא פסרנה פיה. וקו' **באנו באש ובמים** (תהלים סו:יב) ישבה בד'לך צ'רוב אלמחן אלמתצ'אדה ואנואע אלשדאיד אלמכ'לתלה. וקו' **ותוציאנו לרויה** (תהלים סו:יב) עלי טריק אלתמת'יל באלחדיד אלד'י יחמי פי אלנאר וינזל פי אלמא אבדא חתי תתם פיה אלצנאעה ותלך אלמהלה אלתי בינהמא הי אלמעבר ענהא בקול **לרויה** (תהלים סו:יב) עלי טריק אלחרב יעאוד פג'על תלך אלמהלה באד'א פתרה תכון בין שדה ואכ'רי תתלוהא. וקו' **דבר פי בצר לי** (תהלים סו:יד) ליס הו אנמא אלגאת'ה אליה תלך אלצ'יקה ולולאהא לם ינד'ר ואנמא הו אעתד'אר אנה הו חתי אלאן ליס פי חאל יסתטיע אדאהא פהו ידעוא אלי אללה פי תמכינה ואלתוסיע עליה חתי יודיהא. ו**עולות מחים** (תהלים סו:טו) יעני ד'ואת מכ'אך' [85 א] אי דסימה ומנה ומוח עצמותי ישוקה (איוב כא:כד). ומעני **אליו**

<p>פי קראתי (תהלים סו:יז) דעת פמי אליה יעני אלי תסביחה ואמא ורומם תחת לשוני (תהלים סו:יז) וכאן קו' על לשוני אחק בד'לך כקו' ומלתו על לשוני (שמואל ב כג:ב) לא רגל על לשוני (תהלים טו:ג) לא ישמע על פיך (שמות כג:יג) פאנה יחתמל וג'הין. אול אן יעני בקו' אלי פי קראתי (תהלים סו:יז) אלתסביח ג'הרא ויריד בקו' ורומם תחת לשוני (תהלים סו:יז) אלתעט'ים סרא כמא קאל פי צ'ד הד'א ותחת לשוני עמל ואון (תהלים י:ז) ואלת'אני אן יעני בהמא מעא אעני תחת לשוני (תהלים סו:יז) ותחת לשונו (תהלים י:ז) בדלא ועוצ'א אי בדל מא יקולה לסאנה ועוצ'א ממא ינטק בה סוי ד'לך. וקו' און אם ראיתי בלבי לא ישמע יי (תהלים סו:יח). יתאוול מעניין אלאול מא יעתקדה אלג'מהור אנה מן הם באלמעציה מן דון תמאמהא גיר מעאקב עליהא ואלת'אני והו אלד'י אעתקדה אנה דעא עלי נפסה פיקול אן כנת אצ'מרת גל או אצרת עלי סואה פלא קבל אללה דעאי לכנה קד קבלה למא עלם אני ברי מן מת'ל ד'לך והו מת'ל דעא איוב פי מת'ל אם נפתה לבי על אשה (איוב לא:ט). אם [85 ב] הניפותי על יתום ידי (איוב לא:כא). וקו' אשר לא הסיר תפלתי וחסדו (תהלים סו:כ). יעני אנה קד כאן יושך אן ילקחני פצ'לה איצ'א לו לם תכן לי תפלה ואד' כאנת לי תפלה וקבלהא פקד ט'הרת את'רתי לדיה וכאנת פצ'לתי ענדה.</p>	<p>למנצח בנגינות מזמור שיר</p>
<p>אלהים יחננו ויברכנו וג' (תהלים סז:ב) ומעני לדעת בארץ דרכך (תהלים סז:ג) בעד קו' יאר פניו אתנו סלה (תהלים סז:ב). לאנה אד'א כנא מלתזמי שריעתך וחאפצ'י אמרך ונהיך וכנא אלמותרין עלי אלמם אלמוידין עליהם עלמוא אנא עלי טריק אלחק מן דונהם ואנא עלי הדי והם עלי ט'לאל.</p>	<p>למנצח לדוד מזמור שיר</p>
<p>יקום אלהים יפוצו אויביו (תהלים סח:ב) וג' וזיאדה אלהא פי כהנדוף (תהלים סח:ג) לאחד וג'הין אמא אן תכון זיאדה עלי כנדוף והו מתעד מת'ל תנדוף ואלפאעל אללה ואלמפעול מחד'וף ללעלם [86 א] אנהם אלמשאנים ואלאויבים למתקדם ד'כרהם. ואמא אן יכון מצדר אנפעאל ותקדירה כהנדוף ויכון מת'לה כהתוך כסף בתוך כור (יחזקאל כב:כב) ואן כאן בשרק מצדר לא נתך ארצה (שמות ט:לג) וחקה עלי אלרתים אלצחיה תנדוף אויבים וינדופו כהנדוף עשן ומת'אלה והתעו את מצרים בכל מעשהו¹⁵⁷⁴ כהתעות שכור (ישעיהו יט:יד) פאנה ליס כהתעות מצדר והתעו לאן התעו ללמתעה והתענות ללנתעה פתקדירה אדא והתעו את מצרים ויתעו כהתעות שכור והמס דונג (תהלים סח:ג) מצדר אנפעאל מן ד'ואת אלמת'לין ואצלה כהמסס וקד ג'א מ'כ'פ' אלפא לאנה חלקי ותחריך אלהא קבלה באלצרי לבלתי החל (יחזקאל כ:ט, כ:יד, כ:כב) מן ויחללו את שם קדשי (ויקרא כב:ב) ואתי באלפעל מן גיר לפט' אלמצדר פקאל יאבדו רשעים (תהלים סח:ג) עוט'א מן קו' ימסו רשעים ואמא סולו לרכב בערבות (תהלים סח:ה) פיג'וז כון מעני סולו מן אלמג'יד ואלתרפיע. ויכון מנה מצ'אעפהא סלסלה ותרוממך (משלי ד:ח). ויעני פי בערבות (תהלים סח:ה) ג'מיע אלפלאך עלי טריק אלמשביה [86 ב] באלפלואת לאתסאעהא ועלי אנהא אעט'ם מקדארא פקד ישבה אלעט'ם באלאצגר עלי אלסביל אלתקריב אד' לם יג'ד מא הו אעט'ם מנה. וקו' פי אללה תע' כאריה ישאג (הושע יא:י) כגבור יצא (ישעיהו מב:יג) וכמראה הקשת (יחזקאל א:כח) וגירה ויכון מת'ל קו' לרוכב בשמי שמי קדם (תהלים סח:לד). ויג'וז כונה מן אלטריק ואלתמחיג. ויכון מעני קו' מעני קול ישעיה ע'אלס' ישרו בערבה מסלה (ישעיהו מ:ג) וישיר בד'לך אלחג' אלי בית אללה פיקול קומא אלמחג'ה ואסתרקוא אלפלואת אלי אלמחייט בהא עלי מעני לא תט'נוא מן חית' הי פלואת אנהא כ'אליה מן סכינה אללה פלא יכ'לו מנה מכאן פכאנה קאל סולו בערבות לרוכב בערבות פאנבא אלת'אני ען אלאול אלמכ'תצר ד'כרה. ואראד בקו' מושיב</p>	

¹⁵⁷⁴ MIG: Does not appear in MSS. וייתעו:

יחידים ביתה (תהלים סח:ז) מסכן אלגרבא פי מנאזלהם ופאך אלמקידין פי חג'אלהם. וכישור (משלי לא:ט) הי פלכה אלמגזל פשבה בהא חלקא אלחג'ל והי חאלהם קבל פכאכהם ולו אראד חאלהם בעד ד'לך לקאל מכושרות פהו מצ'אף אלי **אסירים** (תהלים סח:ז) [87 א] לא אלי **מוציא** (תהלים סח:ז). ויעני בקו' **צחיחה** (תהלים סח:ז). אלצחרא ד'את אללג'ב והו מן צחה צמה (ישעיהו ה:יג) ורבמא ואפק אלסריאני ורבמא אשאר בקו' **בצעדך בשימון סלה** (תהלים סח:ח) אלי מא תקדם מן קו' **לרוכב בערבות** (תהלים סח:ה) יעני באלקולין תג'ליה פי בריה סיני. וקו' **זה סיני** (תהלים סח:ט) עטף עלי **ארץ רעשה** (תהלים סח:ט) ויעני זה סיני רעש מפני יי. ת'ם בדא יכ'תטב לארץ' אלשאם ומנבר אלמלך אעני ירושלם פקאל **גשם נדבות תניף אלהים נחלתך** (תהלים סח:י) והד'א כקול ערב. סקי אללה ארצ'א ברא¹⁵⁷⁵ צוב גמאמה. והו משתק מן נפתי משכבי (משלי ז:יז) ומענאהמא אלארוא וכלאהמא מתעד אלי מפעולין פמשכבי פי נפתי מפעול אול באד'א נחלתך הנא ואן כאן קו' **ונלאה** (תהלים סח:י) יעני ואם נלאה היא אי ואן כאנת צ'עיפה שקיה פאנת תצלח שאנהא ונלאה מנפעלה מת'ל **נחפה בכסף** (תהלים סח:יד). ויעני בקו' **חיתך ישבו בה** (תהלים סח:יא) ג'מאעתך ורבמא כאן מענאה מן אלחי פי אלערבי יעני אלחי אלמנסוב אליך ואלצ'מיר פי בה עאיד עלי נחלתך לאן אלארץ' קד סמית נחלה [87 ב] כמא סמי אהלהא כמא קאל ונחלתי שמתם וג' (ירמיהו ב:ז) וקו' **תכין בטובתך** (תהלים סח:יא) יעני תכינה להם אי אעדדתהא להם בפצ'לך עלי אלצ'עפא. ויסתקים אן יכון הד'א אלמזמור מת'ל מזמור יי בעזך (תהלים כא: ב) ומזמור נאם יי לאדני (תהלים קי:א) פי אן אלג'מיע מכ'אטבה לדוד פי אלגזואת אלא תראה יקול הנא יי **יתן אמר המשברות צבא רב** (תהלים סח:יב) ישיר בד'לך אלי אלנסא אלתינ ידעון לה בלאיב¹⁵⁷⁶ ט'אפרא פקאל אן אללה יג'ור במא תקולה אלנסא אלמבשראת אלג'יש אלעט'ים יעני ג'יש דוד. וחכי ד'לך אלקול אלד'י יקלנה אנה **מלכי צבאות ידודון ידודון** (תהלים סח:יג) יעני אלמלוך אלד'י יחארבון דוד יפרון ינהזמון ואלמסתוטנון פי מנאזלהם מן אהל ירושלם יקתסמון פיהם וסלבהם ממא כאן יגלבה אלמלוך והד'א ערף מן איאם משה ע'אלס' אד' קסם סלב מדין עלי אלגזואה ועלי סאיר אלאמה באלסוא והד'א מעני קו' **ונות בית תחלק שלל** (תהלים סח:יג). וקו' **אם תשכבון בין שפתים** (תהלים סח:יד) מכ'אטבה לאהל אלבלד יומנהם אלי מן וצול אלאעדא אליהם [88 א] אן חג'אב אללה וסתרה ואק להם ען ד'לך והו אלמכני ענה בקו' **כנפי יונה נחפה בכסף** (תהלים סח:יד) וכאן חקה אן יקול נחפות בכסף לאנה ד'כר **כנפי** והו ג'מע מונת' לכנה חמל עלי לפט' **יונה** אלמג'אור לה מת'ל קו' קשת גבורים חתים (שמואל א ב:ד) אלמחמול עלי לפט' גבורים והו אלקשת כמא קאל חתתה קשתותם (ירמיהו נא:נו). וג'על **ירקרק** (תהלים סח:יד) צפה ללירק¹⁵⁷⁷ לאנה תעלוה כ'צ'רה בעד תכ'ליצה ת'ם ביין אן הד'ה אליונה הי מדינה בקו' **בפרש שדי מלכים בה** (תהלים סח:טו) ת'ם עאד יצפהא ת'אניה בוצף יונה בקו' **תשלג** (תהלים סח:טו). ת'ם ביין אנהא מדינה איצ'א פי קול **בצלמון** (תהלים סח:טו) כמא קאל ויעל אבימלך הר צלמון (שופטים ט:מח). וקו' **תשלג** (תהלים סח:טו) יקאבל קו' **בין שפתים** (תהלים סח:יד) יעני אן סכ'אם אלקדר¹⁵⁷⁸ אלד'י אכתסבתה הד'ה אלחמאמה מן אלאתאפי מת'ל בה ג'יראן אלסו אלד'ין תתוקע אדאהם הד'ה אלמדינה אלמשהבה באלחמאמה כמא קאל ארם מקדם ופלשתים מאחור (ישעיהו ט:יא) סיט'הר אביצ'אצ'הא אד'א ת'בת אלמלך פיהא ויושך אן יכון **צלמון** אכ'ר אחואד'הא. יעני בקו' **הר אלהים הר בשן** (תהלים סח:טז) הר הבית [88 ב] והר המוריה אלמקול פיה בהר יי יראה (בראשית כב:יד). **ותרצדון** (תהלים סח:יז) לפט'ה מפרדה תקצ'י אלמנאזעה או אלמנאפסה. **וגבנונים** (תהלים סח:יז)

¹⁵⁷⁵ Ms. בדא.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Ms. בלאיג'אב.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Ms. ורק.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Ms. אלקדר.

צפה ללג'באל לאחתדאבהא פכאנה יכ'אטב אלג'באל גיר ג'בל אלקדס פיקול אן כנתם תפאכ'רונה בעלכום ושמכ'כם פקד אכ'תצה אללה מן דונכם למקר סכינתה ברבואת מלאיכתה אלאפא יקים בהא פי אלקדס מת'ל סיני אן ג'בל אלקדס תכון פיה אלסכינה מת'להא פי סיני. וצ'מיר **בם** (תהלים סח:יח) עאיד עלי **רכב אלהים** (תהלים סח:יח). **ושנאן** (תהלים סח:יח) מן ויאמר שנו וישנו (מלכים א יח:לד) ואלפה מבדלה מן יא פהו יעני אלאפא מכררה. וקד גלט בעי' אהל אלפיוט פג'על שנאן מן אסמא אלמלאיכה ואנמא אלמלאיכה **רכב אלהים** (תהלים סח:יח). ת'ם מא בעדה וצף אעדאדהם פתרת'ב אלכלאם אף יי' ישכן לנצח בקדש כסיני ברכב אלהים רבותים אלפי שנאן. פחד'ף חרף אלתשביה מת'ל אכול בני דבש כי טוב ונופת מתוק (משלי כד:יג)

למנצח על השושנים

הושעני אלהים כי באו מים עד נפש (תהלים סט:ב) ג' וקו' **ואין מעמד** (תהלים סט:ג) אנה אסם מכאן אלמסנד אליה ואמא היה מעמד (מלכים א כב:לה) פהו אלמסנד בעינה. **נחר** (תהלים סט:ד) הו אנפעאל מן ד'ואת אלמת'לין אעני ושכן חררים (ירמיהו יז:ו) אי אשתעל ואחתמי ומת'ל אל מקדשי כי נחל (יחזקאל כה:ג) [91 א] אלמשתק מן הנני מחלל את מקדשי (יחזקאל כד:כא) וכאן אלחק קמצות נוניהמא מת'ל ונקל זאת (מלכים ב ג:יח) ונסב הגבול (יהושע טו:י, טז:ו, במדבר לד:ה) ואמא מן קאל אנה מן מעני אלארת' מע פשא לגה חילול וחול פי מקדש וקודש ותק'אב'להמא באלחקיקה ועדל ען ד'לך אלכ'באט קאדה אליה אללג'אג' פמעאנד ומכאבר עיאן. וקו' **כלו עיני מיחל לאלהי** (תהלים סט:ד). יעני דאג'יא ללה וחנם ושקר פי קו' **שונאי חנם** (סט:ה) **איבי שקר** (תהלים סט:ה) פי מוצ'ע אלחאל מת'לה איצ'א אי באטלא וזורא. וקו' **אשר לא גזלתי אז אשיב** (סט:ה) ימכן אן ישיר בה אלי אעדה תקווא עליה פטלבו בצרף בלאד לם יגצבהא מת'ל מא ערץ' ליפתח מע בני עמון. וימכן אן יעני בה עככה אלתי ארתג'עהא שאול מנה ולם יכן להא בגאצב ולם נג'ד ידע מתעדיא באלאם אלא פי קו' **אתה ידעת לאולתי** (תהלים סט:ו) כמא אנה לם נג'ד הרג מתעדיא באללם אלד'י פי גיר הרגו לאבנר (שמואל ב ג:ל). ויקתצ'י קולה **אל יבושו בי קויך** (תהלים סט:ז) אנך קד עלם אני ראג'יך ומתוכל עליך פאד'א כאב רג'אי וצ'אע תכלאי כ'זי ראג'יך [91 ב] וכל'ל אלמתוכלין עליך ויחתמל קו' **כי קנאת ביתך אכלתני** (תהלים סט:י) למא לם יבלג אלמרעד פי בניאנה פיעזי אליה פי עיר מן אג'ל במא לם ירצ'א ענה כמא קאל **וחרפות חורפיך נפלו עלי** (תהלים סט:י) וימכן אן יריד למא [.] אל אלבית מן אד'י אלכאפרין ולחקת מן אלאמתהאן ואלאבתד'אל פתעדוא לד'לך אלי אלטען פי אללה תע' וכאן אלאלם לד'לך כמא קאל **וחרפות חורפיך נפלו עלי** (תהלים סט:י) וקאל **ואל תאטר** (תהלים סט:טז) יעני לא תקביץ' וכד'לך יעני איש אטר יד ימינו (שפטים ג:טו) מקבוץ' אלימין מ[....] בל [י]סאר מן דונהא. וקאל אבו זכריא צאחב כתאב חרוף אללין אן **קרבה אל נפשי גאלה** (תהלים סט:יט) שאד' מן ג'אין באב פצל אלתי אתי בזיאדה אלהא עלי פעלה מת'ל שמע שמעה שלח שלחה וכאנה אנמא ג'א עלי מת'ל קרוב מ[ת'ל] שמור שמרה זכור זכרה והו מן באב קרב עד הנה (שמואל ב כ:טז) [....] אן כאן כמא קאל פאן **גאלה** [....] איצ'א כאן אמר אלמונת' מן פעל אנמא יאתי עלי מת'אל פעלה מת'ל אהבה ותצרך (משלי ד:ו) אי פעלנה מת[ל]?

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[93 א] וקד **אמרו בלבם נינם יחד** (תהלים עד:ח) קיל פיה אנה מסתקבל מן ינה כ'פיף אד' קאל קיל חרב היונה (ירמיהו מז:טז, נ:טז) ואנא אקול אנה מן נין ונכד (ישעיה יד:כב) ואכ'תצר אלפעל קבלה פכאנה קאל נשמיד נינם יחד אי נסתאצל נסלהם מעא ואלערב תפעל ד'לך פתנצב אלמפעול פתקול אלקרטאס לרמאה אלסהאם באלנצב עלי מעני אציבו לקרטאס וכד'לך אלטעאם יענון אטעמוא אלטעאם וקאל שאערהם חיאזימך ללמות פאן אלמות לאקיך יריד שד או אשדד חיאזימך.

וקו' **אותותינו לא ראינו** (תהלים עד:ט) למא חכי קבל הד'א ען אלאעדא אלמכ'רבין **שמו אותותם אותות** (תהלים עד:ד) פי עני אן איאתהם ואנביאהם. כאנת אלצאדקה מן דון איאתנא ואנביאנא. וקו' **מקרב חיקך כלה** (תהלים עד:יא) יעני בית אלעבאדה פיעני אן האולי אלכאפרין קד תסורוא ותקחמוא וסט חג'רך פלם תצרף חולך וקוחד ען אפנאיהם מן וסט חג'רך פתקדירה למה תשיב ירך וימנך לכלותם מקרב חיקך **ופוררת** (תהלים עד:יג) מצ'אעף מן [93 ב] אלמעטל אלעין אעני הפיר עצת גוים (תהלים לג:י). **ושברת ראשי תנינים** (תהלים עד:יג) יריד בה אלעט'ים אלג'סם מן חיואן אלבחר ואיאה יעני בקו' **אתה רצצת ראשי לויתן** (תהלים עד:יד) פכל סאבכ עט'ים יסמי לויתן וכל מנסאב עט'ים יסמי תנין איצ'א וממא ידל עלי אן לויתן הנא כת'יר מן הד'א אלנוע קו' **ראשי** (תהלים עד:יד) מן דון ראש. ומעני **תתננו מאכל לעם לציים** (תהלים עד:יד) יעני אהל אלספן והו ג'מע וציאדיה. וקד ג'א ביא ואחדה והי יא אלג'מע פקט וחד'פת אלצליה לאלתקא סאכנין ובקי עלי אלצאד פקט וצים מיד כתים (במדבר כד:כד) יצאו מלכים מלפני בצים (יחזקאל ל:ט). ואללאם פי לציים מקחמה לאנה יריד לעם ציים. וקו' **אתה הכינות מאור ושמש** (תהלים עד:טז) מא ינתסב אלי קו' קבל **לך יום אף לך לילה** (תהלים עד:טז) פשמש ינתסב מן יום ומאור ינתסב מן לילה. פאדא מאור אלד'י הו הנא גיר אלשמש עאיד עלי אלקמר ואלנג'ום וקד ימכן אן יכון מאור הנא עאמא לג'מיע אלנאור ת'ם אפרד מנהא אלשמש לאנה אעט'מהא. [94 א] ויעני בקו' **אתה הצבת כל גבולת ארץ** (תהלים עד:יז) ז' אקאלים אלארץ' אלמנסקמה עלי ז' ד'רארי אלסמא וסמאהא גבולות אד' לא ישתרך מנהא ואחד מע אכ'ר פי ברג' ערצ'ה וטולה ועדד מטאלעה וסאעאת לילה ונהארהא כמא אנה לא ידכל גבול פי מא יתצלבה מן אחד ג'האטה. וד'כרה **קייץ וחורף** (תהלים עד:יז) והמא זמאנאן מן ג'מלה ד' לאנהמא טרפאן יכתנפאן מא יליהמא פקיץ וחורף המא אלציף ואלשתא פאלציף חאר יאבס מנתהי חרארתה פי אלכ'ריף יבקי יבסה פיוון מזאג' אלכ'ריף יאבסא בארדא ואלשתא בארד רטב תנקצ'י ברודתה פי אלרביע ותבקי רטובה פיוון מזאג' אלרביע חארא רטבא. וליס חרף כ'ריפא כמא ט'ן קום אלי¹⁵⁷⁹ תרי אלי קו' איצ'א והכיתי בית החרף על בית הקיץ (עמוס ג:טו) פבית הקיץ הו אלד'י ינוע ברדה פי אלקיץ ובית החרף הו אלד'י יסתכן בדפיה פי אלשתא. וקו' **אל תתן לחית נפש תורד** (תהלים עד:יט) יעני ען חית השדה פאג'תזי באלמצ'אף ען ד'כר אלמצ'אף אליה [94 ב] אי לא תג'על הד'א אלשפנין טעאמא ללווחוש ובקי **לחית** פתח אלא עלי ניה אלאצ'אפה ולולא ד'לך לכאן קמץ מת'ל חבה לנו עזרת מצר (תהלים ס:יג). עזי וזמרת יה (שמות טו:ב), תהלים קיח:יד) וכד'לך קול פי שפעת אני רואה (מלכים ב ט:יז) אלמצ'בוט עינה באלפתח אנה יריד שפעת סוסים כמא קאל שפעת גמלים (ישעיהו ס:ו) ואמא מנת חלקי וכוסי (תהלים טז:ה) אלמצ'בוט בקמץ והו מצ'אף פלאנה נאקץ אללאם פד'ל אלקמץ עליה וקאל **עני אביון יהללו שמך** (תהלים עד:כא) יג'וז כונה דעא אד'א לא ירג'עוא פאיבין יחמדוך פיג'וז אג'אבתך איאהם בחמדהם איאך. ויג'וז אן יריד אלד'ין יחמדונך ויסבחוונך בעד פאג'על ג'זאהם אג'אבתך דעאהם.

למנצח אל תשחת

הודינו לך אלהים (תהלים עה:ב). וקו' **וקרוב שמך** (תהלים עה:ב). אן תודה יתעדי ברבאט אללאם ודונה פיעני הודינו שמך וקרוב שמך יעני אן חמדנא איאך סהל עלינא וקד יג'וז אן יוצ'ע אלסם מוצ'ע אלמסמי יענ[י] קריב אלאג'אבה וקו' **ספרו נפלאותיך** (תהלים עה:ב) [יח]תמל¹⁵⁸⁰ [95 א] אן יריד וצף ואלואצפון מעג'זאתך פא[כ'תצר]¹⁵⁸¹ ד'כר אלמספרים. ויג'וז אן יריד וצפת מ[ע]ג'זאתך וא[ג'..]בך¹⁵⁸² מא וג'ב מן אלאקראר **לך** (תהלים עה:ב) אלחמד לאסמך וקו' **כי אקח**

¹⁵⁷⁹ Perhaps אלא.

¹⁵⁸⁰ JTS 2464, ii 45

¹⁵⁸¹ JTS 2464, ii 45

¹⁵⁸² JTS 2464, ii 45

<p>מועד אני מישרים אשפוט (תהלים עה:ג). מת'ל קול צופר מוסר כלמתי אשמע ורוח מבינתי יענני (איוב כ:ג). ועלי מא פסרנה פי מוצ'עה ומעאנה אד'א קבלת ועד אללה אקסטת פי אלחכם וחכמת באל'עדל ועלמת' אן אלארץ' ואהלה מתמגין מת'חירון גיר אן אללה ימסכהא וית'בתהא פרמדא פאערב בקו' אנכי תכנתי עמודיה סלה (תהלים עה:ד) ען קול אללה אלא תרי אלי קול משה עלאס' מפני רוע [מעלליך] אשר עזבתני (דברים כח:כ) חאכיא ען אללה וכד'לך למען תדעו כי אני יי אלהיכם (דברים כט:ה) פמן הד'א אלקול אלי קו' ואני א[גיד] לעולם (תהלים עה:י) כד'לך. וקו' תדברו בצואר עתק (תהלים עה:י) יריד כ'בת'א וגלט' ומת'לה ירוץ אליו בצואר (איוב טו:כו) וקו' כי לא ממוצא וממערב (תהלים עה:ז) למא נחאהם ען אלתכבר ומנעהם מן אלתג'בר בקו' אל תרימו למרום (תהלים עה:ו) פיקול לא [תט']¹⁵⁸³ נוא מא צ'רתם אליה ונלת'מוה¹⁵⁸⁴ באידיכם [95 ב] ואן פי אלשרק ואלגרב וברארי אלג'באל גיר חכם אללה אלד'י אצ'ע קומא וירפע אכ'רין ואנכם קד אעד ל[כם]¹⁵⁸⁵ כאסא ממלוה סמום עקאב תפיץ' מן ג'אנביהא תסתפון עברהא ותמתצון דראדיהא ואנא וג'מיע אלצ'לחין יצפון ד'לך ויחמדון אללה עליה. וקו' וכל קרני רשעים אגדע (תהלים עה:יא) יג'וז צרפה אלי אלמקול ענה אנכי תכנתי עמודיה סלה (תהלים עה:ד) ורדה אלי אלקאיל ואני אגיד לעולם (תהלים עה:י) עלי אן יט'פר אללה מעשר אלפ'צלא בכם פיעבר בנפסה ען ג'מיעהם ועלי מא ד'כרנא פי זיאדתנא הד'א אלמעני פי אלנץ ועלי אן יכון צנע אללה הו ממוא סבבה לה ופצ'לה וכ'ירה פנסב אלפעל אלי נפסה וכד'לך אעתקד פי את שני בני תמית (בראשית מב:לז) יעני אד'א אעקתך פי צ[ר]פה פקד אסתוג'בת תכל בני פכאנך אלקאתל להמא ואן שית איצ'א קלתה עלי סביל אלדעא אי תכלת אבני מן אג'ל עקוקך פאנך תקתלהמא מתי לם אסקה. ומת'לה איצ'א לא תהיה משכלה ועקרה בארצך (שמות כג:כו) לאנהא משכלה באלחקיקה מת'ל מעשקה (ישעיה כג:יב) [96 א] מת'ל מלמדה (ישעיהו כט:יג, הושע י:יא) כמא קאל כאשר שכלה נשים חרבך (שמואל א טו:לג) ואנמא ג'א הכד'י למא קד קאלה קבל ועבדתם את יי אלהי וברך את לחמך ואת מימך וג' (שמות כג:כה) פיקול אד'א כנתם עלי טאעה ותג'נבתם אלמעציה וקיתם אלאמראץ' ולם יוג'ב נסאכם אלת'כל עלי אנפאסהם בד'נובהן פתכון משכלה לנפסהא מבדע בהא ועלי אן אלחקיקה משוכלה. ואלמזמור אלתי את'ר הד'א והו נודע ביהודה אלהים (תהלים עו:ב).</p>	<p>למנצח בנגינת</p>
<p>נודע ביהודה (תהלים עו:ב). מעני נודע שהרה אלפעל ועלאניה אלסר כמא קאל לא נודעתי להם (שמות ו:ג) אי לם ישהר להם מן פעלי מא שהר לך ולא בדא להם מן ברהאני מא בדא אליך ואמנוא וקד ופית להם במא ועדתהם בעד מותהם ואנא קד ועדתך וסניכ'א בקולי בהוציאך את העם ממצרים (שמות ג:יב) ואריתך אלבראהין אלמעג'זה וקד צ'ג'רת בקולך והצל לא הצלת (שמות ה:כג). וכד'לך כי נודע דוד (שמואל א כב:ו) יעני שהר [96 ב] פי אלבאס ואלנג'דה וכד'לך הנא נודע ביהודה אלהים (תהלים עו:ב) יעני שהר נצרה לנא במא כ'פאנא מן מו'ונה עדונא פיושך אן יקאל פי גזאה בעץ' מלוך אלעאדא בלד אלקדס פכפית שרה ווקית צ'רה וען ד'לך קיל שמה שבר רשפי קשת (תהלים עו:ד) שבה אלסהאם באלשראר לסרעה טיראנהא וג'על כסרהא כפאיה אלעדו קאל וקשת וחרב¹⁵⁸⁶ ומלחמה אשבר מן הארץ (הושע ב:כ). וק' אדיר מהררי טרף (תהלים עו:ה) אד'א כאן אלעדו אלמתקי צ'רה ותחצן פי אלג'באל אלתי ינתט'ר מנהא אלות'וב עלי פריסה פאנת אעט'ם מנהא ואמנ'ע מן אלג'באל אלתי ימתנעון פיהא. וקד קאל בעץ' שער אאלערב פאסתרזק אללה פפי</p>	

¹⁵⁸³ JTS ENA 2464, ii 45

¹⁵⁸⁴ JTS ENA 2464, ii 45

¹⁵⁸⁵ JTS ENA 2464, ii 45

¹⁵⁸⁶ חמ

אללה גני אללה כ'יר לך מן אב חרב עלי מעני אן אלאב אלחרב קד לא יזרקך ואנמא אלד'י ירזקך פהו אללה וכד'לך אראד הנא אן אלג'באל לא תקי אלצ'ר ואנמא אלואקי אללה ת'ם וצף מא ערין' האולי אלמטאלבין מע שדה באסהם כקו' **אשתוללו אביר לב** גו' (תהלים עו:ו) **מגערתך אלהי יעקב** (תהלים עו:ז) [97 א] פקו' **אשתוללו** (תהלים עו:ו) אפתעאל מן שלל ואלפה בדל מן הא וקו' **נמו שנתם** (תהלים עו:ו) יעני נמו וישנו. וקו' **ורכב וסוס** (תהלים עו:ז) מעטוף עלי **אבירי לב** (תהלים עו:ו) **ואנשי חיל** (תהלים עו:ו) **ונרדם** (תהלים עו:ז) פי מוצ'ע נרדמו מת'ל עמל הכסילים תיגענו (קהלת י:טו). והנא ג' מנאזל פי אלנום תנומה ושינה ותרדמה פאקלהא תנומה אלא תראה יקול אם אתן שנת לעיני לעפעפי תנומה (תהלים קלב:ד) וקאל וישנו שנת עולם ולא יקיצינו [נאם ייי] (ירמיהו נא:לט) ואמא קו' הנאך לא ינום ולא יישן (ישעיה ה:כז, תהלים קכא:ד) פעלי מעני פצ'לא ען אן יישן ואעט'מהא תרדמה כמא קאל פי תרדמת ייי נפלה עליהם (שמואל א כו:יב). וקד ימכן אן יעם אלג'מיע אסם שינה פאקלהא נומה ואכברהא תרדמה ואמא קו' **ארץ יראה ושקטה** (תהלים עו:ט) קיל פיה תהרג'ת וקרן בה בהשקיט ארץ מדרום (איוב לז:יז) לאנה ד'כר אולא ריח אלשמאל פי קו' רוח עברה ותטהרם (איוב לז:כא) מצפון זהב יאתה (איוב לז:כב) וקד פסרנאה פי מוצ'עה וקלנא אנה יריד בהד'א אלקול צפא אלג'ו ברוח אלשמאל ואן אלקר ילהבהא פד'כר ריח אלג'נוב איצ'א אן בתחרכהא יכון אלדפי בקולה [97 ב] אשר בגדיך חמים (איוב לז:יז) ויג'וז איצ'א הד'א אלקול ויג'וז פי קו' **ארץ יראה ושקטה** (תהלים עו:ט) איצ'א אן יכון מענאה למא אסמעת מן אלסמא אחכאמך אלסמאויא אלי כ'לקך אתקוך פאמתת'לוהא ת'ם אתפקוא עליהא בעד אכ'לתאפהם פתודעוא בעד אצ'טראבה[ם] ותהדנאו את'ר אהתיאג'הם וכד'לך פי קולה בהשקיט ארץ מדרום (איוב לז:יז) יעני אלזמאן אלד'י תנקל פי אלשמס מן אכ'ר אלג'נוב אלי אול אלשמאל והו אכ'ר זמאן אלקר. ומעני קו' **כי חמת אדם תודך** (תהלים עו:יא) למא ד'כר אקלאע אלעדו בעד שדה באסה וקוה עזמה וצורתה ד'כר אלעלה פי ד'לך אן כל צורה מקרה לך באנך אלמחתי עלי ג'מיע אלצוראת. וקולה **תודך** (תהלים עו:יא) יעני בה תודה לך מת'ל ויעידוהו לאמר (מלכים א כא:י) בשלם הבשר (מלכים א יט:כא) יעני ויעידו בו בשל להם. וקד יג'וז אן יכון מת'לה וגם אני אודך (איוב מ:יד) אי אקר לך וקד יג'וז שרחה איצ'א אחמדך. ת'ם אנה אשאר אלי אלקום אלד'ין [..]וא מן מכר אלעדוא בקו' **נדרו ושלמו ליי אלהיכם** (תהלים עו:יב) וכמא כאן הד'א אלקול פי וקת אל[צ'י]ק [98 א] קבל כפאיה אלעדו פיקול א[נד]ר[ו] אלאן כמא תודונה ענד פרג'כם כמא יקול אבוא ביתך בעולות אשלם לך נדרי אשר פצו שפתי ודברי פי בצר לי (תהלים סו:יג-יד) וקו' **למורא** (תהלים עו:יב) קיל פיה מן אג'ל אלתקוי ואנא אקול פיה אנה מן צפאת אלבאר[י] אי מסתחק אלתקוי כמא קאל והוא מוראכם והוא מעריצכם (ישעיהו ח:יג) וכנא בקו' **יבצר רוח נגידיים** (תהלים עו:יג) ען אלמלך אלמנאזל להם פי תלך אלוהלה ומעני **יבצר** כתרם והו מג'אז מן אלקטף.

למנצח על ידותון

[קולי] **אל אלהים ואצעקה** (תהלים עז:ב). וקד אכ'תלף פי קולה **והאזין אלי** (תהלים עז:ב) אלמפתוח אלהא מת'ל אלואמר. פקאל בעין' קום אן אלפתחה מבדל מן סגול אלמאין' ובעין' קאלו אנה לפט' אמר ומענאה דעא והו מכל'אטב פי מוצ'ע אכ'באר ואנא אליה [...] אלת'אני אמ[...]. וקיל אן קולה **ידי** (תהלים עז:ג) ליצ'ל[עה ידי מק]אם קו' יעני (איכה ג:מט) ווצ'ע ג'ארהא פי מוצ'ע [98 ב] אכ'רי גיר ג'איז ענדי ולו ג'אז ד'לך לג'אז וצ'ע שכי' מכאן ת'אן ואן כאן קד אג'אזה איצ'א צאחב הד'א אלקול וקאל אן אשבלום מכאן שלמה פי קו' ואחרי אבשלום לא נטה (מלכים א ב:כח) וכל ד'לך הד'יאן ובאטל[אן] ואצחאב כת'ירה אצ'אף אליהמא מן מת'לה מא ליס גרצ'נא תביין פסאדהא לאכן מא ג'א מן ד'כר אבשלום ושלמה וד'לך ביין אלפסאד מן אלמעקול לאנה לו ג'אז אלאכ'באר בואחד ען ת'אן למ יצח כ'בר ג'מלה ולדכ'לת אלדאכ'לה

פי וידבר יי אל משה תעאלי אללה פוצ'ע משה מוצ'ע אללה ובאלעכס ולא שהאדה עלי אחד ולא לה פאנה כאן יוצ'ע
אחזהמא מוצ'ע אלאכ'ר ולא קאם ברהאן עלי שי אנה כד'אך אד'א ג'אז אן ידכל' גירה מכאנה. ואמא מן ג'הה אלנץ פאן
שלמה לם יכן כ'פוח אדוניה פחתאג' אן יד'כרה מעה ואנמא כאן בכונה מע אדוניה מנאפקא מכל'תארא למן לם יכ'תארה
אללה אביא עמן ארתצ'אה אללחם לו כאנא ג'מיעא מרשחין אלממלך פכאן [98 א] יצלח אן יקאל מאל מע אחד
אלמס[ת]חק[ה] מן דון אלאכ'רי. ואמא מוצ'ע ד'כר אבשלום פהו ת'אנית יואב למא כון עון אלמכ'אלף עלי שלמה והו
אדוניה ולו יכון פי עון אלמכ'אלף עלי דוד [והו] אבשלום פד'ל מן ד'לך אנה לם יכון ענדה מכ'אלף אלמ[לך] מת'ל אביה
ואן אדניה כאן אחק בה מנה [שלמה] מא שא אללה ואלמלך ואלאמה ואל[ד'י] אקולה פי קול ידי¹⁵⁸⁷ **לילה נגרה** (תהלים
עז:ג) אנה יעני סילאן אלקוה [וד'באב]א¹⁵⁸⁸ שיא פשיא בחית' לא תוקף פי ד'לך ולא פתור [והו] מג'אז וקד וג'דנא
אלסילאן יקע עלי גיר סאיל קיל וימסו אסוריו (שופטים טו:יד) וליסת אלאסורים ממא תד'וב וקאל אן והגרים עלי ידי חרב
(ירמיהו יח:כא) וקאל אלשאער תסיל עלי חד אלסיוף נפוסנא וליס עלי גיר אלסיוף תסיל פאלמענה אד'א מעני כי אזלת יד
(דברים לב:לו) וקד יג'וז כון ידי (תהלים עז:ג) ט'רפא מת'ל תפלה לאל חיי (תהלים מב:ט) יעני מא כאנת לי יד יעני קוה
יכון צ'מיר פי **נגרה** (תהלים עז:ג) עאידה עלי אלצעקה אלמד'כורה פי **ואצעקה** (תהלים עז:ב) [וענהא יקול¹⁵⁸⁹ **ולא**] **תפוג**
(תהלים עז:ג). וג'את הד'ה אלאסתעארה [99 ב] פי אלצעקה [כמא¹⁵⁹⁰] יקול ויתכו כמים שאגותי (איוב ג:כד). וקו' **אחזת**
שמורות עיני (תהלים עז:ה) יעני אלאג'פאן לאנהא באנטאבקהא עלי אלעין תחרסהא מן וצול בעץ' אלהואם ואלאד'י
אליהא וכאן חקה שומרות עיני לכנהא אסמא אפעאל מת'ל שלוחותיה (ישעיה טז:ח) איש חמודות (דניאל ח:יא) פיקול
עליהא פלם תנטבק עלי אלעין פלם אנפך סאהרא. **ונפעמתי** (תהלים עז:ה) מג'אנס ללערבי אי אפעמת במא מלא צדרי פלם
אטיק בה סלאמא. וקו' **ויחפש רוחי** (תהלים עז:ז) פדכר אלוהו והו מונת' עלי אלאכתר ורוח יי לבשה (שופטים ו:לד)
רוחי זרה לאשתי (איוב יט:יז) וקו' **אזכרה נגינתי בלילה** (תהלים עז:ז) ישיר בה אלי מא כאן יסתעמלה מן אלת אלגניא
פי עבאדה רבה ותסביחה כמא קאל עורה כבודי עורה הנבל וכנור (תהלים נז:ט) וקו' **עם לבבי אשיחה** (תהלים עז:ז) יעני
בה מא כאן יחדת' בה נספה בדיא חתי ירדה אלבחת' אלצחיה ענה אלד'י קאל ענה **ויחפש רוחי** (תהלים עז:ז) אלי אלחק
וחדית' נפסה ויקול **הלעולמים יזנה יי** (תהלים עז:ח) ומעני **גמר אומר** (תהלים עז:ט) יקול את'באה ת'ם אמרה ואנקצ'י מן
חית' לא [100 א] סביל אן תרג'א אקאלה או רחמה כמא קאל **השכח חנות אל אם קפץ** (תהלים עז:י) וגומ[ר] (תהלים
נז:ג) **ושנות ימין עלין** (תהלים עז:יא) ג'מע שנה אלסנה בכסר אלסין לא ג'מע שנה אלסנה בפתח אלסין ואלמצדר נאב
מנאב אלמאצ'י כאנה קאל חלותי שנות ימין עליון אי אמרצ'תני גפלאהא ואלמרץ' יעקבה שפא ואלגפלה תתבעהא אהתבאל
ואלד'י נתג' לה קו' **ויחפש רוחי** (תהלים עז:ז) הו **אזכור מעללי יה** (תהלים עז:יב) פנפי ענהא הד'א אלט'ן אלד'י איאסה
ומא ד'כר מן צנע אללה קדימא ואעאג'יבה אלד'י שהאדתהא אלאמה מן נצרה להא פחדת' להא אלרג'א מן מוצ'ע אליאס.
וקו' **בני יעקב יוסף סלה** (תהלים עז:טז) וקד כאן יוסף דאכל'א פי אל יעקב עלי סביל אלתש[ריף]¹⁵⁹¹ ליוסף אד'א ד'כרה
מפרדא באד'א ג'מיע¹⁵⁹² אלסבאט ורבמא כאן עלי אלתקדים ותכרירה **ראוך מים** (תהלים עז:יז) קד אריתך מת'לה פי

¹⁵⁸⁷ Evr-Arab. I 1409 26v.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Evr-Arab. I 1409 26v.

¹⁵⁸⁹ EVR ARAB I 1409

¹⁵⁹⁰ EVR ARAB I 1409

¹⁵⁹¹ EVR ARAB I 1409

¹⁵⁹² Ditto. ג'מיע

<p>נשאו נהרות ייי (תהלים צג:ג) ואצחאבה ולמא ד'כר איה אללה פי פכאך אלאמה אעקבהא הנא בד'כר שק אלבחר. ויעני בקו' קול רעמך בגלגל (תהלים עז:יט) וישקף ייי אל מחנך [100 ב] מצרים בעמוד אש וענן (שמות יד:כד). וקו' אף חציך (תהלים עז:יח) יתהבט יעני בהא אלצואעק אד' שבההא בחצים מע ד'כר אלברקים פי גיר הד'א אלמוצ'ע וישלח חציו ופיצם וברקים רב (תהלים יח:טו) פחצים מנהא אלצואעק וברקים אלברוק. ויעני בקו' ביום דרכך (תהלים עז:כ) אלטריק אלד'י אסלכה עליה בני ישראל והד'א אללפט' ישתרך ללה הורני ייי דרכך (תהלים כז:יא) כמא קיל חרבו לסיף אלקאתל ואצ'יף אלי מקתול פאקיל חרבו ילטוש (תהלים ז:יג). חציו לסהאם אלראמי ידרוך חציו (תהלים נח:ח) ואצ'יפת אלי אלרמי פקיל חציו לדולקים יפעל (תהלים ז:יד) ואועב בד'כר מסיר אלאמה בתדביר משה ואהרן (תהלים עז:כא) צלואת אללה עליהמא</p>	<p>משכיל לאסף</p>
<p>האזינה (תהלים עח:א) ווצל בהד'א אלמזמור אלסאלף ד'כר אבתדאה חאל ישראל פי מצר ווצל בה מא כאן מן אחואלהם בעד ד'לך אלי אן וצל אלי ד'כר ולאיה דוד פתלך כאנת ג'איה קצדה ומהאה אלד'י אנההאה פג'על מא תקדמה צ'ררא לה ומדכ'לא אליה.¹⁵⁹³ האזינה [...] ת [...] עמי (תהלים עח:א) [101 א] אפתחה במשל פי (תהלים עח:ב) בקמצות אלתא מן אג'ל אלקמץ בעדה וכד'לך אשמעה מה ידבר (תהלים פה:ט) אפשרה בה (ישעיהו כז:ד) עלי ראי מן יקראה חטף וליס כד'לך קמצות דאל יחדפם מפניכם (יהושע כג:ה) לאנה מקטטע והוות רעשי יהדוף (משלי יג:ו) ואן כאן יכ'תצר פי אלאכת'ר אלאשיע פמא פי רג'ועה אלי אלאצל פי אלאקל מן באס. ואמא קו' אביעה חידות מני קדם (תהלים עח:ב) ואלחידה הי אהג'יה מעמהא. והד'ה אכ'באר מפהומא פאן פי ד'לך ג'ואבין אלאול אן אלמפהום ענד מן לא יפהמה במעמי כמא קאל ונתן הסכר על אשר לא ידע ספר (ישעיהו כט:יב) פיושך אן יכון פי זמאנה אן תכון ענדה אלאהאג'י. ואלת'אני אן פי אלקול בעינה מא אד'א ערי עמא [יכתנפ]ה מן ג'אנביה כאן אהג'יה צחיחה מת'ל להם אבירים אכל איש (תהלים עח:כה) אנה ליס בין הד'א אלכלאם פרק פי אנה אהג'יה ובין קו' מהאוכל יצא מאכל (שפטים יד:יד) אלא מן קבלה [ו]בעדה אבאנה. וכד'לך ויהרג במשמניהם (תהלים עח:לא) לולא אן בחורי ישראל הכריע (תהלים עח:לא) וכד'לך קו' ויך צריי אחור (תהלים עח:סו) לולא אלעלם במא וקע [101 ב] מן קו' ויך אותם בטחורים (שמואל א ה:ו) ויעני בקו' ויקם עדות ביעקב (תהלים עח:ה) לוחי אלשהאדה. וקו' ותורה שם בישראל (תהלים עח:ה) אלתורה אלמצ'מעה אלשראיע ואלאחכאם. וכסלם (תהלים עח:ז) תכלאם מת'ל אשר יקוט כסלו (איוב ח:יד). ומנה ג'הל זה דרכם כסל למו (תהלים מט:יד). ומנה כ'צר ואחד אשר על הכסלים (ויקרא ג:ד, ג:י, ג:טו, ד:ט, ז:ד). [...] עי[.].ה בקו' בני אפרים נושקי רומי קשת הפכו ביום קרב (תהלים עח:ט) אלי מא ד'כר פי דברי הימים. והרגום אנשי גת הנולדים בארץ כי ירדו לקחת את מקניהם (דברי הימים א ז:כא) ויתאבל אפרים אביהם ימים רבים (דברי הימים א ז:כב). וקד יג'וז אלא יכ'ץ וקתמא ולא קומא מא לכן עמומא קול כ'אלפא אלכ'צוץ יעני אן דוי אלסלאח ורמאה אלסהאם יולון מנהזמין פי אלחרב אד'א כאנוא עלי גיר טאעה אללה כמא קאל את'ר הד'א לא שמרו ברית אלהים ובתורתו מאנו ללכת (תהלים עח:י). כאנה קאל כי לא שמרו ברית אלהים. וקו' יבקע צורים במדבר (תהלים עח:טו) מסתקבל מע מאצ'י בקע ים (תהלים עח:יג) וגירה לאנה פי מוצ'ע אלחאל יעני אן כאן יפעל כד'א וכד'א וכאן חקה אן יקול וישק כתהומות רבה (תהלים עח:טו) [102 א] כמא קאל וינחם בען יומם (תהלים עח:יד) פחד'ף אכ'תצרא. ולמרות (תהלים עח:יז) מפתוח אללאם פי מעני להמרות ולו אנה מן אלכ'פיף לכאן מכסורא אן מת'ל</p>	

¹⁵⁹³ JTS ENA 2464 ii 45-46 places this text here and not at the end of the previous Psalm as in EVR ARAB I 3583. The version of the text used is from EVR ARAB I 3583

לראות לבנות. ואמא קו' **הן הכה צור ויזובו מים ונחלים ישטפו הגם לחם יוכל תת** (תהלים עח:כ) ונחן נרא נזול אלמן מתקדמא לאנפג'אר אלמא ת'ם אן אלנאר למ תחל בהם עלי אלמן בחית' יקול **לכן שמע יי ויתעבר ואש נשקה ביעקב** (תהלים עח:כא) ת'ם יקול בעד ד'לך **ויצו שחקים ממעל ודלתי שמים פתח** (תהלים עח:כג) פלאנה למ יבל באלתקדים ואלתאכ'יר פכ'לט אלכלאם אולא באכ'רא ואכ'רא באולא. [ונ]לבא נחן פי מא ענדנא פי אלתורה אלאכ'תפי ועליה אלאקתצאר ובה אלקתדא וקד ימכן אסתעט'אם איה אלמן ל[...]. חא פיסתעבדון אתצאלה לאן אנפג'א[ר אל]מא כאן וקתא דון וקת. ואמא קולה **אם יכין שאר לעמו** (תהלים עח:כ) פהו כנאיה עלי אלשלו אלד'י קבל נזלה נזלת בהם אלנאר מן דון אלמן לאן שאר הו אללחם ואשר אכלו שאר עמי (מיכה ג:ג). ועלי וג'ה אלסתעארה לשארו הקרוב אליו (ויקרא כא:ב). וקאל ותבער במ אש יי (במדבר יא:א). וקאל [102 ב] [ויא]מרו מי יאכילנו בשר (במדבר יא:ד) פיון קו' מי יאכילנו בשר (במדבר יא:ד) מתקדמא אן יכון לקו' ותבער במ אש יי (במדבר יא:א) פי[סת]קים אן יכון עלי הד'א אן יכון עקובה קו' מי יאכילנו בשר ותבער במ. וקו' מי יאכילנו בשר (במדבר יא:ד) מצ'ארע לקו' **אם יכין שאר לעמו** (תהלים עח:כ) ועקובתה **ואש נשקה ביעקב** (תהלים עח:כא) מת'ל ותבער במ אש יי (במדבר יא:א) ולמא פסוקים מתקדמה חקהא אלתאכ'יר ובאלעכס אד'כר מנהא גריבה למ יובה אליה ולא יסתקים אלא כד'לך. והו קו' פי איוב תקרא אנכי אענך למעשה ידיך תכסף (איוב יד:טו) לאנה מן תמאם תשית לי חק ותזכרני (איוב יד:יג) אד' תמני אן תכון לה פי אלקבר מד'ה מא ת'ם יד'כרה ענד אנקצ'איהא וידעוה אלי אלעודה אלי אלחזיה פיג'יבה פי חאל בין אלפסוקין קו' אם ימות גבר היחיה (איוב יד:יד) ולא יסתקים אן יכון תקרא אנכי אענך (איוב יד:טו) נתיג'ה כל ימי צבאי איחל עד בוא חליפתי (איוב יד:יד) בל צ'דהא כמא קאל אמרתי לא אראה יה וג' (ישעיהו לח:יא) במתים חפשו כמו חללים שוכני קבר אשה לא זכרתה עוד (תהלים פח:ו) וקד יג'וז איצ'א אן יכון קולהם מי יאכילנו בשר (במדבר יא:ד) ויהי העם כמתאוננים (במדבר יא:א) אלמקול [103 א] בעדה ותעבר במ אש יי (במדבר יא:א) פיתפק מע קו' **אם יכין שאר לעמו** (תהלים עח:כ) ועקובתה **ואש נשקה ביעקב** (תהלים עח:כא). ויכון קו' **הגם לחם יוכל תת** (תהלים עח:כ) מערבא ען תמאדיה ודואמה ואן כאן קד טל אלמן קבל אנפג'אר אלמא מא נזל מנה ולנא מא יט'הר כאנה אבתדי יעני בה אלתמאדי כמא קאל ועתה הורד עדיך (שמות לג:ה) ואנמא אראד דומוא עלי מא פעלתם מן הד'א לאנהם יקדם בקא אלי ד'לך קבל כמא קאל וישמע העם את הדבר הרע הזה ויתאבלו וג' (שמות לג:ד) ויעני בקו' **לחם אבירים אכל איש** (תהלים עח:כה) ג'דא ג'סימא כמא **צדה שלח להם לשבע** (תהלים עח:כה). ויעני בקו' **במשמניהם** (תהלים עח:לא) כ'ירה אלקום ועט'מאהם כמא קאל ידל כבוד יעקב ומשמן בשרו ירזה (ישעיהו יז:ד) ומעני **הכריע** (תהלים עח:לא) הפ(ע)יל כמא קאל פי גיר אלמתעד באשר כרע שם נפל (שופטים ה:כז) קו' **אם הרגם ודרשוהו** (תהלים עח:לד) ליס יעני אן אלהרוגים הם אלהרוגים לכן אלהרוגים יכונא סבב אלהרושים אכ'ר ליסוא הרוגים יתעט'ון במא נזלת אולאיך פי ל[...]. מסון רצ'א אללה ת'ם מע ד'לך פאנהא דרישה מן אללפט' לא מן [103 ב] [אל]מעצ'י ומן אללסאן לא מן אל[...]. קו' **ויפתחוהו בפיהם ובלשונום יכזבו לו** (תהלים עח:לו) [...] **ולבם לא נכון עמו** (תהלים עח:לז) וג'מע פי וק' **ויזכר כי בשר המה** (תהלים עח:לט) צ'עף אלבשר ען [...] ב[...]. אלא[...]. בדה[...]. ור[א]חהם אלתי לא א[...]. פהו תע' ארוף עליהא מן ד'לך ואלנוף [ה[...]. ו[...]. קול פי קו' **וקדוש ישראל התוו** (תהלים עח:מא) אנהם א[...]. לגה פי[...]. ארסם ואלחר ואנא אקול אנהא ג'עשא לה חד'ף מן אלקד[...]. מ[...]. ה תגא[...]. אי [...] מנה [...] מע קו' **הן הכה צור ויזובו מים** (תהלים עח:כ). ופי הד'א מן אלפא [...] הם במא גלבה א[...]. א מן מעג'זא[...]. עט' [...] אפא[...]. ב[...]. מא קאל **אשר נפשם במצרים אותותיו** (תהלים עח:מג) יקדמה דוא מע ד'לך ועאי[...]. וכד'לך

<p>ל[...כרה מן אלצ[...ד ע[... אלמתקדם וקדמה [... אלמתאכ'ר ולא א[... ל בתקדימ[ה] [...] אל[... לאן [...] אלתעדיד לא[...ת[... ויפילם בחבל נחלה (תהלים עח:נה) עאיד עלי [...] ה ג'עלהם</p>
<p>(ברכי נפשי את יי)</p>
<p>[104 א] יתנו קול (תהלים קד:יב) [ונ]ט'נה הד'ה אללפט'ה אלסריאני ועפיה שפיר (דניאל ד:ט) ויעני קו' מעליותיו (תהלים קד:יג) אלסחאב וקד ביינא ג'מלה ד'לך. וקו' מפרי מעשיך (תהלים קד:יג) יעני אלנבאת אלד'י ינבחה אלמא אלנאזל באמרה. וקו' תשבע הארץ (תהלים קד:יג) יעני אהל אלארץ' אלמג'תדין בה כמא קאל ותרעב כל ארץ מצרים (בראשית מא:נה) וקו' ויין ישמח לבב אנוש (תהלים קד:טו) עלי מפרי מעשיך (תהלים קד:יג) יעני אן מנה אלעשב אלד'י לא זרע לה והו גד'א אלבהאים כמא קאל להוציא לחם מן ארץ (תהלים קד:יד) ומנה ידרס ויכל כקו' ועשב לעבודה האדם להוציא לחם מן הארץ (תהלים קד:יד) ומנה אלכ'מר אלד'י יחסן אללון ויפרח אל[...].ם פהד'א כלה מפרי מעשיך (תהלים קד:יג). וקו' ישבעו עצי יי (תהלים קד:טז) עאיד עלי משקה הרים (תהלים ק:יג). וקו' אשר שם צפרים יקננו (תהלים קד:יז) מופר לקו' מבין עפאים יתנו קול (תהלים קד:יב) ביינ אלעלה פי מטר אלג'באל לי[...].א בהא מן הנאך [...]. אלחיואן בקו' הרים הגבוהים ליעלים (תהלים קד:יח) ת'ם [...] גיר ד'לך מן אפעאל אללה ואעאג'ובם פיד'כר אלעאלם פקאל עשה ירח למועדים (תהלים קד:יט) יעני [104 ב] אלאשהר אלמכ'תלפה אלתי תכון מע ט'הור [...] ומגיבה פאן מגיבה אול אלליל פי אול [...] מן אלמגרב אלי אלמשרק אול זמאן אלשהר ול[...]. אול אלליל ומגיבה אכרה א[נח]אף שהר וסוא מא יתחצל מן דקאיק אכ'תלאפ[ה] מן אלאול אלי אלוסט ומן ט'הורה נהארא [ו]מ[...]. לילא חתי יסתוי פי אלוסט טלועה פי בע'ץ אל[...].ל אול אלנהאר מע אלשמס ומגיבה אכרר מעהא [א]ן מסתסר פהד'א אלמעני הו אלמכ'בר ענה בקו' עשה ירח למועדים (תהלים קד:יט) לאן בחלולהא בכל רבע מ[ן] ארבאע אלפלך יחדת' זמאן ובמרורהא בכל דרג'ה מן אלכ'רוג' אלאת'ני עשר יסתלף זמאן אלנהאר ואלליל בין אלזיאדה ואלאנקצ'אף ואנמא אקתצר הנא עלי ד'כר אלירח למועדים פלם יכל בהד'א אלקול אלשמס ען כונהא לקו' פי אלשמס שמש ידע מבואו (תהלים קד:יט) יעני אן מגיבהא אבדא ליל ושרוקהא נהאר ולם יכון שרוק אלקמר אבדא לילא ואל[...].ף נהארא ואללה תע' קד קאל ענהמא יהיו לאותות למועדים ולימים ושנים (בראשית א:יד) פאמא כונה מא אותות [105 א] תוסף רוחם (תהלים קד:כט) מת'ל תאסוף ואנקלבת אלפא ואוא מת'ל כל אשר תאמר (בראשית כא:יב) גיר אן תאמר מכתוב באלף עלי אלאצל וקד ג'א פי מעני אלג'מע איצ'א ויסף עוד דוד את כל בחור בישראל (שמואל ב ו:א) והו מת'ל ויאסוף שבעים איש (במדבר יא:כד) ואמא קו' ואל עפרם ישובון (תהלים קד:כט) פהו פי מעני כאד' על טריק אלאגיא ואלאבלאג מת'ל מא יקול וימת לבו בקרבו יהוא היה לאבן (שמואל א כה:לז) וכל ברכים תלכנה מים (יחזקאל ז:ז). וימם לבב העם ויהי למים (יהושע ז:ה) ועלי הד'א יסתקים תשלח רוחך יבראון (תהלים קד:ל) וליס הד'א מנא אנבארא ללבעת' אל[...].ט'ר לאן אלבעת' מן איאת אללה אלמעג'זאת [ו.].צף אנמא הו וצף מא פי אלעאדה כאדא אנמא וצף מא תוול אליה אחואלהם מן מקארבה אל[ה]לאך ת'ם יסתקילון מנהא. וקד יג'וז אלא יריד [בקו'] תשלח רוחך יבראון (תהלים קד:ל) אלחאלכין באעיאנהם אן [ל.לאו]צף חקיקא בל אלמכ'לוקין ע[...]. ואנמא שמ[א]ל[ה]ם פי אלוצף לאשתמאל אלנוע עליהם כמא [ק]ל[ת] [...] אם הרגם ודרשוהו (תהלים עח:לד) אן ליס אלהרוגים הם [...] [...] א אלמתעאט'ון¹⁵⁹⁴ בהם ורבמא כאנת [105 ב] אל[...].גה איצ'א מקארבה פיסן מת'ל[...].וליס קו' המביט לארץ ויתרעד יגע בהרים ויעשנו (תהלים קד:לב) וקת דון וקת ואנמא וצפה ת[...]. [...] ק מן היבחה פי קלוב אהל אלארץ' עא[...].כ'אצה. ויערב (תהלים קד:לד) פי מעני אלערובה יתעדי באללאם וערבה ליי</p>

ض. for ط 1594

<p>(מלאכי ג:ד) ובעלי יערב עליו שיחי (תהלים קד:לד) ולא יצח מענאה אלא עלי אחד הד'ין אלוג'הין ולד'לך נכ'טי מן יקול פי אלצלאה תערב לפניך ונצרפה אלי קול לך או עליך.</p>
<p>הודו ליי קראו בשמו</p>
<p>ומא עלמנא מא אנכ[ר] אלמנכר מן קול אל[.].ת[...]דרשו ייי ועזו (תהלים קה:ד) חתי קאל אנה אנמא יריד בעזו [...] ואמא פעל ד'לך למא לם יעלם וג'ה אלעטף לא המא וג'האן מן אלתימאם פמענאה אד'א דרשו [יי] ודרשו עזו פי קו' דרשו יי (תהלים קה:ד) יקתצ'י אלתימאם רצ'אה בטאעתה ותקואה כמא קאל דרשוני וחיו (עמוס ה:ד) פאד'א חצלו עלי ד'לך כאנוא [...].ד אחקא בתמאם תאיידה ועונה עלי בלוג אמאלהם וקצ'א אוט[אנהם] [120 א] ויקתצ'י בקשו פניו (תהלים קה:ד) הנא אלדעא אליה ואלמואצ'כ'ה. וקד יכון לאלתימאם מערפה אלגיב כמא קאל ויבקש דוד את פני ייי (שמואל ב כא:א) וקד קיל פי מת'ל דלך ותלך לדרוש את ייי (בראשית כה:כב). ודכ'ול אלכאף כמעט (תהלים קה:יב) וק' וגרים בה (תהלים קה:יב) גיר [מתע]ד לאן אלמ[עני] כנת ת'קלילא וג'רבא פלו אן מע[.].כ[.].כ[.].תכומ[.].ת ר[.].למ[.].ם מט'אן אל[.].פע[.].א[.].א[.].כה ול[.].אן מע ק[.].תכ[.].רכונון אצחאב אלבלאד ו[.].הא פיהא אל[.].אן [..].תצנוא פיהא [...] ...ת ענכם [..].מאיה אללה להם וענאיתיהם ב[.].פאנה [..].לכ[.].ם איאהא בעד כונכם [..].מן גיבה [..].ל ותקדימה ויקרא רעב עלי הארץ (תהלים קה:טז) עלי כ'בר יוסף עאלס' מן קו' לעבד נמכר יוסף (תהלים קה:יז) וגיר ד'לך ממא אתצאל [בה] מן כ'ברה אלי [....] אעה פלאנה אנמ[א] יריד אלי תביין [ל]ה ד'כול ישראל מצר א[מא] ת[.].ת אלמ[.]. ואלמג'אעה כאנת אלעלה אלאולי עלי פי מערפתה ב[א]מר יוסף פי דכ'ול א[.].פ[.].אלעלה אלאולי עלי אלת[אניה] פלמא וא[.].פא[.].הא ג'מיעא אכ'ד' [120 ב] פי קו' ויבא ישראל מצרים (תהלים קה:כג) ויושך אן יכון ד'לך איצ'א לאן אלדוא מן ד'לך אלדא ואלשפא מן תלך אלעלה אעני אלמג'אעה כאן יוסף ולא ינבגי ד'כר אלבר קבל ד'כר אלעלה ולד'לך קאל שלח לפנייהם איש (תהלים קה:יז) כמא קאל וישלחני אלהם לפניכם (בראשית מה:ז) כמא קאל ת'ם אכ'בר בחאל אלאיש לאנה כאן אולא עבד ותדרג' מן חאל אלי חאל חתי ארתקי ד'לך אלמרקי. וקו' לאסר שריוני בנפשו (תהלים קה:כב) מתעלק בקו' שלח מלך וייתירהו (תהלים קה:כ) אי אנמא חל אסרה ליפצ'י בה אלאמר אלי אסר וזראיה עלי מעני אן יאמר וינהי עליהם פקד ימכן ד'לך אלסר עלי אלחקיקה אן כאן ד'לך מודיא אלי נציחה אלמלך וקד ימכן איצ'א אן יצף מא כאן פי קותה ואן לם יכן באלפעל ולם ידר אנה חלה בשריטה אן יפעל הד'אונמא אראד מא אפצ'ת בה אלחאל אליה מן חאלה אלאולי ועלי מא קלנא פי ויציצו כל פועלי און להשמדם עדי עד (תהלים צב:ח). וקו' בנפשו (תהלים קה:כב) יתאול מעניין אלאול יריד אנה כאן יפעל ד'לך בנפסה ודאתה [109 א] מן דון משאחה אלמלך באלאמר [אלמ]עאני אן יריד עמא כ[א]ן [....] מן אל[.].א[.].א[.].לה ואש[.].עליה. ואלאואו [..]בנפשו (תהלים קה:כב) עלי הד'א [..].אלת'אני צ'מיר אלמלך. וקו' וזקניו יחכם (תהלים קה:כב) במא א[לד'י] עליהם מן אל[.].אלד'י ת?אן [..].דאדר[.].ועם אלג'מ[י]ע [..].מ... [.].ר פי בלצת אב[.].במא אנצ'אף אליה גירה. וקו' ויפר את עמ[ו] מאד (תהלים קה:כד). ת'קיל רבאעי מאצ'יה רדה מסתקבלה יפררה באלא ויפר את עמו מאד (תהלים קה:כד) וקו' מ[צר]יו (תהלים קה:כד) יעני אכת'ר כמא קאל פי אלכ'פיה כי עצמת [ע]מנו מאד (בראשית כו:ט). וקאל אלקום אלמחכי ענהם באנהם אעט'ם מנהם הנה עם בני ישראל רב ועצום ממנו (שמות א:ט). וקו' הפך לבם (תהלים קה:כה) עלי מג'אז ויחזק ייי את לב פרעה (שמות ט:יב) למה תתענו ייי (ישעיהו סג:יז) וד'לך במא לם יחמלהם עלי חסן אלמ[עאבה] אלסאלף מן רייסהם עלי עהד יוסף ולם יכל ען תקדיר אלמוכד מן אלמכות' ובאלב[לאד] אד' ליס מן קולה יסתדל עלי ד'לך בל ממא קד' תרתב קבל פי אלנץ וקו' ולא מרו את דברו (תהלים קה:כח) עאיד אלי [מש]ה ואהרן אל [109 ב] מד'כורין ק[א]ל [..].ל אמרה ונהוצ'המא ברסאלתה מ[...]</p>

כאנא בעד פי אלאמן למא אעטיאה מן אלבראהן פלא בד [מ]ן אן ישע[.]. א מן א[.]. כהמא באלג'ר[א]ה עלי [ד']לך כביר
 ימכן כון עאקבת[המא] אלהלאך לולא ד'לך. קו' **שרץ ארצם צפרדעים** (תהלים קה:ל) יחתמל אן יכון אלפעל ללצפרדעים
 עלי מעני שרצו בארצם צפרדעים ויחתמל אן יכון אלפעל לל'ארץ' ויכון ארצם מכאן יאור כמא קאל ושרץ היאור
 צפרדעים. וקולה **בציות נהר** (תהלים קה:מא) יחתמל אן יריד משיהם פי אלמפאז ואלצחארי פי אנהאר מא פהו ג'מע ציה
 וצלמות (ירמיהו ב:ו) ויחתמל אן יכון ג'מע וצי אדיר (ישעיהו לג:כא) על אל'תרכיב¹⁵⁹⁵ עלי מעני כבציות נהר יעני אן
 אלמיהא אלתי אנג'רת כאנת במקדאר אנהאר תסיר בהא אלספן.

הללו יה הודו ליי כי טוב מי ימלל גבורות ייי

... [110 א] כאן אללה קד אמרה בקו' א[ת] המטה (במדבר כ:ח) ולם יאמרה אלא ליצ'רב בהא לא מחאלה. פאן קאל
 קאיל פאי שי יהתאג' מע אלצ'רב ללכ'טאב או אל[צ'רב] מעה. קיל לה אן אללה תע' קד ג'על לכ'רוק אלעאדאת אלמעג'זאת
 קבל חדות'הא ג' אסבאב קולא פקט ופעלא פקט וקולא ופעלא מעא פמא חדת' בעד אלקול פקט מת'ל מא חדת' בעד קול
 משה עאלס' בזאת תדעון פי ייי שלחני וג' (במדבר טז:כח) מן כאינה קרח ושיעתה ומת'ל מא מת'ל מא חדת' בעד קול
 יהושע שמש בגבעון דום (יהושע י:יב) יבעד קול אליהו תשב נא נפש הילד על קרבו (מלכים א יז:כא). ומא חדת' בעד
 אלפעל פקט מת'ל ויצעק אל ייי ויורהו עץ וישלך אל המים (שמות טו:כה) ויקצב עץ וישלך שמה ויצף הברזל (מלכים ב
 ו:ו). ומא חדת' באלקול ואלפעל מעא קו' קחו לי¹⁵⁹⁶ צלוחית חדשה (מלכים ב ב:כ) וישלך שם מלח ויאמר (כה אמר יי
 רפאתי למים) האלה לא יהיה משם עוד מות ומשלכת (מלכים ב:כא) פלו שא אללה לאג'זי אלקול מן דון טרח אלמלה אד'
 לים אלמלה מוג'בא לקואם אלמא לכן אמר אללה אג'נא אלמלה ען [110 ב] אלקול כמא [פהם אל] חדיד בטרף אלעוד
 אלד'י לא יוג'ב לה ד'לך לכנא דליל עלי מא יחדת' מן אלמעג'ז וכד'לך ויאמר אלישע ירה ויור ויאמר חץ תשועה ליי וחץ
 בארם (מלכים ב יג:יז) פאראד אלבארי אן יג'מע אל[...]. ג' מיעא פ[י] הד'א אלקצה אעני אלצ'ם אלמכ'אטבה פיקול מת'ל
 קול אלישע כה אמר ייי אל סלע הזה להוציא מימיו פלמא תעדאה אלי [...]. ה ממא יד[כ'] לה אללבס אלד'י קלנא חסב ד'לך
 [ע]ליה. רב[מ]א אנה מן אג'ל ד'לך אהתאג' אלי אעאדה אלצ'רב כמא קאל ויך את הסלע במטהו פעמים (במדבר כ:יא) וקד
 אקאם לה אלעד'ר פי קו' **כי המרו את רוחו** (תהלים קו:לג). **ויבטא** (תהלים קו:לג) אללה מן אלכלאם ואלחשו אלמסתגני
 ענה לאן אל[עד']ר יכון פי מא יתקרב בה אלי אללה כאלעולות ואלשלמים ולבדק הבית פליס מת'ל הד'א יסמ[י] מבטא
 (במדבר לז:ז) לכן למא כאנת פי גנא ען תחרימהא עלי נפסהא למא יצ'ר בהא לולא אלימין ואלאלתזאם ולד'לך תצרף פי
 אלמראה מע אלנ[דר] מן דון אלרג'ל אלד'י תצרף פיה מענאה אלנ[דר] ואלשבועה פקאל ... [111 א] ואלמתעלקין במעני
 מא צחיח וגרין' מקצוד **ושדים** (תהלים קו:לז) צפה עלי זנה זדים (מלאכי ג:טו) והו מן צפאת אלאות'ן יעני אנהא סאלבה
 אלאראח באלעקובה עזא¹⁵⁹⁷ או אלעקול באכ'תיאר עבאדתהא אד' סלב עקלה ועדם לבה אלמכת'אר להא. ויכון מעתל
 אלעין ורבמא כאן מנה ישוד צהרים (תהלים צא:ו) עלי מת'ל יקום וקד אצ'אף אהל אלפיוט שוד עלי שודו מת'ל סוד עלי
 סודו ולו כאן מן שדד לאצ'יף עלי שדו מת'ל עזו ורבו ורבמא כאן שדים מכ'פפא מן שוד מחד'וף אלמת'ל מת'ל העזה פניה
 (משלי ז:יג) מי יתן בספר ויוחקו (איוב יט:כג). וקו' **וימכו בעונם** (תהלים קו:מג) מן מעני ומך אחיך (ויקרא כה:מז) וקד
 תעאקב אלמת'לאן ואתלאל עינה עלי הד'א אלמעני לאן וימכו מת'לין מת'ל ויסובו וירוננו ומך אחיך (ויקרא כה:מז) מעתל

¹⁵⁹⁵ תרכיב Manuscript.

¹⁵⁹⁶ ויקח לי Manuscript.

¹⁵⁹⁷ עעזא Manuscript.

אלעין לאנה קמץ מת'ל וקם הבית אשר בעיר (ויקרא כה:ל) ושב הכהן (ויקרא יד:לט) ורבמא קיל כד'לך שדד ושוד בדלאה שדים.
107) הללויה הדו ליי כי טוב [111 ב] יאמרו גאולי ייי
<p>קו' גאולי (תהלים קז:ב) יקתצ'י אמרהם בקול מא תקדם מן קולה הודו ליי כי טוב (תהלים קז:א) עלי אן אואילנא רצ'י אללה ענהם קאלו אלד'י יתצ'מן הד'א אלמ[ז]מור מן אלתאיהין פי אלבר אד'א אתוא ורכאב אלבחר אד'א נג'וא אלסרי אד'א פכוא ו[א]למרצ'י אד'א נקה [...] אל חקיק בחמד אללה כמא קאלו ד' צריכין ל[הודות] יורדי הים והולכי מדברות ומי שחלה ונתרפא ומי שהוציאווהו מבית האסירים [...] אל צ'מה עלי מא קיל מן כאתמה ג'מיע [...] יודו ליי חסדו ונפלאותיו לבני אדם (תהלים קז:ח, קז:טו, קז:כא, קז:לא) [אנ]א אל[...]ל מן הד'ה אלפרק אעני אלמקול פ[...]. א ותעו במדבר (תהלים קז:ד) איה אנמא יריד בה אלכ'ארג'ין מן מצר [א]ל[י] א[ל]לתאיהין פי אל[ב]ריה ומן ג'מע נסלהם בעדהם ב ב[...]. פתרא[...]. פי] אלבלאד כמא קאל פי פ[א]הם [...] ויקול פי ג'מע [106 א] שמלהם בעד פרקתהם ומארצות קבצם (תהלים קז:ג) ופי תיחהם פי אלבר תעו במדבר (תהלים קז:ד) ופי גו'עהם ועטשהם רעבים גם צמאים (תהלים קז:ה) והו קול אלכתאב ויענך וירעיב (דברים ח:ג) וצמאון אשר אין מים (דברים ח:טו) וקו' ללכת אל עיר מושב (תהלים קז:ז) עד בואם אל ארץ נושבת (שמות טז:לה) פאן צרפנא ד'לך פי גירהם פאקתדאו בהם אד'א קארבת חאלהם הד'ה פהם אחקא בחמד רבהם ענד איקאנהם באלנג'אה פי מוצ'ע אלעמראן. ואמא אלמסאפרין עלי דעה ואמן ואמתטא דואב וופור זאד וורוד משארב עלי קרב מחאל מעלומה באן מת'ל ד'לך לא ילזמהם בל הו אקרב אלי ברכה שאינה צריכה. ושוקקה (תהלים קז:ט) מן אלמצ'אעף אלעין מן ואל אישך תשוקתך (בראשית ג:טז). ועלי תשוקתו (שיר השירים ז:יא). וקד אנפרד שוקקה באלתשוק אלי אלמא מן פהו אלעטש אלא תראה יקול ען אלג'יעאן ונפש רעבה מלא טוב (תהלים קז:ט) וקאל כאשר יחלם הצמא הנה שותה והקין והנה עייף ונפשו שוקקה (ישעיהו כט:ח) וקד ימכן מת'ל הד'א לפט' למא יפיץ' עלי אלמעצצר ואלבדוד ואלגואבי [106 ב] מן אלעציר ואלדהן ואלמא מת'ל והשיקו היקבים תרוש ויצהר (יואל ב:כד) וג'א מנה מצ'אעפא כמשק גבים שוקק בו (ישעיהו לג:ד). וד'כר פי אלסרי ואלמרצ'י מן דון ג'ואב אלברא[רי] ורכאב אלבחר ד'נובא אוג'בת עליהם אל[א]סר ואלמרץ'י כמא קאל פי אלסרי ישבי חשך וצלמות אסירי ענו וברזל (תהלים קז:י) כי המרו אמרי אל ועצת עליון נאצו (תהלים קז:יא). ופי אלמרצ'י אוילים מדרך פשעם ומעונותיהם יתענו (תהלים קז:יז). ווצף פי קו' ויעמד רוח סערה (תהלים קז:כה) אבתדא אמואג'א יעני חול אלבחר וא[...]. כאן קבל סאכנא חתי אעצפת ריחא ואת'ארת אמואג'ה פכאן מנה מא ד'כר מן אלזבאר ואלאהתיאג' ומן רכא[כה] מן אלתח[...]. אלא[...]. אב אלי אן עאד אלי וצף חאל אלסכון בקו' יקם סערה לדממה (תהלים קז:כט). ואמא וישמחו כי ישתקו (תהלים קז:ל) פצ'מיר ישמחו עאיד עלי יורדי הים (תהלים קז:כג) וצ'מיר ישתקו עאיד עלי אלמ[...]. א[...]. כמא] קאל ויחשו גליהם (תהלים קז:כט). ויעני בקו' וימלט משחי[תותם] (תהלים קז:כ) וי[... ..] אלצ'מיר ומשחיתותם (תהלים קז:כ) יג'ו[ו] אן יכון] מן מ[...]. [107 א] מן אפסאדהם ויכון ואחדה שחית או שחיתה פעל או פעילה ויג'ו אן יכון מן אצל שחת כורה שחת (משלי כו:כז) פיון שחית פעלית על וזן כרית¹⁵⁹⁸ ונחל כרית (מלכים א יז:ג) מן כרו לפני (תהלים נז:ז) כי יכרה איש (שמות כא:לג) וג'מעה שחיתות וזונה פעילותות. וקו' אל מחוז חפצם (תהלים קז:ל) יעני אלי חיו מראדהם וקד קיל מנה לא חזו ימיו (איוב כד:א) אי לם יחזווא כמיתהא לאמתנאע ד'לך עליהם וקד כאן יג'ב עלי אבי זכריא צאחב כתאב אללין עלי ה אלוליד צאחב כתאב אלמסתלחק אדכ'אלהא פי אלמעטלה אלעין ואן קד קיל תעו במדבר (תהלים קז:ד)</p>

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<p>מלעיל פליס אל[ל]אם מא יצ'אף תעה [פי] אלמעטל אלעין כמא כאן חזו ימיו (איוב כד:א) מתחז הפצם (תהלים קז:ל) ולאן אלאכת'ר פי אלמעטלה אללאמת תכון אללחן פי אואכ'רהא פלמא לם יכן ב[ה] מן אצ'אפה תעו אלי אצלה אלמשהור מעניא קיל אנה שאד מן באבה ולמא וג'דת משהורה פי אצ'א[ה] פה חזו אלי אלמשדדה פי באבה אעני אלמעטלה אלעין אלמסתעלה אללחן בכון מענאיה [בא]צ'דאד אסתפעא[ל]ה אלמעג'ז ג'מיעהא מן [...] [107 ב] ועפ'יף אלרטב ית[.].טב אל[.].אף ואכראב אלמעמ[.]. יתעמיה אלמכ'רוב ואדל אל[י] אלעז'ז [...] אלדליל מא יוג'ב לאנקיאר לאחכאמה ואלאעתבאר באיאתה כמא קאל מי חכם וישמר אלה (תהלים קז:מג) וקולה [...] מע[.]. וישחו (תהלים קז:לט) מקדם פי אלמעני עלי ויברכם וירבו מאד (קז:לח) לאנה בעד אן קלו [...] אד[.]. אללה פיהם פ[.....] ויעני בקו' הנא מ[...]. אלעקס ואמתסאך אלולאדה כמא קאל [...] יי [...] יכון מת'ל הד'ה אלכלמה רעבה ען [...] אלמ[...].א[.].א[.] קאל מעוצר וממשפט (ישעיהו נג:ח) [...] א[.].א[.] סב ד'לך לאן באלמלך צ'בט א[...].ר אלזמאן אמתסאך אלעאד [...] אל[...].א</p>	<p align="right">שיר מזמור לדוד</p>
<p>נכון לבי אלהים (תהלים קח:ב) וקו' אף כבודי (תהלים קח:ב) יחתמל עטפה עלי נכון לבי פיכון אלאסתעדאד פי אלקלב מנה אכ'לץ אלניה וצדק אל[א]מר ואלתהיב לל[...]. אסתעדאד פי אלג'סם ואלתטהר מן אלנג'סאת ואלגסל ואלתנט'ף [108 א] אמא קו' ארחץ בנקיון כפי (תהלים כו:ו) פהו מערב ען בראה אלנפס מן אלד'נוב ודנס ואלאוזאר לאנה קד יעבר [מן] מת'ל הד'ה אלמעני בנקיון כפים כמא קאל בתם לבבי בנקיון כפי (בראשית כ:ה) נקי ובר לבבי (תהלים כד:ד) ויחתמל [אן קו]לה עלי מא בעדה יעני אף כבודי (תהלים קח:ב) עורה (תהלים קח:ג) [יעני?] אנתבהוא [ג']סדי סהרא ונבבה אלאה אלתסביח [כ]אן זמר וגנא אי נחרכהא.</p>	<p align="right">למנצח לדוד מזמור</p>
<p>אלקו' תהלתי אל תהרש (תהלים קט:א). ותקדיר קו' כי פי רשע ופי מרמה עלי פתחו (תהלים קט:ב) כי אנשי רשעים ומרמה [פ]תחו עלי פיהם לאנה לא יסוג אן יכון אלרשע מצ'אפה אליה פוקע אלאכ'באר ענה מן דון אלפה אלד'י הו אלמבתדי אלא תרי אנך לי קלת עבד ראובן בא אלי לם יג'וז אן יכון אלאתי ראובן אלמצ'אף אליה מן דון אלעבד לכן אלעבד מן דונה אלמבתדא בה פאן קיל אן אלכ'בר [א]לפה פי קו' פתחו (תהלים קט:ב) פאלפה מ[פע]ול לא פאעל פליס פיה אדא גיר מא קלנאה [108 ב] פאן קיל אן פתחו פי מעני נפתחו [...] מא [...] נג'ד מת'לה פי אלאפעאל אלמתעדיה [...] [...] נשאר שאר קרב נקרב ווצ'ע אלסם פי [...] מוצ'ע אלצפה ואלואחד מקאם אלג'מע מ[...]. מקיהמה. וקו' ודברי שנאה סבבוני (תהלים קט:ג) יריד בה ועל דבר שנאה סבבוני אי מן אג'ל עדאותהם לא י[...]. ד'לך וקד ג'א דבר במעני על דבר והו קו' וזה הדבר אשר מל יהושע (יהושע ה:ד) אי ועל זה הדבר מל יהושע פלמא חד'ף ועל אדכ'ל אשר עוצ'ה. ואן אשבה לפט'ה אלמפעול בעינה אעני וזה הדבר אשר תעשה להם (שמות כט:א) לבקא אלמעני מחרום למן תאמלה והו מא ג'א פי אכ'ר אלקול כי ערלים היו לא מלו אותם בדרך (יהושע ה:ז) אלא אנה אעתרץ' ד'כר אבנאן [פי]הם אלמכ'תונין קבל הד'א בקו' כל העם היוצא ממצרים הזכרים (יהושע ה:ד) אלי אן וצל אלי ד'כר אלאבנא פד'כר אלעלה פי כ'תאנתהם אלתי קדם אלאשארה אלי[הם] בקול זה הדבר פקאל כי ערלים היו וקד קאל מן לא חסן אלתאויל אנה¹⁵⁹⁹</p>	<p align="right">(119)</p>
<p>[112 א] [קרבו רדפי זמה] (ק'ט:קנא) [...] ממנה יעני מן הזמה אקו' קדם ידעתי מעדתיך כי לעולם יסדתם (ק'ט:קנב) יעני בה קדימא מא עלמת מן שואהדך אנך ת'בתהא ללאבד יעני אנה אסתדל מן ד'ואת אלשראיע עלי אנהא מובד[א] ל'א</p>	

¹⁵⁹⁹ Evr.-Arab. I 3583, 107v.

<p>תנסך' בגירהא ולא תנקל אל[...אָהא וְכאַן [...] לֵה וג'ודה אלסבת קיל פיה כי אות היא ביני וביניכם לדורותיכם (שמות לא:יג) ופי אלמילה והיתה בריתי בבשרכם לברית עולם (בראשית יז:יג) פי אלשחם ואלדם חקת עולם לדורותיכם בכל מושבותיכם (ויקרא ג:יז) פוג'ב חמל ג'מיעהא מחמלהא אלא אן תבין אלנצוץ פיהא מן ג'הה אלזמאן או אלמכאן או אלאשכ'אץ. וקולה ואתקוטטה (קוט:קנח) יריד צ'ג'רת עליהם וברמת בהם. וקו' שרים רדפוני חנם ומדברך פחד לבי (תהלים קיט:קסא) יעני לם יחלני טלב אלאגלא מן אלנאס לי ואן כאנוא מט'אן אדראכי ואיצאל אלצ'ר אלי אד' טלבוני לגיר ד'נב פרג'ות כפאיתך ואנמא כ'פת אמרך פגירת אלי אלוקוף ענדה תוקעי עקאבך [...] רהם. וקו' שבע ביום הללתיך (תהלים קיט:קסד) [112 ב] מן אלעדד גיר אלמכ'צוץ לדאתה לכנה יריד אלאכת'אר מן אלחמד ואלמת'אברה עליה. וקו' כי כל דרכי נגדך (תהלים קיט:קסח) יתנאול מעניין אלאול אני לם אכן מראיא פאסד להו אי וא[...]. לן אלחסני אד' עלמת אנך אלמטלע עליה מ[...]. עלתה. ואלת[א]ני אן יעני בקו' דרכו (תהלים קיט:קסח) אמאלי ואגראצ'י פלד'לך מא תקדמת אלי אממת'אל אואמרך ושראיעך אד' כאנת אמאלי מ[...]. ה בך פרג'ות אלוצול אליהא בד'לך והד'א מת'ל לב אדם יחשב דכרו (משלי טז:ט). ודכרו יחפץ (תהלים לז:כג). ושה אובד (תהלים קיט:קעו) יעני אלשארד מן אלקטיעה ולא יהתדי אלי אלעודה אליהא ויכון מונת'א ומד'כרא וקד ביינא חקיקה ד'לך פי כתאב אלתד'כיר אלת'אניה.</p>	<p>שיר המעלות אל ייי</p>
<p>בצרתה לי (תהלים קכ:א) וגו' ורמיה (תהלים קכ:ב) פי קו' לשון רמיה (תהלים קכ:ב) צפה ללשון עלי זנה נקיה עניה פעלי הד'א יכון ללמד'כר רמי עלי זנה נקי עני. ולמא ג'א קו' מה יתן לך (תהלים קכ:ג) בלפט' אלסואל כאן אלגו'אב חצי גבור שנונים (תהלים קכ:ד) וג'וז אן יעני [113 א] בקו' כי גרת משך (תהלים קכ:ה) מלוך אלפרס ויונאן אל'דין הם מן נסל יפת. וקו' שכנתי עם אהלי קדר (תהלים קכ:ה) אלערב אל'דין יסכנון אלברארי פי אלאכ'ביה פקד ימכן כון הד'א אלקול עאמא קיל בלפט' אלכ'צוץ פיעבר ען אלאמה ג'מעא בללפט' אלפראד וען ג'מיע אלאעדא במשך וקדר וקד ימכן אן יבתלי וחדה במכאבדה אלמד'כורין. וקד אני שלום (תהלים קכ:ז) יעני איש שלום אי מסאלם להם. וקו' וכי אדבר (תהלים קכ:ז) ועני מהמא אכ'אטבהם באלסלאם ויצ'מרון חראבי וקתאלי.</p>	<p>שיר למעלות אשא</p>
<p>ותסמי שיר למעלות (תהלים קכא:א) לאנהא טו' דרג'ה וטו' שיר פכאן ענד צעודה פי כל דרג'ה ונזולה מנהא יקול שיר. וקו' אל יתן למוט רגלך (תהלים קכא:ג) פי מעני לא לאן לפט'ה אלכ'אצה באלדעא ואלאכרא[ה] הנא אליק באלמעני וכד'לך פי קו' וישח אדם וישפל איש ואל תשא להם (ישעיהו ב:ט) ויעני בקו' יִי צִלְךָ עַל יַד יְמִינֶךָ (תהלים קכא:ה) אנה ואקיר מן חית' תתק[י]ך ואנמא עבר ע[נה] אלפאצ'ל לקו' השמש [113 ב] לא יכבה (תהלים קכא:ו) פאלפצ'ל הו אלד'י יוקי מן חר אלשמס. ואמא קו' וירח בלילה (תהלים קכא:ו) פליס מן טריק אלצ'ל לאן למא ד'כר אלשמס באלנהאר אזוג'ה בד'כר אלקמר באלליל ואלמרעד בה חואדת' אלנהאר ואלליל פלמא אצ'אף חואדת' אלנהאר אלי אלשמס והי מוצופה באלחר ג'על אלצ'ל ואקיא מנהא ת'ם וצף חואדת' אלליל פצ'מהא אלי אלקמר ולם תדכ'ל פי מא יוקיה אלטל לכן מא יוקיה אללה ואן אסתעיר לה צ'ל פעלי סביל מג'אז והד'א אלוצף כלה למן עזרי¹⁶⁰⁰ מעם ייי (תהלים קכא:ב) פלו אנה ג'א עלי לפט' אלמתכלם אלמבתדא בה לכאן חסנא לכנה עדל ענה אלי לפט' אלמכ'אטבה עלי מא ג'אז פי גירה.</p>	<p>שיר המעלות לדוד</p>

עזרו. Ms. 1600

<p>וקו' ירושלים הבנויה כעיר שחברה לה יחדו (תהלים קכב:ג). לים יריד אצ'אפתהא אלי אסם בנית כבניאנהא ינבגי למת'להא ויצלח במדינה תקתרון בהא ת'ם ג'אב אלעלה אלתי תוג'ב להא ד'לך אנהא מוהלה ללחג' אליהא [114 א] ועבאדה אללה פיהא פקאל ששם עלו שבטים (תהלים קכב:ד). וקו' עדות לישראל (תהלים קכב:ד) יעני בה אלדליל עלי וג'וב חג' אלשבטים אליהא כונהא מנבר אלמלך כמא קאל כי שמה ישבו כסאות למשפט (תהלים קכב:ה) פאכת'רה אללה מן דון גירה וכ'צה בה מן אלפצ'ילתין וכלף עבאדה אלקצד אלי מכאן אלמלך מן דון תכליף אלמלך אלכ'רוג' מן מכאנה אלי סואה. ת'ם עאד יכ'אטב אלחג'אג' בקו' שאלו שלום ירושלם (תהלים קכב:ו) למא גאבוא ענהא ת'ם עאדו אלי אלחג' ת'אניה פכאנה יסל צדיקא ג'אב ענה ען חאלה פי מדה גיבה. ועאד ידעו להם פי את'נא מכל'אטבתה איאהא בקו' ישליו אוהביך (תהלים קכב:ו) ת'ם אנה עלל חבה להא ואראדתה דעתהא בכון אלמחבין פיהא ואלחאג'ין אליהא חזבה וקומה כמא קאל למען אחי ורעי (תהלים קכב:ח) ובכונהא מכאן אלעבאדה ומחל אלקדם כמא קאל למען בית ייי אלהינו אבקש טוב לך (תהלים קכב:ט). והד'א אלקול יעני בה דוד נפסה והו ישבה ממא אפתתח בה מן קו' שמחתי באמרים לי בית ייי נלך (תהלים קכב:א). ולים פי קו' פי בעץ' שיר המעלות מן [114 ב] דון ד'כר דוד במוג'ב אלא יכון ד'לך אלשיר לדוד פאלאולי אן ננסבה אליה אד' מעט'ם אלספר לה חתי יצח גיר ד'לך וכד'לך נקול פי מזמור שיר ליום השבת (תהלים צב:א) ופי הללויה פי והודו ליי ומזמור לתודה (תהלים ק:א) וגיר ד'לך ממא לם יאתי ביאן קאילה. והד'א אלשיר מע אלתאליה אלי שיר המעלות לשלמה (תהלים קכז:א) מערב ען לסאן אלאמה.</p>	<p>שיר המעלות אליך</p>
<p>וקו' הלעג השאננים (תהלים קכג:ד) מת'ל הממלכות הארץ (ירמיהו כה:כו) כאנה קאל הלעג לעג השאננים הממלכות ממלכות הארץ לאנה לא יג'וז בין אלעהד ואלאצ'אפה פיתנאקץ' ¹⁶⁰¹ אלמעני לאן מא ערף באלעהד קד אסתבד בנפסה וערף בד'אתה ואלמצ'אף לא יערף אלא באלמצ'אף אליה. ואמא הבוז לגאיונים (תהלים קכג:ד) פליס במצ'אף לאן אללאם קד פצלת אלאצ'אפה. וגאיונים (תהלים קכג:ד) פעלונים עלי אלתמאם לאנה מן גאה והו צפה יעני אלמתכברין אלמתשאמכ'ין. ויעני וקו' בקום [115 א] עלינו אדם (תהלים קכד:ב) מן גיר מתל'נא.</p>	<p>שיר המעלות לדוד</p>
<p>לולי יי שהיה לנו (תהלים קכד:א). ונחלה (תהלים קכד:ד) יעני נחל מת'ל נחלה מצרים (במדבר לד:ה) לאנה קד ישבה אלג'יש אלעט'ים באלנהר אלעט'ים כמא קאל כה אמר ייי הנה מים עולים והיו לנחל שוטף ¹⁶⁰² וישפטו ארץ ומלואה (ירמיהו מז:ב). וקאל ולכן הנה ייי מעלה עליהם את מי הנהר העצומים והרבים (ישעיהו ח:ז). וקו' לשניהם (תהלים קכד:ו) עלי מעני אנהם אסר וליות'</p>	<p>שיר המעלות הבטחים</p>
<p>וקו' כהר ציון לא ימוט (תהלים קכה:א) אסתטראד אלי אלאסתבשאר אן הר ציון לא ימוט (תהלים קכה:א) לאן אהלה בוטחים ביי (תהלים קכה:א) לאנה חתי אלאן לם יצח אן הר ציון לא ימוט. ומעני קו' כי לא ינוח שבט הרשע על גורל הצדיקים (תהלים קכה:ג) פאסתבשר באנה לא יסתקר אלפאסקין כילא יגוהם ולא יצ'להם כמא קאל למען לא ישלחו הצדיקים בעולתה ידיהם (תהלים קכה:ג) והו מן קול אלכתאב [115 ב] לא תכרת להם ללאלהים ברית (שמות כג:לב) לא ישבו בארצך פן יחטיאו אותך לי (שמות כג:לג). קו' והמטים עקלקלותם (תהלים קכה:ה) מכל'תצר עבר ענה באכ'רה אן</p>	

¹⁶⁰¹ Ms. 'פ. תנאקץ.

¹⁶⁰² Ms. added. ויבאו.

<p>אולה לאן חקה והמטים דרכיהם ויהי עקלקלות מת'ל ולעות מאזני מרמה (עמוס ח:ה) והד'א ידל עלי אנהם כאנוא קבל עלי סראט מסתקים ת'ם צארוא אלי גי וצ'לאל בפסאד פכרה ותכ'יל מחאלי ולד'לך יקול יוליכם ייי את פעלי האון (תהלים קכה:ה) לאן ארתדאדהם ען אלקואם ואלדיאנה יוג'ב להם אלהאקהם במן נשא עלי טריק אלפסק בל באשד מנהם.</p>
<p align="right">שיר המעלות בשוב</p>
<p>ומעני היינו כחלמים (תהלים קכו:א) ממא לם ניקן בד'לך במא בלגנא אלצ'ר ואלד'י פחסבנאה חלמא במא בדלנא מן חזננא פרחא ועוצ'נא מן כרבנא סרורא במא קאל הגדיל ייי לעושת עמנו שמהים (תהלים קכו:ג). וקו' כאפיקים בנגב (תהלים קכו:ד) יעני אנא בחאל אלתשווק אלי עטפך עלינא פאנה יחמלנא מת'ל [116 א] סואקי אלמא פי ארץ' אלג'נוב לאנהא מפרטה אחר אלא תרי אן ארץ' אלחבשה פיהא וקד אפרט אחר עלי אהלהא פאסדות אלואנהם וקד קיל אנה מן מעני אלג'פוף תרג' חרבו המים (בראשית ח:יג) נגובו מיא (אונקלוס ח:יג) ת'ם אכ'ד' פי וצף חלול אלמא פי תלך אלארץ' אלעטשא אלתי כאן ייס אהלהא מן נבאת מא זרעוה פיהא וכאן אלזארע קד בכא אספא פי מא מצ'י מן כ'יבתה ואנפאקה ת'ם עאד פארחא מסרורא במא חצדה מן זרעה וחמלה מן ג'רן חצידה. ועלי הד'א אלמג'אז איצ'א יכ'רג' קול הזורעים בדמעה ברנה יקצרו (תהלים קכו:ה) לאנה לו אראד וקת זרעהם וכאן אלמריד ללזרע די אלארץ' לא תתאתי לד'לך אלקחט ואלג'דב לאמתנע מן אלזרע ואנמא יריד אלזארעין אלד'י זרעוה פי מא מצ'י עלי תרי ת'ם אנהם ראוא בעד ד'לך מן אלקחט מא אספוא ונדמוא עלי מן זרעוה לקוא בעד ד'לך מא סרוא בה ואיקנהם בחצדהם למא זרעוה.</p>
<p align="right">[116 ב] שיר המעלות לשלמ[ה]</p>
<p>קו' שיר המעלות לשלמה (תהלים קכז:א) יעני מא קאלה דוד ממא ואפק פעל שלמה פי בניאן אלבית וכאנה מערץ' בנפסה למא הם בבניאנה ומנע מנה ואכ'תיר אבנה מן דונה. וקו' אם ייי לא ישמר עיר (תהלים קכז:א) תעט'ים לחאל אלמדינה אנהא גניה ען חראם אד'א כאן אללה חראמהא. ושקד (תהלים קכז:א) יעני ואצ'ב. וקו' שוא לכם משכימי קום (תהלים קכז:ב) כנאיה ען אלג'אהדין ואלכ'איבין פיקול באטלא מא סעיתם מן קיאם אלאסחאר ואואכ'ר אלליאלי ואלסהר פי אואילהא ואכל כ'יזכם בשקא פמן אחבה אללה ינאם ליאליה וינאל אמאניה מן גיר שקא ומן דון ענא. ולמא קאל כחצים ביד גבור (תהלים קכז:ד) אסתעאר להם ג'עבה פקאל אשר מלא את אשפתו מהם (תהלים קכז:ד). וקו' ולא יבושו (תהלים קכז:ה). עאיד עלי אלגבור אלואלד להם מת'ל נסו ואין רדף רשע (משלי כח:א). וידברו (תהלים קכז:ה) ראג'ע עלי אלואלד. ויג'וז צרפה מא מעא אלי אלאבא וצרפהמא מעא [117 א] אלי אלאבנא ואמא צרף צ'מיר יבשו אלי אלאבנא מע כון צ'מיר ידברו ללאבנא פיעני אד'א פלג' אלאבנא אעדאיהם סר אלאבא במא ירונה מן צלאח אבנאיהם כמא קאל חכם בני ושמח לבי וג' (משלי כז:יא) וכון ואלצ'מירין ללאבנא מתג'ה לאנהם יסתאת'רון בפצ'להם עלי מנאויהם ומנאזעיהם.</p>
<p align="right">שיר המעלות אשרי</p>
<p>כל ירא יי וג' (תהלים קכח:א) ווצף ירא ייי באלקנאעה ואלאקתצאר פי דניאה עלי מא לא בד מנה פיהא בקו' יגיע כפיך כי תאכל אשריך וג' (תהלים קכח:ב) אשתך כגפן פוריה בירכתי ביתיך (תהלים קכח:ג) יעי' אנה ינאל רזקה מן חלה ועלי וג'הה ואנה ינכח מראה ולודא מצונא ד'את עפאף. ושבה אלבנים כשתילי זתים (תהלים קכח:ג) והו גיר מואפק לתשביהה אלזוג'ה כגפן פוריה אלא לו קאל פיהא כזית רענן (תהלים נב:י) או יקול פי אלבנין כאשכולות ענבים (שיר השירים ז:ט) פיג'מע עלי אלאם ואלבנין פצל אלואצפון כמא קאל צדיק [117 ב] כתמר יפרח (תהלים צב:יג) פי אלת'מאר כארז בלבנון ישגה (תהלים צב:יג) פי אלאנתשאר פאלג'פאן אסרע לקחא ואכת'ר ת'מרא וגרוס אלזיתון אטול עמרא ואשד ת'באתא.</p>

שיר המעלות רבת
<p>צרוני וג' (תהלים קכט:א) וקו' האריכו למעניתם (תהלים קכט:ג) יעני לג'נתהם והו מקדאר יחרת'ה אלת'ור פי סירה חתי יעוד מתכרר פיקול עלי וג'ה אלאסתעארה אנהם זאדוהא מקדארהא. וקו' עבות רשעים (תהלים קכט:ד) יע' מא להם מן אלטאעה ואלאנקיאר לאמרהם עלי מג'אז ונשליכה ממנו עבתימו (תהלים ב:ג) וקו' שקמת שלף יבש (תהלים קכט:ו) יעני אנהא ליסת כאלסנאבל אלת' תפרך' ען חב מאכול ותאול אלי חצאד ותקבץ' לכנהא תד'בל ושיכ'א ותג'ף סריעא. ת'ם חכי מרור אלמתצ'יפין מסלמין עלי ארבאע אלצ'יאע ומסתג'דין להם בקו' ולא אמרו העברים וג' (תהלים קכט:ח) וחצנו (תהלים קכט:ז) מנכבה הי באד'א אלמנכב מן אלת'וב בקו' גם חצני נערת' (נחמיה ה:יג) והביאו בניך בחצן (ישעיהו מט:כב).</p>
[118 א] שיר המעלות ממעמקים
<p>וקשובות (תהלים קל:ב) וזנה פעולות דל עלי וג'וד קשב אלת'קיל מת'ל שכל (בראשית מח:יד) וקד יג'וז איצ'א כונה לקשב אלכ'פיף לאן אלג'נב אלכ'פיף וסלח (תהלים פו:ה) משדודאן והמא מן אלכ'פיף. וקו' למען תורא (תהלים קל:ד) מ(ס)תקבל נורא (יואל ב:יא) אלמאצ'י ואלמסתקבל יורא תורא עלי זנה תוקש בו (דברים ז:כה). ואלמעני רג'א גפראנך מן חית' כ'שי עקאבך לאנך לו עאקבת עלי כל ד'נב ארתפע מעני אלתקוי אד' כאנת אלנפס קד וטנת עלי אלעקובה ובאלחרי אן גפרת ג'מיע אלד'נב אלא יבני אלא מא יתקי. אלא תרי אנה וצל ד'כר אלרג'א בד'כר אלמכ'אף פקאל קויתי ייי קוטה נפשי (תהלים קל:ה) אי רג'תה נפסי אכת'ר מן רג'א אלחראס רויה אלצבאח ת'ם כ'צץ הד'א מא יחתרסון בעד אכר חרסוא קבלהם אד' הם אקרב אלי אלצבאח פיקול אנה ת'לג מן בלוג רג'איה אכת'ר מן רג'איהם פידנוא אלצבאח ואלושיך ויחל ישראל (תהלים קל:ז) אמר מן אלת'קיל וחקה תשדיד חאוה עלי זנה דבר.</p>
[118 ב] שיר המעלות לדוד
<p>ייי לא גבה וג' (תהלים קלא:א) יעני קו' לא גבה לבי למ תשמך' נפסה במא צאר אל[י] מן אלאמר פיהמלה ד'לך עלי תצ'יי[ע]א[מ]ר[מ] אלכ'לק וחקוק אלכ'לק. וקו' ולא רמו עיני (תהלים קלא:א) יע' אן תטמח נפסה ענד מא שער באלסעאדה אנהא פי אלזיאדה אלי בלוג אלראדה פי אמור אד'א נאלהא נקצתה ענד רבה ותורע מנהא סו אלג'זא וקבח אלת'נא ואחתמל ענהא צפה אלג'ור וינסב מן אג'להא אלי אלט'לם ובאלחרי אלא תטמח אלי ניל מא יעוז עליה נילה ולא תתעאטי מא ימתנע עליה אדראכה כמא קאל ולא הלכתי בגדולות ובנפלאות ממני (תהלים קלא:א). ויעני בקו' אם לא שויתי ודוממתי נפשי (תהלים קלא:ב) אם לא שויתי נפשי כגמול עלי אמו ודוממתי עלי כמוהו פאלמעני אני ג'עלת נפסי מני מת'ל אלמפטום מן אמה וצברתהא עלי מת'לה מן אלרצ'אע פיקול אני קד אלזמת נפסי מן אלצבר ען שהואת אלדניא [119 א] מכ'תארא מת'ל מא ילזמה אלמפטום מצ'טרא ודוממתי (תהלים קלא:ב) מן מעני [וי]דם אהרן (ויקרא י:ג) דום ליי (תהלים לז:ז) וכל'ה מן אלצבר ואלתוקף ת'ם קאל וכד'לך ינ[...]. ללמתקין מן אלרג'א פי אללה מן דון אלתחרך [...] מא יקוון בה כמא יקול יח[ל] ישראל אל ייי (תהלים קלא:ג).</p>
שיר המעלות זכור
<p>ייי לדוד וגו' (תהלים קלב:א) וענותו (תהלים קלב:א) מצדר ממא למ יסם פאעלה אעני ענה ווזנה מן אלסלאם כי גנב גנבתי (בראשית מט:ו) ומת'לה מצדרא למ יסם פאעלה מן אלרבאעי הגד הגד לי (רות ב:יא) והחתל לא חלתת (יחזקאל טז:ד) ומן אלאפאעיל אחרי הכבס את הנגעי (ויקרא יג:נה). וקו' שנת לעיני (תהלים קלב:ד) ממא אג'תמע פיה דליל אלאצ'אפה באלתא פי שנת ואלאנפצאל פי לאם לעיני ואמא קלנא הד'א אלקול פיה מן מא קלנא מן דון אקחאמהא פי מימין</p>

<p>לבית (יחזקאל י:ג) מצפון לנחל (יהושע יז:ט) לכמאל שרט אלאצ'אפה פי הד'ין [נ]קצאנהא פי שנת בכון אלנון קמוצה וקד יג'וז יריד שנתי פחד'ף אלצ'מיר ובקית דלאלה אלנון עלי מא כאנת [119 ב] עליה [ומ]עה וכד'לך אקול פי ייי מנת חלקי וכוסי (תהלים טז:ה) לאנה [ירי]ד מנתי חל'קי וכו]סי לאן אלמנת [הו] אלחלק ו[כוסי] צבת ו[מ]נת המלך (דברי הימים ב לא:ג) באלקמ'ץ [אל]ס[.תו]אלבא[... ..] עזי וזמרת יה (שמות טו:ב) יעני וזמרתו ואמא מן ג'על[ה אלא]צ'אפא אל[... ..] פיה פכה אללה אנה כאן לי[... ..]א[... ..]כן מת'ל מז[מרת] [ה]א[ר]ץ (בראשית מג:יא) פתח אלרא [....] פאן לפט'ה זמרה [לא נסי]ב אלי אללה עלי הד'א אלוג'ה לכן עלי תצ[ביח ל]מן עבאדה פיה כמא צאר להם תהלה כמא קאל תהלתך. ופי קו' לעפעפי תנומה (תהלים קלב:ד) דליל עלי מא קלנא מן אן מנולה אלתנומה אקל אלשנה לאנה בעד נפי אלכת'יר יצח נפי אלקליל ולו א[נ]ה יבת[די נ]פי אלקליל גני ען נפי אלכת'יר. [וקו']עד א[מ]צא[מקום] (תהלים קלב:ה) יעני אנה לם יזל מכל'תארא [אן]אלקדם [..] אעלם אנה הו מבית לחם אן [פרתה] אלמכ' [תאר] לארתיאדה אלמעטמד [..]אכת[... ..]ה כמ'א קאל[לה עלה והקם ליי מזבח (שמואל ב כד:יח) וקאל ד[ו]ד [....] בית [....] וכד'לך אלמוצ'ע ב'וֹנִי</p>	<p>(141)</p>
<p>[אל תער] (תהלים קמא:ח) ... [23 א] ויערו את הארון (דברי הימים ב כד:יא) וקאל יפלו במכמרי רשעים (תהלים קמא:י) פקדם אלצ'מיר עלי אלפאעל ותקדירה יפלו רשעים במכמוריהם יחד. וקו' אנכי עד אעבור (תהלים קמא:י) כד'לך לאן חקה עד אעבור אנכי.</p>	
<p>משכיל לדוד בהיותו במערה תפלה</p>	
<p>במערה תהלה (תהלים קמב:א) ובהתעטף (תהלים קמב:ד) יעני ענד אלתואיהא וקו' נתיבתי (תהלים קמב:ד) יע' קוים טריקתי. הביט ימין וראה (תהלים קמב:ד) מצדראן פי מוצ'ע אביט ימין ואראה מתל הסר משם כל שה נקוד וטלוא (בראשית ל:לב) ביד דוד עבדי הושע את עמי ישראל (שמואל ב ג:יח). ויומי בקו' הוציאה ממסגר נפשי (תהלים קמב:ח) אלג'אר אלמסדוד עליה בקום שאול פלא יטיק בראחא. ומעני יכתירו צדיקים (תהלים קמב:ד) יצנעונני אכלילא על'י [....]הם במא ישאהדון מן חט'י לדיך.</p>	
<p>מור לדוד ייי שמע</p>	
<p>תפלתי וג' (תהלים קמג:א) וחיתי (תהלים קמג:ג) מן צפאת אלנפס. וקיל ישתומם (תהלים קמג:ד) בט'הור אלתא מוכ'רה ען אלסין ולמה תשומם (קהלת ז:טז) [23 ב] אדגאמהא מקדמה עליה ואשוחח (תהלים קמג:ה) מצ'אעף מן אשוח ומת'לה ואת דורו מי ישוחח (ישעיהו נג:ח) ויושך אן [י]כון [....] אלמצ'עיף ללמ'ו[אצ'בה עלי ד'לך. וקו']נפשי כארץ עיפה לך סלה (תהלים קמג:ו) תקדירה נפשי עיפה לך כארץ עיפה למ'ה[פאוג'ז ופסר ד'לך פי קו']כלתה רוחי (תהלים קמג:ז) אלד'י מענאה תשוקת נפסי כמא קאל נכספה וגם כלתה (תהלים פד:ג). ואל'יך כסיתי (תהלים קמג:ט) יעני א'וית לך עלי מעני שמת'יך כסות לי. וקו' תנחני בארץ מישור (תהלים קמג:י) אכ'באר ען אלוהא אנהא תפעל ד'לך.</p>	
<p>לדוד ברוך ייי צורי</p>	
<p>וקו' חסדי ומצודתי (תהלים קמד:ב) יע' אלד'י חסדי וכד'לך אקול פי תאות אדם חסדו (משלי יט:כב) יעני איש חסדו. והרודד (תהלים קמד:ב) יעני אלבאסט והו מת'ל תרג'ום וירק[עו את] פחי הזהב (שמות לט:ג) [ורדידו] (אונקלוס שמות לט:ג) מן [....] אלמפעול [ל לב] [..] אנה מתעד אלי גוים במעני אלמ[ד] [ד] [....]ב ען אלפעל אעני לסבב ארץ אדום [....] [..] הסלת קו' מה אדם ותדעו (תהלים קמד:ג) יע' שרחתה</p>	

1603	(73)
<p>[1 א] אבן ג'קט¹⁶⁰⁴ עברו משכיות לבב (תהלים עג:ז) תג'אודוא אפכאר אלקלוב אי אפכארהם תפות אפכאר אלנאס ותעלו עליהא קאל פוצ'ל משכיות מכאן מחשבות לאן שכוי (איוב לח:לו) ונעת ללקלב וד'לך לאחד וג'הין אמא אן יכון מג'אנסא ללסריאני [1 ב] עני תרגום והמצפה (בראשית לא:מט) וסכותא (תרגום אונקלוס בראשית לא:מט) פוצפה באלנט'ר כק' ולבי ראה (קהלת א:טז)</p> <p>אבן ג'קטילה וקול שתו ב[שמים פיהם] (תהלים עג:ט) עלי סביל אלאגיא אנהם יחסבו אואמרהם¹⁶⁰⁵ מת'ל אקראר אלסמא אלנאפד'ה ואלעצ'ו אלנאטק בהא אנמא הו ארץ' ד'קך קו' לושון[נם] תה[לך] בא[רץ] (תהלים עג:ט)</p> <p>[9 א] אבן ג'קטילה ז"ל¹⁶⁰⁶ לכן ישוב עמו הלום (תהלים עג:י) אי מן אג'ל הד'א עאד שעבה דכא ורצ'א ואמתצוא כאס אלסם מלא</p> <p>אם [אמרת] אספרה כמו (תהלים עג:טו) ומא תלאה אלי אכ'ר אלמקאל.</p> <p>והו יחתמל וג'האן מן אלתאויל אל אן יכון כלאם אלולי עאל פי נפסה.</p> <p>ואלת'אני אן יכון כלאם אלולי עלי לסאן ד'אתה והו יעני אמתה עלי מא תקדם אלכלאם פי אול אלמקאל והו אלאקרב</p> <p>[2 א] אבן ג'קט¹⁶⁰⁷ עאד יעתד'ר ען סהוה פי קו' ואני בער וכו' (תהלים עג:כב) אני כנת פי מנזלה אלבהאים ג'הלא ענד מא כאן לך מן אלסר ובאלאצ'אפה אלי מא לדיך מן אלאתר אלמכאן ומע ד'לך פלם פלאכ'ל מן כרים ענאיתך בי אלי אן הדיתני אלי אלצחיה פתתופאני ען כראמה ועז הו קו' ואנ תמיד וכו' בעצתך וכו'¹⁶⁰⁸</p>	
<p>(74) [משכיל לאסף]</p>	
<p>[11 א] אבן ג'קטילה ז"ל¹⁶⁰⁹ קול למשואות נצח (תהלים עד:ג) ידעוא אן ידמוא עלי מת'ל ד'לך אלחאל מן אלכ'דיעה ויתורטוא אבדא פי אלמהאלך.</p> <p>קאל ויג'וז אן יריד הרימה פעמיך למשואות נצח אויב כל הרע בקדש יעני מהמא אצ'ר באלקדס. ומת'לה כל תשא עון וקח</p> <p>[12 א] טוב (הושע יד:ג) יעני מהמא תגפר [...] בנא כ'ד אפצ'ל ענדנא</p>	
1610	(93)

¹⁶⁰³ The following quotations are found in an Anonymous Commentary on Psalms. Many additional citations are found in the commentary that match those found in the synopsis of Ibn Chiquitilla's Psalm commentary.

¹⁶⁰⁴ EVR ARAB I 3734 until [לושין[נם] תה[לך] בא[רץ]].

¹⁶⁰⁵ Ms. אואמסהם.

¹⁶⁰⁶ EVR ARAB I 1409 until אלאקרב.

¹⁶⁰⁷ EVR ARAB I 3734 until ואני בער.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Not sure if this is him.

¹⁶⁰⁹ EVR ARAB I 1409 until ענדנא.

¹⁶¹⁰ The following text is a citation of Ibn Chiquitilla on Ps.93:3 found in commentary Tanḥûm Yershalmi's commentary on Psalms.

[1v] וקאל אבן ג'קטליה. אן אלגרין' פי קול נשאו נהרות קולם (תהלים צג:ג) תשביה שגאה זמאנה מן אלמלוך אלעצאה
וצולתהם כאצואת אלאנהרא חין תהתאג' ותזבד ואעלאמהם באן אלבחאר אד'א תכסרת אשר מן אהתיאג'הא ואן אללה
אעט'ם מנהא ומן כל עט'ים דאך¹⁶¹¹

¹⁶¹¹ London, BL: OR 10822.26 (Gaster 1307.26).

Rabbinic References

<i>ʿAvoth dā-Rabbi Nathan</i>	194	<i>TB Bava Kamma</i>	391
<i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i>	355	<i>TB Bava Meṣiʿa</i>	38, 97, 190
<i>Ecclesiastes Rabbah</i>	435	<i>TB Berakhoth</i>	191, 343, 435
<i>ʿEliyahu Rabbah</i>	234	<i>TB ʿEruvin</i>	162, 165
<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>	202, 347, 396	<i>TB Giṭṭin</i>	193, 194
<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>	279, 340, 347, 396	<i>TB Ḥagigah</i>	354, 355
<i>Jonathan ben ʿUzziʿel</i> ...	28, 40, 64, 87, 98, 122, 187, 188, 248, 350, 351, 396	<i>TB Ḥullin</i>	193, 429
<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>	279, 355	<i>TB Megilah</i>	165, 252
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<i>Mekhilta of Simon Bar Yôḥai</i>	297	<i>TB Menaḥoth</i>	175, 355
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ʿahl al-luḡa [community of speakers], 383, 395, 429
al-wujh al-qiyâs [by way of analogy], 240
ʿamal [governance], 138
ʿâmil [governor], 138, 232, 238
ʿaql [intellect], 153, 154, 155, 345, 346, 353, 388
ʿarība [seventh heaven], 351
ʿaṣl [underlying form, basic form], 23, 83, 176, 178, 179, 180, 235, 240, 296, 310, 371, 372, 381, 382, 391, 406, 407
ʿaṣl al-luḡa [basic sense of the language], 371, 372
ʿasmaḡtâ [allusion], 195, 202
ʿawwâ ʿil [ancestors], 192, 435
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daḡeṣ [doubling], 187
dahiri [eternalist], 454
dahr [eternal], 52, 110
dahriyya [eternalism], 51, 110
dalil [proof], 235, 247, 248, 386
ḡamîr [conscience], 344
ḡarb [form], 235, 424
ḡarb maṡal li-ṣay [the analogue of the matter], 424
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ʿinfiṣâl [separated], 259, 274
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ʿittisâl [interrelation], 145
ʿiwaḍ [compensation], 235
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jîns [species, root], 235
kinâya [euphemism], 412
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Journal Abbreviations

Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism

AJS Review: Association of Jewish Studies Review

BDB: Brown, Driver, and Briggs

Beit Mikra: Journal for the Study of the Bible and Its World

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

Edebiyat: The Journal of Middle Eastern Literature

EJIM – Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World

EI - Encyclopedia of Islam

JQR: The Jewish Quarterly Review

Hebrew Studies: National Association of Professors of Hebrew (NAPH)

HL: Historiographia Linguistica: International Journal for the History of the Language Sciences

JSAI: Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam

JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society

JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies

Lěšonénu: A Journal for the Study of the Hebrew Language and Cognate Subjects

MEAH: Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraico

Pe'amim: Studies in Oriental Jewry

Sinai: Yarḥon la-Torah, ule-mada'e ha-Yahadut

Tarbiz: Tarbiz Journal for the Study of Judaism: In the Persian Hellenistic & Roman Period

ZAL: Zeitschrift Fur Arabische Linguistik

ZAVA: Zeitschrift Für Assyriologie Und Vorderasiatische Archäologie

ZAW: Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZHB: Zeitschrift für hebraeische Bibliographie

ZGAIW: Zeitschrift Für Geschichter Der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften

Bibliography Abbreviation

Al-Jāmi ' = (Al-Fāsi and Skoss 1936)

Al-Mustalḥaq = (J. Martínez Delgado 2020)

Al-Muwāzana = (Kokovtsov 1970)

Al-Nutaf = (Basal 2001)

Al-Lîn = (Sivan and Wated 2011)

Al-Risāla = (Ibn Quraysh and Becker 1984)

'Amânât = (Qafîḥ 1969)

Ibn Bal'am, Isaiah = (Ibn Bal'am, Goshen-Gottstein, and Perez 1992)

Ibn Ezra, Isaiah = (Friedlaender 1878) (Chapter 1-39)

Ha-Riqmâ = (Derenbourg and Ibn Janāḥ 1886)

HaŠôrāšîm = (Abū al-Walīd Merwan Ibn Janāḥ and Ibn Tibbon 1896)

Maḥberet = (Á. Sáenz-Badillos 1986)

Muḥâḍara = (A. S. Halkin 1975; M. ben Y. Ibn Ezra and Abumalham Mas 1985)

Mōznāyîm = (M. S. Goodman 2016b)

Miḳlôl = (Qimhi, Hoehheimer, and Rittenberg 1966)

Rashi, Psalms = (Gruber 2004)

Ṣaḥôṭ = (M. S. Goodman 2016a)

Se'adyah, Exodus = (Ratzaby 1998)

Se'adyah, Isaiah = (Ratzaby 1993b)

Se'adyah, Psalms = (Qafih 1966)

Šôrāšîm = (Biesenthal and Lebrecht 1847)

Targûm, Psalms = (Stec 2004)

ʿUṣûl = (Abū al-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ and Neubauer 1888)

Jepheth b. Eli = *Libri Psalmorum*

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Résumé de Thèse

Chapitre 1

Le commentaire des Psaumes d'Ibn Chiquitilla est le plus long de ses commentaires de la Bible. Le commentaire est sur les Psaumes se trouve dans neuf manuscrits. Le n° 1 a été identifié par Poznański, tandis que M. Perez a identifié les n° 2, 3, 5 et 8. Au cours de mon enquête, j'ai pu identifier les numéros 4, 6 et 7 comme étant tirés du commentaire d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur les Psaumes. Allony a affirmé que le numéro 9 avait été écrit par Ibn Chiquitilla, ce qui est discutable. Aucune version n'existe, mais tous les manuscrits peuvent être consultés au Friedberg Geniza Project, <https://fgp.genizah.org/FgpFrames.aspx?mode=home>,

La manière dont Ibn Chiquitilla organise son commentaire sur les Psaumes rappelle d'autres commentaires médiévaux sur la Bible, tels que ceux écrits par Rashi (1040-1105) et Abraham Ibn Ezra (né en 1089-1092, mort en 1164-1167). Son contenu est essentiellement exégétique, sémantique, morphologique, syntaxique et comprend des traductions de définitions de mots. Contrairement aux commentaires d'autres exégètes, celui d'Ibn Chiquitilla met davantage l'accent sur la grammaire et la rhétorique et comporte moins de tangentes philosophiques que celui d'Ibn Ezra. Cependant, son objectif et son contenu partagent des parallèles avec le commentaire de Juda Ḥayyūj, *al-Nutaf*, même s'il ne le connaissait pas.

La vie de Moïse ben Samuel Ha-Kohen Ibn Chiquitilla est largement inconnue. Il ne fait référence à lui-même que dans sa traduction en hébreu de la dissertation grammaticale *Kitāb al-Lîn* de Judah Ḥayyūj (vers 945-1000). Il y affirme être originaire de Cordoue. Nous apprenons par ailleurs qu'il a déménagé à Saragosse alors qu'il était enfant. Plus douteuse est l'affirmation selon laquelle il aurait rencontré Juda Ibn Bal'am. Cela correspond aux schémas d'émigration vers Saragosse de nombreux autres Juifs et non-Juifs, ainsi qu'à ce qui a déjà été rapporté dans *al-Muḥāḍara*. Une autre source de preuves pour des dates d'Ibn Chiquitilla

provient des preuves internes fournies par son commentaire des Psaumes. Ibn Chiquitilla était probablement d'âge moyen lorsqu'il a écrit son commentaire sur les Psaumes. Il avait déjà écrit son seul ouvrage grammatical, *Kitâb al-Taḍkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* [*Le livre des noms masculins et féminins*], ainsi qu'un commentaire sur plusieurs autres livres de la Bible.

Les sources juives mentionnées par Ibn Chiquitilla sont notre meilleur soutien interne pour sa date de naissance. Il a vécu beaucoup trop tard pour avoir connu Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq (vers 910/20-970) ou Dunash Ibn Labraṭ (né en 920-5 et mort en 985). Se'adyah (882-942), Juda Ḥayyûj (vers 945-1000) et Jonas Ibn Jana (né en 985-990) sont mentionnés par leurs titres honorifiques arabes respectivement. En outre, on peut ajouter que si l'affirmation d'Ibn Bal'am, selon laquelle il aurait rencontré Ibn Chiquitilla ou aurait correspondu avec lui, est vraie, alors ce dernier vivait vers 1085. Cela correspond à une date de naissance au début du 11^e siècle. La datation d'Ibn Chiquitilla est plus précise lorsqu'il est fait allusion à d'autres auteurs, soit directement dans leurs œuvres, soit par des allusions. Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla (né en 993 et mort après 1056) est cité dans son œuvre perdue *Rasâ'il al-Rifâq* [*L'épître des compagnons*], rédigée contre Ibn Janâḥ. La poésie hébraïque et arabe d'Ibn Chiquitilla fournit d'autres preuves de ses activités au milieu du XI^e siècle. Chaque poème de ce recueil est dédié à Samuel Ibn Naḡrîla ou à son fils Jehoseph (1035-1066). Une autre source qui réaffirme que la période de vie d'Ibn Chiquitilla est une référence à Salomon Ibn Gabirol (1020/21-1052/57/58/1070), en tant que *ba'da' ahl al-piyyûṭ* [*l'un des poètes*]. Le fait qu'Ibn Chiquitilla ait cité Salomon Ibn Gabirol dans ses écrits donne du crédit à la datation de la naissance d'Ibn Chiquitilla dans la première moitié du XI^e siècle. Ibn Gabirol est né à Malaga après que ses parents eurent fui Cordoue. Il finit par arriver à Saragosse *al-fitan al-kubrâ* (juillet 1013) comme tant d'autres émigrés, juifs et non juifs. Cela suggère qu'Ibn Chiquitilla a vécu à la même époque que d'autres rabbins qui ont été contraints de quitter leur patrie après 1013.

Ailleurs, dans une glose sur le Psaume 38:6, Ibn Chiquitilla critique une opinion anonyme en la qualifiant de *ṣarḥ al-mufasssir* (traduction de l'exégète). Sa critique

porte sur une interprétation de la métaphore des mouches mortes que l'on trouve chez Ibn Janâḥ (né en 985/990) et Isaac Ibn Ġiyyât (né à Lucena en 1038 et mort à Cordoue en 1089). Ibn Chiquitilla présente l'opinion de manière anonyme, *ṣarḥ al-mufasssir* ce qui rend difficile de déterminer à quel auteur Ibn Chiquitilla se réfère. En conclusion, bien que nous ne puissions être certains de la date de naissance d'Ibn Chiquitilla, compte tenu des preuves internes et externes, la date la plus probable est le début du XIe siècle, peut-être avant 1013, à Cordoue.

L'ouvrage le plus ancien attribué à Ibn Chiquitilla après son commentaire du Psaume est une traduction du livre de Job que Bacher a publiée à partir de la copie d'Oxford, MS. Huntington 511. (Neubauer 125). L'inclusion du nom d'Ibn Chiquitilla dans le premier folio correspond 3 aux citations d'Ibn Chiquitilla que l'on trouve dans son commentaire du Psaume et dans Ibn Ezra. Bacher cite également un commentaire anonyme à l'intérieur d'un manuscrit du *tafsîr* de Se'adyah sur le livre de Job qui inclut une opinion sur le Psaume 90:8 au nom d'Ibn Chiquitilla. Bacher a attribué la traduction de Job à Ibn Chiquitilla, mais ce n'est pas certain. Poznański a hésité à se rallier à l'identification de Bacher, mais Finkel n'était pas d'accord, considérant le texte comme une compilation des points de vue d'autres auteurs. Nous sommes d'accord avec la conclusion de Finkel concernant la paternité du texte et sa justification de l'exclusion d'Ibn Chiquitilla. En outre, nous fournissons des preuves supplémentaires à l'appui de l'idée que le commentaire de Job est une anthologie tirée de matériaux trouvés dans la Genizah. La thèse de Finkel repose sur une divergence entre la citation du Psaume 90:8 de l'auteur anonyme et les commentaires de la traduction de Job attribués à Ibn Chiquitilla. La racine 'L-M n'a été trouvée que dans la forme passive *Nip'al*, contrairement à l'affirmation de l'auteur anonyme selon laquelle Ibn Chiquitilla l'a traduite par une forme active *Qal* active. Selon Finkel, les commentaires du traducteur sur la forme passive de cette racine dans Job 33:25 doivent provenir d'une source différente en raison de cette incohérence. L'argument selon lequel le Psaume 90:8 du manuscrit d'Oxford contient une faute grammaticale qui réfute la paternité d'Ibn Chiquitilla est miné par une citation d'Ibn Chiquitilla que l'on peut trouver dans son commentaire du

Psaume. Ce qui est clair, c'est que la traduction de Job publiée dans Bacher contient certaines des opinions d'Ibn Chiquitilla. En effet, des parallèles entre la traduction de Job et Job 7:5 se trouvent dans le commentaire d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur les Psaumes.

Le fragment ci-dessus diffère légèrement du texte de Bacher, il emploie le terme *wataqaṭṭa* 'a, alors que dans le texte d'Ibn Chiquitilla il dit *taṣaqaqa*. Le sens est le même dans les trois textes, donc soit la variation du mot est la preuve de l'existence de deux versions, soit il s'agit d'une erreur de scribe, soit les deux versions ont des pedigrees manuscrits différents. Le fait qu'Ibn Chiquitilla fasse référence à une traduction et à un commentaire offre une autre explication à la disparité entre la traduction de Job par Bacher et la citation de son commentaire sur les psaumes. Par chance, deux citations du commentaire d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur le livre de Job ont survécu dans un cahier d'exercices pour enfants, qui éclairent ce qu'Ibn Chiquitilla voulait dire.

Il est également fait mention d'interprétations d'Isaïe, des douze petits prophètes et d'une traduction de la *haphṭarah* d'Habacuc dans une liste de livres datant du 13^e siècle. Si la liste des livres est précise, l'explication la plus probable est qu'Ibn Chiquitilla a écrit des commentaires [*tafsîr*] sur les livres bibliques et qu'il a rédigé une traduction séparée [*ṣarḥ*] des *haphṭaroth* hebdomadaires ou que ses commentaires étaient annexés à des traductions faites par d'autres.

Outre les citations mentionnées ci-dessus, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi (d. 1291 Fustât, Égypte) a fait d'autres allusions à Ibn Chiquitilla dans ses commentaires sur les Psaumes. Poznański a identifié des commentaires sur l'Ecclésiaste 8:1 et 10:17 comme exemples supplémentaires du commentaire d'Ibn Chiquitilla, ainsi que des passages de Josué, Habacuc, d'Isaïe, de Jérémie et d'Ezéchiel. Ibn Bal'am et un commentaire de psaume anonyme, tous deux écrits entre 1105 et 1128, fournissent des commentaires qui ne se trouvent pas dans les œuvres d'Ibn Chiquitilla.

Enfin, Ibn Chiquitilla a également écrit un livre de grammaire, *Kitâb al-Taḍkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* [*Le livre des noms masculins et féminins*], de la poésie et a traduit le livre de

grammaire de Ḥayyûj, *Kitâb al-Tanqîṭ* (*Sepher Ha-Niqqud*). Ibn Chiquitilla semble avoir été l'un des premiers à traduire et peut-être à familiariser le sud de la France avec la culture grammaticale et exégétique ibérique que l'on retrouve dans les théories de Ḥayyûj. Ce texte, on apprend qu'il connaissait le latin et les langues romanes, qu'il inclut dans de nombreuses gloses explicatives supplémentaires. En outre, selon Kaplan, il a développé sa propre terminologie grammaticale, distincte des termes utilisés par Abraham Ibn Ezra dans sa traduction du texte de Ḥayyûj, apportant ainsi de nouveaux termes grammaticaux au lexique hébreu.

La source secondaire la plus importante pour les opinions d'Ibn Chiquitilla est le commentaire d'Abraham Ibn Ezra. Il le loue comme "l'un des grammairiens" et "le plus grand grammairien". Il cite Ibn Chiquitilla par son nom 156 fois au cours de ses commentaires et bien plus encore, de manière anonyme. La plupart sont des résumés exacts de l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla bien qu'Ibn Ezra ne soit pas toujours scrupuleux dans sa présentation de qui a dit quoi. Parfois, Ibn Ezra rejette une opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla pour ensuite adopter l'autre opinion comme étant la sienne, sans la citer. Malgré ces actes de plagiat, Ibn Ezra reste l'une des meilleures sources d'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla en dehors des sources originales. Il propose une évaluation mesurée d'Ibn Chiquitilla, acceptant la possibilité d'opinions multiples tout en le critiquant. L'existence de nombreux autres exemples de l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla n'est pas attribuée par Ibn Ezra.

Après Ibn Ezra le deuxième dépositaire le plus important de l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla est le jeune contemporain d'Ibn Chiquitilla, Ibn Bal'am (c. 1085). Sa critique d'Ibn Chiquitilla reflète le débat en cours en Ibérie sur la pertinence de la nouvelle herméneutique basée sur le Coran, appliquée aux catégories traditionnelles de croyance en des miracles surnaturels dans la littérature rabbinique. En conséquence, une rivalité personnelle est née entre Ibn Bal'am et Ibn Chiquitilla, dans laquelle le premier qualifie les propos d'Ibn Chiquitilla de "contraires à la vérité", "ridicules", "indéfendables", "faux" et "étranges". Il l'accuse d'être "prétentieux" [Ar. *mastûr*], de croire en l'éternité de l'Univers, d'interpréter le

Psaume 102:27 comme si Dieu était incapable de détruire complètement les cieux et la terre. Il est peu probable qu'Ibn Chiquitilla ait cru que Dieu n'était pas omnipotent et que la matière n'était pas éternelle. Il a probablement compris les sphères, dans Is. 51:6 et le Ps. 102:27 comme des métaphores de l'action de Dieu sous forme d'hyperbole. Par ailleurs, Ibn Bal'am a exclu l'historicisation des prophéties messianiques par Ibn Chiquitilla d'historiciser les prophéties messianiques jusqu'à l'époque d'Ézéchias. Poznański a supposé que la cause de son animosité fût personnelle, bien qu'il ne faille peut-être pas accorder beaucoup d'importance à des reproches aussi tranchants.

Ibn Bal'am et Ibn Chiquitilla débattent pour savoir si les événements décrits à Gibeon, dans la vallée d'Aijalon, constituent un miracle, et s'ils se produisent sans que le mouvement perpétuel ne soit interrompu. Selon Ibn Bal'am, le rejet par Ibn Chiquitilla de l'interruption du mouvement perpétuel est un exemple de rationalisme extrême et contredit l'Écriture. Il défend ce point de vue comme le "noble mensonge", une position que Moïse Ibn Ezra a qualifiée de *lawṭa* [faiblesse].

Cependant, tous les successeurs d'Ibn Chiquitilla n'ont pas tous été aussi réticents à l'égard de ses opinions peu orthodoxes. Maïmonide (1135-1204) a cité Ibn Chiquitilla directement, plutôt qu'à partir d'une source secondaire. Dans son traité sur la résurrection des morts sur le verset "*le loup habitera avec l'agneau*" (Is. 11, 6), il écrit que "notre compréhension de la vie de l'agneau n'est pas la même que celle de l'agneau". Il écrit que "*notre compréhension de cette question a été anticipée par des commentateurs rationnels tels qu'Ibn Chiquitilla et Ibn Bal'am*". L'opinion de ces deux exégètes n'a pas survécu au verset, mais selon toute probabilité, Maïmonide fait l'éloge de leur interprétation du verset, "*Le loup habitera avec l'agneau*", au sens figuré. En ce qui concerne les miracles, Maïmonide partage avec Ibn Chiquitilla la même préférence générale pour une explication rationnelle et naturelle des miracles. Il est tout à fait possible que les opinions d'Ibn Chiquitilla aient influencé Maïmonide à de nombreuses reprises.

L'influence durable d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur la maison de Maïmonide s'est poursuivie dans les générations suivantes. Parmi les cercles piétistes d'Abraham b. Maïmonide et de ses descendants. Son beau-père, Ḥannanel b. Samuel (12-13e) cite l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla dans ses commentaires sur diverses *haphṭaroth*. David b. Joshua Maïmonide (vers 1335-1415) utilise l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla dans *Al-Murshid 'ila al-Tafarrud wal-Murfid 'ila al-Tajarrud* (*Le guide du détachement*).

D'autres auteurs de la Méditerranée orientale ont également adopté l'approche rationnelle d'Ibn Chiquitilla l'approche rationnelle d'Ibn Chiquitilla. Poznański suggère que certains auteurs ultérieurs ont pu utiliser directement son travail. Il s'agit notamment de Joseph Qimḥî (vers 1105, al-Andalus) ;¹ Juda Ibn Tibbon (né vers 1120 - Grenade) ; Aaron ben Joseph de Constantinople (c. 1260 - c. 1320) ;² David Qimḥî (1160-1235, Narbonne) ; Joseph Ibn 'Aqnîn (né au 12e siècle - mort vers 1126, Barcelone, Alep), et Samuel Ibn Tibbon (vers 1160-1232, Lunel, Marseille).

Poznański pensait également que les commentaires d'Ibn Chiquitilla ont perduré en Provence après sa mort. Il souligne que David Qimḥî le cite plus clairement qu'Ibn Ezra et qu'il présente comme siens des passages qui dérivent d'Ibn Chiquitilla. Reste à savoir si cela prouve l'existence d'un lien direct. En Orient, Joseph b. David le Grec (13e siècle) cite des exemples d'Ibn Chiquitilla que l'on ne trouve pas dans Ibn Ezra. Aaron b. Joseph aurait pu avoir accès à son texte, mais des inexactitudes ont conduit Poznański à conclure qu'il n'avait pas accès à Ibn Chiquitilla. Poznański conclut que les manuscrits et les citations ci-dessus montrent que les gens pouvaient encore lire Ibn Chiquitilla en Grèce et dans l'est de la Méditerranée jusqu'au 13e siècle.

En Europe occidentale, l'influence d'Ibn Chiquitilla avait déjà disparu à la fin du XIIe siècle. Ils s'en remettaient entièrement à Abraham Ibn Ezra et considéraient le rationalisme d'Ibn Chiquitilla avec une hostilité croissante. Abraham Ibn Da'ūd décrivant au XIIe siècle, fait preuve d'ambivalence à son égard dans le Livre de la Tradition (écrit à Tolède en 1126) en le considérant comme l'un des savants "*qui ont*

écrit des livres, des liturgies [pîyyûṭîm], des hymnes et des louanges à notre Créateur, Son Nom soit loué, et des consolations pour Israël afin de l'encourager sur les terres de son exil". Sous le couvert d'une guerre contre les Qarr'ites. Ce langage exprime l'anti-radicalisme et l'anti-rationalisme d'Ibn Da'ûd et son antipathie envers certains Rabbanites dont la compréhension des prophéties de consolation lui paraissait erronée et nuisible à la croyance religieuse en une rédemption messianique.

En suivant l'analyse de Poznański, nous ajout Joseph de Constantinople (vers 1100/actif 1050-1148) à la liste des érudits qui ont connu directement ou indirectement Ibn Chiquitilla. De plus, une citation du *Kitâb al-Taḏkîr wal-Ta'nîṭ* d'Ibn Chiquitilla se trouve dans le livre d'Isaac b. Samuel Ha-Sephardi Ibn Al-Kanzî (actif à Fustât vers 1090-1127) sur 1. Samuel. Il confirme la théorie de Poznański selon laquelle il était encore lu en Méditerranée orientale.

La critique voilée d'Ibn Chiquitilla par Ibn Da'ûd est reprise par Naḥmanides (1194-1270) qui l'appelle "*l'entêté Rabbi Moïse ha-Kohen*" et "*le prêtre trompeur*" pour son opinion selon laquelle les onze derniers chapitres d'Isaïe se réfèrent à l'époque d'Ézéchias dans son Livre de la Rédemption. Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508) attaque lui aussi son lien entre Joël 3 à l'époque de Josaphat. La disparition de toute trace d'Ibn Chiquitilla en Europe occidentale au XIIe siècle et le changement du climat intellectuel de l'Ibérie peuvent expliquer pourquoi il a reçu un traitement moins favorable de la part des érudits ultérieurs.

En résumé, Ibn Chiquitilla appartient à un cercle d'érudits qui ont émigré d'al-Andalus vers la ville de Saragosse, où ils ont reconstitué et approfondi leurs études grammaticales de l'hébreu. Il était respecté pour sa connaissance avancée de la grammaire et est cité par de nombreuses personnalités des générations suivantes. Cependant, Ibn Chiquitilla était un personnage controversé, qui remettait en question de nombreuses hypothèses traditionnelles sur la manière d'interpréter la Bible. Parmi les plus importantes, on peut citer son point de vue sur le messianisme et son rejet des miracles surnaturels. Ce dernier point a été adopté et développé par

Maïmonide dans Le Guide Égaré. Cependant, les opinions d'Ibn Chiquitilla ont été moins bien accueillies par d'autres auteurs de l'époque, notamment Ibn Bal'am et surtout les auteurs ultérieurs d'Europe occidentale, qui n'ont probablement pas eu accès au texte original. En Orient, ses œuvres ont continué à circuler au moins jusqu'au XVe siècle, où elles ont été accueillies à la fois positivement et négativement.

Dans le chapitre suivant, nous nous concentrons sur les frontières mouvantes des connaissances émiques et étiques dans le développement de l'herméneutique ibérique à travers le prisme de la linguistique pragmatique moderne, de l'herméneutique du Coranique et du *derash* rabbinique.

Chapitre 2

Nous avons examiné le contexte historique du commentaire d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur les Psaumes dans le chapitre 1. Nous avons souligné sa contribution à la communauté des judéo-arabophones d'Ibérie en tant que grammairien, rhétoricien et poète. Dans ce chapitre, nous examinerons trois approches herméneutiques pour déterminer le sens, notamment la linguistique pragmatique moderne, l'herméneutique coranique et la conversion de l'herméneutique coranique en connaissance émique dans l'interprétation biblique juive ibérique. Dans la première section, nous décrivons les techniques utilisées dans la linguistique pragmatique contemporaine et démontrons comment le contexte sémantique des mots sous-détermine constamment leur signification, ce qui rend impossible la compréhension des mots par le seul biais de la connaissance étique. Dans la deuxième section, nous examinons comment l'herméneutique coranique se rattache à la linguistique pragmatique contemporaine et dans quelle mesure elle accepte l'idée que la connaissance émique est nécessaire pour atteindre le sens. Dans la troisième section, nous examinons comment les exégètes ibériques ont transformé historiquement leur connaissance étique de l'herméneutique coranique en connaissance émique et son application à l'exégèse biblique.

Dans cette section, nous montrons que la possession de connaissances émiques est essentielle à une communication efficace et que les connaissances étiques, sous la forme de catégories sémantiques, sous-déterminent toujours le sens. Appliquée à la linguistique, la distinction entre les connaissances émiques et étiques est entre les comptes phonémiques et phonétiques des sons de la langue. La connaissance émique est l'ensemble des connaissances linguistiques qualitatives décrites au fur et à mesure qu'elles sont rencontrées. Le savoir étique, quant à lui, est "scientifique", quantifiable et existe en dehors de son contexte culturel et historique. Pour illustrer cela, nous utiliserons la découverte de l'ornithorynque par les Européens comme analogie de la différence entre la connaissance émique et la connaissance étique ; ce qu'Umberto Eco appelle la connaissance encyclopédique et la connaissance du dictionnaire, ou la connaissance émique et la connaissance étique.

Pour mieux comprendre ce que nous entendons par ces termes, nous discuterons de la différence entre la connaissance émique et la connaissance étique telles qu'elles sont acquises par la connaissance sémantique et l'analyse pragmatique, et nous montrerons que la connaissance sémantique est un mode d'analyse insuffisant pour la compréhension du sens. Reprenant le problème de la "*relation formelle des signes entre eux*" et de la "*relation avec l'interprète*", le pragmatiste Kent Bach affirme que "*le contenu sémantique est une propriété de la phrase et non de l'énoncé*", tandis que le sens d'un énoncé est "*l'intention communicative du locuteur*", qui, si elle est réussie, est comprise par l'auditeur. Bach affirme que ceux qui limitent l'analyse du langage à son contenu sémantique ne parviennent jamais à déterminer le sens du locuteur, car ce que veut dire un locuteur dépend de son intention communicative, qui reste inexprimée. L'implication de l'intention du locuteur est toujours à l'œuvre lorsqu'il parle, que ce soit au sens propre ou au sens figuré, et ne se trouve pas explicitement dans le contenu sémantique, mais dans l'implicature, c'est-à-dire l'émoticône. C'est-à-dire dans la connaissance émique.

Le nom technique pour exprimer l'intention communicative d'un énoncé en arabe est *taqdîr*, que nous utilisons lorsque nous appliquons la linguistique pragmatique

contemporaine à l'étude historique de la grammaire arabe à l'époque médiévale. Selon Jonathan Owens, le *taqdîr*, ou "*récupération du sens*", était un sujet de discussion majeur dans la pensée grammaticale arabe médiévale. Il cite deux types de motivations - la logique de leurs propres règles et le raisonnement pragmatique - qui préoccupent les grammairiens arabes médiévaux dans leur examen de l'ellipse. Il les classe en deux catégories : celles qui sont motivées à la fois par le contexte et la structure présupposés, et celles qui sont motivées uniquement par des instances structurelles. Pour comprendre le sens d'une phrase, les exemples contextuels fournissent des détails simples à retrouver, tandis que les exemples structurels s'en tiennent à un choix de mots déterminé.

Selon Owens, l'une des principales distinctions entre le *taqdîr* arabe traditionnel et la grammaire transformationnelle actuelle est l'accent mis par cette dernière sur les connaissances extralinguistiques. En outre, la linguistique transformative moderne s'intéresse aux circonstances précises dans lesquelles la perte d'informations a lieu, alors que ses homologues arabes s'intéressent soit au maintien de la logique de leurs propres règles, soit à un idéal du coranique. Ceci est d'aux objectifs divergents de la grammaire transformative et de la grammaire arabe. Contrairement aux théoriciens arabes, qui expriment d'abord la forme finale et travaillent ensuite à rebours pour expliquer comment la forme finale est atteinte, la linguistique transformative moderne commence par une phrase redondante et explique ensuite comment la forme finale est atteinte.

En effet, les exégètes du coranique qui adoptent la tradition herméneutique grammaticale doivent, lorsqu'ils interprètent les textes sacrés, expliquer leur langage à la fois d'une manière conforme à une forme idéalisée et en accord avec l'interprétation traditionnelle préconçue. Leur utilisation du *taqdîr* est lié à la relation structurelle d'une phrase et à des connaissances extralinguistiques présupposées. Dans ces conditions, la *ma'nâ* intègre ce qui est caché dans un énoncé (l'implicature).

Dans la section précédente, nous avons constaté l'absence d'une règle formelle pour expliquer la récupérabilité du sens dans la grammaire arabe. Dans cette section, nous évoquons les rhétoriciens arabes qui ont pu influencer Ibn Chiquitilla mais nous soulignons également la contribution de son contemporain al-Jurjânî (mort en 1078/81), bien qu'Ibn Chiquitilla ne l'ait probablement pas connu. Nous montrons comment ils utilisent diverses métaphores et une analyse descriptive pour expliquer la relation entre *lafẓ* [mots] *ma'nâ* [sens]. Nous voyons qu'ils fondent leur compréhension du sens sur la connaissance émique, qui est appliquée à la logique naturelle de la conversation. Ensuite, nous appliquons cela au commentaire d'Ibn Chiquitilla, et concluons en faveur d'une compréhension du langage qui correspond à ce que Grice appelle la logique naturelle de la conversation. Dans les chapitres suivants, nous examinerons d'autres exemples de connaissances émiques tirées de la tradition sémantique de la sémiologie comparative et de l'hébreu post-biblique dans Ibn Chiquitilla.

Chapitre 3

Dans la section précédente, nous avons examiné le rôle du savoir émique dans la formation de la tradition rhétorique islamique. Nous avons montré comment ce type de connaissance, culturellement spécifique aux rhétoriciens de l'herméneutique du coranique était essentielle pour combler le fossé entre la forme et le sens. Dans cette section, nous analysons comment Ibn Chiquitilla importe l'herméneutique coranique et ses valeurs esthétiques dans son exégèse biblique. Il associe la connaissance émique à la connaissance étique. La sémiologie comparée, l'hébreu rabbinique et l'exégèse sont quelques-uns des sujets abordés. Les passages philosophiquement difficiles doivent également identifier une alternative qui réponde aux préoccupations émiques de l'Autre. Le participant à ce processus doit intégrer l'étique dans l'émique, en créant une identité qui définit la relation entre le SOI et l'AUTRE, étant donné que les connaissances émique et étique peuvent changer au fil du temps en raison de l'épistémologie historique. D'un point de vue anthropologique, le

processus de création de sa propre identité s'inscrit dans un système de représentation, possède ses propres schémas linguistiques et utilise des contextes particuliers pour communiquer ses connaissances. La défense d'Ibn Chiquitilla se concentre sur les dispositifs métaphoriques et les arguments en faveur de l'adoption de la connaissance étique de la culture arabo-islamique.

Les forces et le processus historiques qui ont conduit à l'importation de l'herméneutique du coranique sont liés à Se'adyah Ga'ôn (882-942, né à Fustât, mort à Baḡdād), qui employé le modèle des exégètes musulmans du Coran. En conséquence, l'accent a été mis sur le sens exotérique, ou *ẓāhir al-naṣṣ* du texte biblique. L'exégèse traditionnelle et non sémantique des rabbins est ainsi recadrée autour de notions de linguistique formelle tirées de la grammaire, de la rhétorique et de l'exégèse coraniques.

Le processus de création d'une identité propre autour de l'hébreu a toutefois reçu moins d'attention. Alfonso parle de la façon dont les grammairiens ibériques perçoivent la langue hébraïque. Elle utilise une terminologie anthropologique pour recadrer les changements phénoménologiques provoqués par l'interaction historique entre les Juifs et l'exégèse coranique. À la lumière de ses observations, nous soutenons que la perception que les exégètes ibériques ont d'eux-mêmes est influencée par les conventions linguistiques et les contextes particuliers dans lesquels les nouvelles composantes de l'exégèse coranique sont combinées avec les aspects traditionnels de l'exégèse rabbinique. Nous soutenons que l'adoption de l'exégèse coranique comme une sorte de connaissance étique nécessite la préservation des conclusions sémantiques de la connaissance émique tirées de l'exégèse rabbinique. Pour cette raison, les exégètes ibériques sont obligés de faire tous les efforts possibles pour aligner leurs recherches linguistiques sur la loi et le savoir rabbiniques, en particulier leur utilisation de la sémiologie comparative comme technique pour déterminer le sens des mots.

Ce processus rencontre des résistances et n'est en aucun cas linéaire. Menaḥem ne mentionne pas spécifiquement l'arabe dans *Maḥberet* et n'établit pas ouvertement de comparaisons entre l'arabe et l'hébreu. Il soutient au contraire qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'établir des similitudes parce que la langue hébraïque est unique par rapport à toutes les autres langues. Dunash Ibn Labraṭ lui reproche de ne pas utiliser l'information étique tirée de l'arabe et de l'araméen, qui est essentielle à la compréhension de l'hébreu. Il estime que la comparaison avec l'arabe est un outil utile pour les philologues. Néanmoins, la réalité historique et sociale dans laquelle vivait Menaḥem l'a amené à faire des comparaisons implicites avec d'autres langues sémitiques. La querelle s'est poursuivie dans la génération suivante, entre les disciples de Menaḥem Ibn Sarûq et Dunash Ibn Labraṭ.

Le plus grand représentant de la langue hébraïque, Jonas Ibn Janâḥ a lui aussi motivé religieusement l'étude de la grammaire et de la rhétorique comme étant digne de la récompense divine. Cette motivation tout à fait interne lie l'étude de la langue à l'identité communautaire religieuse et à la connaissance émique. Ibn Janâḥ associe la lecture compétente de la Bible à l'application des connaissances grammaticales et rhétoriques. Ce faisant, il réduit l'objectif téléologique à un objectif heuristique, élevant la grammaire et la rhétorique au rang d'étude du droit et du savoir rabbiniques. Il aligne ensuite cet objectif sur l'herméneutique talmudique traditionnelle, faisant des rabbins les premiers linguistes avant l'apparition de la tradition grammaticale et rhétorique arabe. Il ouvre la porte aux idées nouvelles provenant de l'extérieur des domaines traditionnels de la connaissance en affirmant qu'elles ont toujours été juives, créant ainsi un passé utile.

Les références à la sémiologie comparée dans la littérature rabbinique servent de base à l'utilisation de la tradition par Ibn Janâḥ. L'utilisation de la tradition par Ibn Janâḥ pour justifier le développement de ses techniques grammaticales et rhétoriques est fondée sur les références à la sémiologie comparée dans la littérature rabbinique. Il n'a pas été le premier à comprendre les liens linguistiques entre l'hébreu et les autres langues sémitiques. Se'adyah utilise l'arabe, l'araméen, l'hébreu

rabbinique et d'autres langues dans le *'Eḡrôn*, tout en démontrant une compréhension de leurs liens linguistiques. Juda Ibn Qurayš est une personne qui se distingue par sa contribution à la sémantique comparative, mais il n'est pas inclus dans la source susmentionnée (10e siècle). Certaines des variations morphologiques et phonétiques entre les langues sont illustrées dans son analyse du lien entre l'hébreu, l'hébreu rabbinique, l'araméen et l'arabe dans *al-Risâla*. Malgré la forme polémique du début, qui est une attaque contre les personnes qui ont soit cessé d'étudier, soit aboli l'usage du *Targûm* araméen dans la synagogue, il préfigure la justification heuristique d'Ibn Janâḥ pour justifier l'étude de la grammaire.

L'ancienne pratique de la traduction de la Bible en araméen n'était plus adaptée à son objectif initial : rendre la Bible compréhensible dans la langue vernaculaire de la population. Ibn Quryaš défend le maintien de cette tradition moribonde comme couverture pour l'introduction de nouvelles méthodes grammaticales et de la sémiologie comparative. L'explication de la similitude entre l'hébreu, l'arabe et l'araméen est un élément central d'*al-Risâla*. À cela s'ajoute la connaissance préexistante du fait que l'hébreu rabbinique peut aider à comprendre l'hébreu biblique. Cela ouvre la porte à l'acceptation de la sémiologie comparative dans le monde juif arabophone.

Ailleurs, dans le *Kitâb al-Mustalḥaq*, Ibn Janâḥ justifie l'introduction de la sémiologie comparative dans la ligne ci-dessus. Ceci est dû au fait qu'Ibn Janâḥ est conscient du fait qu'il utilise des informations provenant de sources extérieures à la tradition juive pour expliquer cette dernière, ce qui le rend vulnérable aux critiques de ceux qui ne sont pas d'accord avec cette méthode. Il justifie cela en disant que de telles informations étiques peuvent compléter, mais non remplacer, les études grammaticales hébraïques caractéristiques de l'émique.

Dans l'introduction à sa traduction de la dissertation grammaticale de Ḥayyûj sur les verbes faibles, Ibn Chiquitilla exprime l'évidence d'une tension émique-étique en termes lyriques. Il souligne l'impact du fait de parler la langue d'un "peuple étranger", qui prive les Juifs de la compréhension émique de leur langue. Ibn

Chiquitilla reconnaît dans ce passage deux problèmes communs à tous les juifs et qui reflètent le problème émique auquel tout exégète biblique médiéval (et moderne) est

confronté : un manque de maîtrise de l'hébreu comparable à celui des locuteurs natifs de l'hébreu et les archives incomplètes que les prophètes bibliques ont laissées derrière eux. L'utilisation par Ibn Chiquitilla de l'hébreu rabbinique, de l'araméen et de l'arabe pour clarifier le sens des mots n'est pas remarquable à la lumière de la question de la communication et de la dégradation.

Cet usage secondaire de l'hébreu rabbinique combine la connaissance émique traditionnelle avec la connaissance étique. Ibn Chiquitilla adopte un système préférentiel de formes bibliques par rapport à l'hébreu rabbinique ultérieur qui reflète le système esthétique-éthique de l'herméneutique arabe qui préfère établir des normes grammaticales à partir du matériel trouvé dans le Corqan et le Ḥadîṭ. Le résultat de cette importation est une tension dans laquelle le système de valeurs éthiques des Arabes pourrait exercer une influence sur le sens d'un mot biblique.

Le fait qu'Ibn Chiquitilla ne fasse pas appel à l'hébreu rabbinique comme autorité pour expliquer la forme irrégulière *Hârôt* démontre son rôle subsidiaire d'information sur le sens. Cependant, cela ne conduit pas à un rejet total de la valeur de l'hébreu rabbinique. Une discussion sur le sens de *ba 'alil* chez Ibn Chiquitilla fait appel à l'hébreu rabbinique dans son analyse. Dans cet exemple, nous pouvons suivre le

développement de l'analyse grammaticale du mot, qui culmine dans ce que Mordechai Z. Cohen appelle la "*lecture forte*" de la *peshat*. Nous retracerons ce développement analytique en sélectionnant des sources pertinentes pour l'analyse d'Ibn Chiquitilla du *ba 'alil*, en commençant par Se'adyah et se terminant avec Abraham Ibn Ezra. Cette adoption de l'analyse grammaticale pour confirmer ce qui était déjà connu par la tradition rabbinique est visible dans la confiance qu'Ibn Chiquitilla qui s'appuie sur l'araméen comme preuve que la forme sous-jacente de *ṢəḤîḤâ* "*terre desséchée*" (Psaumes 68:7) est *ṢəḤîYâ**.

L'"intrusion" de l'arabe dans la discussion reflète son objectif pédagogique et son statut de langue vivante. Ibn Chiquitilla rapporte ce point de vue dans l'introduction de sa traduction du *Kitâb al-Hurûf al-Lîn*, de Ḥayyûj cité plus haut. L'utilisation de l'arabe est heuristique, car il comble le fossé entre la compréhension de l'hébreu biblique par les natifs et un public arabophone. Ainsi, l'importation de l'arabe pour expliquer l'hébreu implique à la fois une comparaison philologique directe et une analogie formelle. L'analogie est une preuve externe au profit des Juifs arabophones de ce qui était incontestablement connu du locuteur natif et préservé par la tradition. Ibn Chiquitilla utilise une telle analogie lorsqu'il compare les radicaux hébreu et arabe P-ʿ-Ṭ et -F-ʿ-Ṭ pour expliquer l'image figurative du Psaume 77:5. Ailleurs, pour "frapper (*təRo ʿem*)" (Psaumes 2:9), il utilise l'araméen comme preuve de l'adéquation entre le sens du texte et sa forme.

Pour définir son sens, il importe peu que le terme soit en hébreu ou en araméen, car le sens existe indépendamment de l'examen morphologique ultérieur du mot. Ibn Chiquitilla semble essayer d'intégrer le Psaume 2:9 dans la structure hiérarchique de la grammaire sans en déformer l'interprétation conventionnelle. Il ne propose rien de plus qu'une traduction appropriée de la Bible, en comparant une langue à une autre. L'utilisation de langues étrangères par le Talmud fournit la raison interne "émique" de le faire. Dans la pratique, l'intérêt des Juifs pour l'araméen et l'arabe afin d'expliquer l'hébreu sert de complément au système central d'analogie.

La citation par Ibn Chiquitilla de la traduction araméenne d'Is. 30:26 dans sa glose sur le Psaume 12:7, n'est rien d'autre qu'une source sémantique faisant autorité pour sa traduction de l'hébreu. C'est cette fonction sémantique limitée et partagée qui établit un lien entre la nouvelle herméneutique des exégètes médiévaux inaugurée par Seʿadyah et ses prédécesseurs rabbiniques. Cependant, nous verrons dans notre analyse de l'imagerie figurative dans la littérature rabbinique dans ce chapitre et dans Ibn Chiquitilla au chapitre 5, les rabbins et Ibn Chiquitilla diffèrent dans leur attitude à l'égard de la nuance textuelle. La traduction de Jonathan ben ʿUzzîʿel de la traduction d'Is. 30:26 est liée à la langue spécifique de l'original. La traduction araméenne forge une histoire narrative autour de la teneur de l'image et de son sujet.

Les différences entre les méthodes exégétiques des rabbins et d'Ibn Chiquitilla apparaissent clairement lorsque nous analysons l'utilisation sélective qu'en fait Ibn Chiquitilla en tant que preuve sémantique. Par exemple, il utilise de manière sélective la *Siphra Behār* 5 6:2, comme source pour la distinction entre *neṣṣeḳ* et *tarbîṭ* (ou *marbîṭ*) dans son explication de *neṣṣeḳ* (Psaumes 15:5). Ibn Chiquitilla définit la *neṣṣeḳ* (*morsure*) comme la *ḥaqîqa* [*sens propre*]. La tentative proactive du prêtre d'accumuler des intérêts correspond au sens causal des mots *Hip 'îl*. Il importe donc la conclusion sémantique de la première situation dans la *Siphra* et fait de même pour le second scénario. Il importe des connaissances émiques de la loi rabbinique afin de soutenir son interprétation des analogies. Outre l'exemple ci-dessus où il adopte le sens sémantique trouvé dans l'exégèse rabbinique, Ibn Chiquitilla rapporte également un avis juridique qui établit que le thème du Psaume 107 est le retour sain et sauf d'un voyage par terre ou par mer.

Les exemples examinés jusqu'à présent reposaient sur des informations sémantiques glanées directement dans le texte rabbinique. Un exemple d'utilisation de l'autorité sémantique d'un texte post-talmudique est l'analyse d'Ibn Chiquitilla de l'analyse de l'hapax legomenon "freiné (*liblôm*)" dans ses commentaires sur le Psaume 32:9. Ibn Chiquitilla a traité le *Seṣpher Yeṣirah* (Le livre de la création), avec le même niveau de priorité que les sources rabbiniques en le citant comme les paroles de *'awwâ 'îlna* [*nos ancêtres*].

Ibn Chiquitilla utilise parfois la valeur non sémantique du matériel midrashique. Cependant, il prend soin de ne conserver que les détails qui contribuent à clarifier le sens du texte. Le rejet par les exégètes ibériques de la composante non sémantique de l'exégèse rabbinique a faussé les idées sur l'importance de la connaissance sémantique dans les textes midrashiques et chez les exégètes ibériques. Il en résulte une focalisation des différences méthodologiques sur le déterminant du résultat. En conséquence, l'accent est mis moins sur la description de la manière dont la connaissance étiqque acquise par l'herméneutique coranique est intégrée à la connaissance émique du sens trouvée dans les textes midrashiques que sur la

description de la rencontre historique avec l'herméneutique coranique par les exégètes ibériques, qui aboutit à une analyse sémantique rigoureuse de la grammaire hébraïque. Cela a conduit à une description de l'exégèse ibérique comme le sens "simple", "direct" ou même "littéral" dans lequel un mot est utilisé, ou *ẓāhir al-naṣṣ* [*le sens apparent du texte*]. Cette affirmation est faite en dépit du fait que le sens apparent ostensible du texte est rempli de concepts et de modes de pensée distinctement non sémantiques qui ont émergé du rationalisme médiéval.

L'interprétation rabbinique, en revanche, a été décrite comme non sémantique, [Heb. *derash*, Ar. *tawîl*], ludique, analogie séparée, ajoutant quelque chose au texte (*tôsepeṭ ʔa ʿam* [*sens supplémentaire*] ou *ʾasmaktā* [*mnémotechnique*]), et soit seulement indirectement, soit pas du tout liée au contexte biblique. En d'autres termes, il doit manquer de compréhension sémantique parce qu'il ne "*parle pas le langage de la grammaire*". Le *derash* acquiert donc une signification pour un texte "*indépendamment, voire au mépris, de son contexte ou de sa signification d'origine, en vertu de l'usage qui en a été fait*", selon la terminologie diverse utilisée pour le caractériser. Le résultat a donné lieu à des affirmations selon lesquelles les rabbins auraient soit mal interprété le texte biblique, soit complètement ignoré son sens apparent, même lorsque le sens clair du texte pouvait facilement être repéré dans le *derash* rabbinique.

C'est évidemment faux, car il est impossible que les rabbins aient pu comprendre le livre, le traduire en araméen ou en grec de manière suffisante, ou même en parler. Au contraire, il faut aborder l'exégèse rabbinique et ibérique avec des objectifs différents, mais en se familiarisant avec le sens sémantique du texte. Il est possible de construire un chemin plus fructueux pour déterminer le sens sémantique d'un mot et ce dont parle le texte en s'éloignant de la distinction herméneutique entre les exégètes ibériques et rabbiniques et en se concentrant sur la connaissance étique et émique qui forme le sens. En outre, un examen approfondi du *derash* rabbinique révèle que les termes hébreux ont une signification généralement cohérente.

Les premiers mots d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur le Psaume 1 montrent à quel point il a peu utilisé le *derash* rabbinique, dans lequel il cite TB *Avodah Zarah* 18b. Il explique ensuite la métaphore du texte biblique avec ses propres mots, en s'appuyant sur des arguments sémantiques. L'utilisation de la citation et de la modification du Midrash par Ibn Chiquitilla est sélective. Il est intrigué par l'implicite, ou ce que le Midrash tire du texte biblique, mais qui n'est pas explicitement énoncé. Le mouvement du juste par rapport au méchant est clairement décrit par les trois verbes "*allait*", "*se tenait*" et "*s'asseyait*", mais ce qui se produit en conséquence de la proximité n'est pas révélé. Le Midrash et Ibn Chiquitilla fournissent tous deux la signification "manquante".

L'approbation ou l'adoption par Ibn Chiquitilla d'une opinion rabbinique se limite à sa conclusion sémantique. En tant que tel, il n'inclut pas la connaissance émique qui informe l'exégèse rabbinique, qui ne correspond pas à ses sensibilités littéraires et à son contexte culturel. Pourtant, cela peut conduire les rabbins à proposer une lecture plus proche du texte, dans laquelle une plus grande sensibilité à la teneur de la métaphore se manifeste. Ainsi, Ibn Chiquitilla rejette la compréhension littérale du Psaume 8:3 comme irrationnelle, alors que pour les rabbins, la juxtaposition des nourrissons et de la tétée renforce l'absurdité de ceux qui nient la puissance de Dieu.

L'adoption des conclusions sémantiques de l'exégèse rabbinique fait partie intégrante des méthodes d'Ibn Chiquitilla est une partie intégrante des méthodes d'Ibn Chiquitilla. Cela ne signifie pas qu'il soit dépourvu d'esprit critique. Il rejette comme une erreur, [*ḡalaṭ*] le sens d'anges pour *šinān* dans les écrits du poète Salomon Ibn Gabirol, qui est en fin de compte dérivé de la tradition rabbinique. Cette approche est très différente de celle d'Ibn Janāḥ qui permet une plus grande acceptation de la tradition rabbinique parallèlement à l'analyse sémantique.

L'un des cas les plus intrigants où Ibn Chiquitilla tente de réconcilier la sémantique du texte biblique avec les concepts intellectuels contemporains est celui du libre arbitre. Il une explication non sémantique pour éviter de contredire le libre arbitre et de créer un paradoxe philosophique. Dans le verset "*Il changea (hapāk) leur cœur*"

(Psaumes 105:25), Dieu semble retirer le libre arbitre au peuple égyptien. Ibn Chiquitilla explique le verbe actif "*Il changea leur cœur*" comme si Dieu "*fermait la porte*" à toute nouvelle possibilité de repentir.

M. Cohen identifie cette méthode avec Ibn Ezra, qu'il appelle un défenseur d'une "*forte peshat*". Cette description s'applique à la demande d'Ibn Chiquitilla pour une analyse sémantique cohérente. Cependant, ce qui motive l'analyse sémantique ne peut être séparé de son exigence d'interpréter le texte biblique conformément à la philosophie rationnelle. Dans cette perspective, l'union de la forme et du sens repose sur la connaissance étique.

Ibn Chiquitilla combine la même analyse syntaxique et la même interprétation philosophique pour expliquer le verset : "*Si j'avais eu une mauvaise pensée dans mon esprit, le Seigneur ne m'aurait pas écouté.*" (Psaumes 66:18) et pour rejeter une mauvaise compréhension du *jamhûr* [masses]. La critique d'Ibn Chiquitilla à l'égard des *jamhûr* porte sur leur incompréhension de la sémantique de la phrase, qui contredirait la règle selon laquelle seuls ceux qui sont exempts de péché peuvent recevoir la *faḍl* [munificence] de Dieu. Il interprète la phrase conditionnelle inversée commençant par *'im* (*si*) (Psaumes 66:18), comme si David parlait de manière rhétorique. Il a pensé à pécher, mais à aucun moment il n'a envisagé de le faire. Ibn Chiquitilla cite Job comme preuve non polémique d'une phrase rhétorique conditionnelle et dans sa glose sur le Psaume 66:20 le rétablissement de la "*munificence* [*faḍl*]" de Dieu. David était sur le point d'être puni par Dieu pour ses pensées, mais il a offert une prière de repentir, blanchissant son nom et restaurant sa capacité à recevoir la *faḍl* [munificence] de Dieu. Les *jamhûr* pensent à tort que David était vraiment sur le point de pécher avec Bethsabée, mais qu'il s'est retenu.

Un autre domaine de l'exégèse biblique qui reflète une combinaison d'analyse sémantique et de connaissance émique est le point de vue d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur le messianisme. Son approche de la datation des prophéties est liée à son attitude plus générale à l'égard de la paternité des livres bibliques. Lorsqu'il détecte un anachronisme ou une référence historique, il s'en sert

pour dater le texte. Cet "*historicisme*" conduit Ibn Chiquitilla à attribuer le livre d'Isaïe à au moins deux auteurs. Il identifie cette section d'Isaïe à une figure prophétique inconnue de l'époque, mais au serviteur de Dieu des chapitres 52-53.

Un autre exemple de l'historicisation d'Isaïe par Ibn Chiquitilla est l'identification de la colère de Dieu en Is. 34:2 avec le règne d'Ézéchias et la conquête d'Édom par l'Assyrie. La plupart des commentateurs traditionnels associent ce chapitre à l'ère messianique, en particulier aux guerres de Gog et Magog. Il est donc possible que la suite des commentaires d'Ibn Ezra au chapitre 40 sur la paternité d'autres livres de la Bible hébraïque soit également celle d'Ibn Chiquitilla également. Il cite la mort de Samuel au verset 1 Sam. 25:1 comme preuve qu'il n'a pas pu tout écrire. De même, l'inclusion par Ibn Ezra d'ajouts ultérieurs au livre des Chroniques après Zorobabel est cohérente avec l'approche d'Ibn Chiquitilla. Par exemple, selon lui, le Psaume 51 est de David, donc la mention de Sion (Psaumes 51:20) doit être un ajout ultérieur d'un auteur postexilique. De même, l'identification des événements d'Is. 49:7 avec Babylone concorde avec ce que rapporte Ibn Ezra rapporte l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla rapporte comme étant l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla. Il est possible que de nombreuses références à des interpolations ou à des auteurs ultérieurs dans les écrits d'Ibn Ezra proviennent d'Ibn Chiquitilla.

La datation des livres bibliques par Ibn Chiquitilla provient du Tanḥûm Yerushalmi. Il répète l'opinion d'Ibn Chiquitilla selon laquelle Zech. 9:9 se réfère à Néhémie et ajoute anonymement qu'Ibn Chiquitilla pensait que le chapitre 3 d'Habacuc se référait à des événements passés. Dans son introduction au livre d'Habacuc, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi souligne la difficulté inhérente à l'interprétation prophétique du genre de la prière dans la Bible.

Chapitre 4

Dans le troisième chapitre, nous avons exploré le rôle des connaissances extralinguistiques dans la relation entre le *lafẓ* et *ma' nâ*. Nous avons retracé sa " découverte " dans la grammaire arabe et vu comment les grammairiens

utilisent parfois le *taqdîr* pour retrouver à la fois la structure formelle et le sens des mots, et d'autres fois uniquement la structure. Dans ce chapitre, nous nous concentrons sur des exemples de *taqdîr* où la forme superficielle d'un mot semble être une *'idâfa* [annexion]. Nous nous demandons si la *taqdîr* récupère uniquement la structure, ou la structure et le sens. Nous demandons également, dans la mesure du possible, si la récupération du sens implique la révélation de connaissances

extralinguistiques cachées. Auparavant, nous avons expliqué la théorie grammaticale pertinente qui sous-tend la *'idâfa* dans la grammaire arabe et hébraïque.

Selon les grammairiens arabes, *Al-'idâfa al-ḥaqîqiyya* [l'annexion proprement dite] se compose d'au moins deux éléments. Le *muḍâf* est la première phrase de l'exemple *bayt^u l-maqdasⁱ*, (annexé à *bayt*) et le *muḍâf 'ilayh* [annexé est le deuxième terme]. L'ajout d'un *ḥurûf al-jarr* [entre le *muḍâf* et le *muḍâf 'ilayh*, qui relie un nom spécifique à un autre nom ou un verbe spécifique à un nom, est une variante de ce modèle privilégié. Cette forme comparable est considérée comme *qabuḥa* [laid], bien qu'elle soit tolérée par des grammairiens arabes plus anciens tels que Sîbawayhi (c. 760-796 Shiraz-Basra), al-Mubarrad et Ibn al-Sarrâj (9e siècle).

La manière dont Sîbawayhi considère *al-'idâfa al-ḥaqîqiyya* suppose un sens et se concentre sur son comportement grammatical. Les formes de pseudo-*'idâfa* diffèrent de la *'idâfa* réelle parce qu'elles sont intrinsèquement liées à un autre élément de la phrase, alors que la véritable *'idâfa* est une clause autonome, *mazila wâḥida*. Selon Carter, le *sabab* [lien] est ce qui lie le *muḍâf* au *muḍâf 'ilayhi* dans un pseudo-*'idâfa* dans l'esprit de Sîbawayhi. La *'idâfa* crée un lien irrévocable, alors que la pseudo-*'idâfa* nécessite un lien pour une autre raison.

À partir du 10e siècle, les grammairiens ont pensé que le *ḥurûf al-jarr* ne pouvait être utilisé que pour lier les verbes aux noms ou, dans les cas où ils ne le font pas, pour suggérer un gouverneur verbal tacite. Cette position, adoptée par Ibn Jinnî,

est démontrée par la phrase *al-mâl^u lⁱ -zaydⁱⁿ* [l'argent (appartient) à Zayd]. Le participe actif *hâšil*, ou *kâ'in* [être, exister], est imaginé comme intermédiaire entre *mâl^u* et *lⁱ* dans le *taqdîr al- 'ir 'âb*. Ce type de *taqdîr al- 'ir 'âb* sépare les verbes en deux groupes : les verbes *qawîyya* [forts] qui peuvent atteindre l'objet directement et les *da 'ufat* [faibles], qui ne peuvent atteindre l'objet sans l'intermédiaire du *hurûf al-jarr*. Dans certains cas, la "récupération du sens" transforme le texte selon l'ordre des mots arabes préférés.

Cette disposition montre une prédisposition pour la langue du Qur'anic et un modelé de discours bédouin idéalisé. Cette préférence signifie que l'application du *taqdîr* permet de récupérer le sens "perdu" en raison de préférences stylistiques. Les linguistes historiques peuvent trouver cette position prescriptive irritante, mais cela ne change rien au fait qu'ils pensent que c'est nécessaire pour un arabe loquent. Cet arrangement reflète une préférence pour un modèle de discours bédouin idéalisé et pour la langue du coranique. Les préférences stylistiques conduisent à l'application du *taqdîr*, pour retrouver le sens "perdu". Si ce point de vue normative peut déplaire aux linguistes historiques, il n'en reste pas moins que, de leur point de vue, l'arabe éloquent l'exige.

Les écrivains juifs ibériques traitent l'hébreu biblique avec le même respect que les écrivains arabes pour le style du coranique. La structure préférentielle qu'ils adoptent favorise l'hébreu biblique par rapport aux variétés ultérieures d'hébreu. Les remarques d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur le Psaume 104:34 en sont un exemple. Dans un *piyyût* encore chanté par les congrégations ashkénazes, Ibn Chiquitilla critique l'utilisation grammaticale non biblique. L'attitude négative d'Ibn Chiquitilla à l'égard des formes non bibliques assimile le mode de communication optimal et la *'idâfa* paradigmatique à l'usage de l'hébreu biblique. Cela contraste avec son approbation de la prière rabbinique qui correspond à l'usage biblique, dans les commentaires sur le Psaume 19:15.

La description de la structure optimale d'une *'idâfa* parmi les hébraïsants du Xe siècle en Ibérie pour la *'idâfa* est décrite de la manière la plus complète par Ibn

Janâḥ dans *al-Luma'*. Il définit une *'idâfa* comme étant composée d'un *muḍâf* et d'un *muḍâf 'ilayh*. En outre, lorsque la *'idâfa* est définie, le *ta'rîf* [définition] n'apparaît qu'avant le *muḍâf 'ilayh*. Il écrit que *al-muḍâf 'ilayh min tamâm al-muḍâf, wa-huma jamî'an manzila 'ism waḥîd* [ce qui lui est annexé est complété par l'annexer, et ensemble ils forment un seul nom d'état], un syntagme.

La structure ci-dessus est appelée *al-'idâfa fî al-lafẓ* par Ibn Janâḥ et subit des changements morphologiques pour indiquer son statut syntagmique. Tous les autres arrangements analogues [*qiyâsà al-'idâfa fî al-lafẓ* - y compris une forme secondaire *al-'idâfa al-nisbîya* [annexion par le relatif] - sont appelées *al-'idâfa fî al-ma'nâ* [annexion par le sens]. Ces formes analogues ne font qu'imiter le sens de *al-'idâfa fî al-lafẓ*, même si la morphologie des formes annexées et non annexées est indissociable, "dix pièces d'argent (*'asārâ ha-kāseḩ*)" (Jér. 32:9). En outre, Ibn Janâḥ inclut une troisième série d'exemples dans *al-Luma'* l'usage habituel [*musta'mil*] qui, par coutume, sont analogues à la *'idâfa* en termes de sens, mais distincts de la *'idâfa* syntagmique en termes de syntaxe.

Ibn Janâḥ montre par le *taqdîr* que les *al-musta'mil* sont structurellement distincts de l'*'idâfa* syntagmique par à travers son *taqdîr* de "Je ne donnerai pas de sommeil à mes yeux (*šənaṭ la- 'enāy*)" (Psaumes 132:4). Le *ṭ* (*ṭaw*) de *šənaṭ* semble marquer l'annexion du féminin à *'enāy*. Cependant, Ibn Janâḥ affirme que le *ṭ* (*ṭaw*) est à la place du *H* (*Hē*) de la forme séparée, équivalent à l'arabe *ta-marbûṭa*. C'est donc le *L* (*Lāmeḩ*) qui unit les mots entre eux.

Il n'est pas le premier à réaliser le caractère exceptionnel de la construction par particules (Ar. *ḩurûf al-jarr*). Son prédécesseur, ḩayyûj dans *al-Nutaf* a également reconnu un troisième type de construction, structurellement distinct, mais dont le sens est analogue à celui de la *'idâfa*.

Une autre structure syntaxique plus fréquente, analogue au sens de la *'idâfa*, est le *waṣf* [attribution] composé d'un *ṣifa* [attribut] et d'un *mawṣûf* [attribué]. Ici aussi, l'interposition de l'article défini entre les deux parties de la *'idâfa*, *muḍâf* et *muḍâf 'ilayh* détruit le syntagme de la *'idâfa*. Selon Ibn Janâḥ c'est parce que la

ʾiḏâfa est *maʿrafa bil-ʾiḏâfa* [définie par l'annexion]. L'effet *ʾâmil* [de la *maʿrafa* lie le *mudâf ʾilayh* au *mudâf*, créant le syntagme [Ar. *manzila wâḥid*].

Le point de vue d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur la *ʾiḏâfa* est difficile à cerner car le langage enthymémique de son exégèse suppose généralement une connaissance théorique de la grammaire hébraïque. Heureusement, Ibn Chiquitilla affirme explicitement que rien ne peut intervenir entre le premier et le deuxième terme d'une *ʾiḏâfa* à plusieurs endroits. Par exemple, dans le Psaume 123:4, il présente une analyse d'une

construction *wasf*. Dans le Psaume 123:4, il présente une analyse d'une construction *wasf*, "le mépris des complaisants (*ha-la ʿaḡ ha-šaʿanannîm*)". Bien qu'il utilise des termes légèrement différents de ceux d'Ibn Janâḥ. Ibn Chiquitilla accepte clairement l'idée que rien ne peut s'interposer entre les termes d'une *ʾiḏâfa*.

L'impression donnée par Ibn Chiquitilla est que la divergence par rapport à la forme familière de la *ʾiḏâfa* indique que le sens a été retrouvé. Qu'est-ce qui a été récupéré au juste ? S'agit-il simplement de la formation d'une structure homologue déduite des catégories initiales du concept de *ʾiḏâfa* (c'est-à-dire l'article défini supplémentaire) ? Ou bien existe-t-il un élément contextuel essentiel à la compréhension du Psaume 123:4 qui est illocutoire ?

N'oubliez pas qu'Ibn Chiquitilla et ses prédécesseurs ont basé leur vision de la grammaire sur les Arabes. Puisque l'hébreu biblique est la forme la plus éloquente de la langue écrite - la considérant comme la même norme d'éloquence que les Arabes pour le coranique - l'auteur biblique devait avoir des raisons de ne pas écrire la prose hébraïque la plus éloquente [*balâḡa*]. Il n'aurait pas été délibérément composé d'une manière esthétiquement offensante. Si cette hypothèse est vraie, le deuxième article défini sert de preuve "superflue" que la Bible a voulu faire une ellipse. Ce sont ces hypothèses qui forment la connaissance illocutoire derrière les affirmations d'Ibn Chiquitilla et de ses prédécesseurs en faveur d'une ellipse.

Si l'on se souvient, Ibn Chiquitilla et ses prédécesseurs calquent leurs théories grammaticales sur celles des Arabes. Ils appliquent donc à l'hébreu biblique la même norme d'éloquence que les Arabes appliquent au coranique, en ce sens qu'il représente la forme la plus éloquente de la langue écrite. Logiquement, l'auteur biblique a délibérément composé d'une manière esthétiquement choquante, ce qui est contraire à la *balâḡa* [éloquence]. La grammaire et la rhétorique formalisent le dévoilement de cette affirmation par le biais de la connaissance étique. Par conséquent, la connaissance étique de l'article défini supplémentaire de la *'iḏâfa* devient synonyme de *balâḡa*, qui identifie la connaissance émique laissée par l'auteur biblique sous la forme d'une ellipse. Sans l'hypothèse (= implicature) que les auteurs bibliques voulaient produire une prose éloquente, nous ne pourrions pas revendiquer la connaissance illocutoire comme faisant partie de la récupération de l'information. Au lieu de cela, l'ellipse serait déduite de l'information superflue laissée derrière. Cette distinction est essentielle à l'affirmation d'Owens selon laquelle les grammairiens arabes sont pragmatiques, car la pragmatique concerne ce qui n'est pas dit.

Si nous appliquons à la fois l'exigence de connaissance illocutoire et l'attitude des grammairiens arabes à l'égard de la véritable *'iḏâfa* aux remarques d'Ibn Chiquitilla Dans les remarques d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur le Psaume 123:4 Pour répondre à cette question, nous devons répondre à une question. Si Ibn Chiquitilla est un vrai pragmatiste, alors quelque chose doit être perdu dans la logique naturelle de la communication qui exige la récupération, *taqdîr*. Pour déterminer si l'information est inférée (locutionnaire) ou pragmatique (illocutionnaire), il faut déterminer si les solutions proposées par le *taqdîr* recouvrent réellement le sens.

S'agit-il simplement d'identifier une structure grammaticale conforme aux préférences esthétiques du *balâḡa* ? Dans le cas ci-dessus, Ibn Chiquitilla pense que la forme apocryphe du texte signale que quelque chose manque dans le texte, le *mudâf* du *mudâf 'ilayh*. Dans son esprit, il s'agit d'une connaissance illocutoire puisqu'elle est prédicée par *balâḡa*. Pour répondre à cette question, nous

comparons le telos des commentaires exégétiques d'Ibn Chiquitilla avec ceux du Talmud. La différence entre Ibn Chiquitilla et les rabbins réside dans le type de connaissance émique appliquée. Ibn Chiquitilla explique le sens de la langue en termes de *balâḡa* alors que les rabbins parlent de la façon d'amener un Tamid.

Sous un angle légèrement différent, nous avons donné plusieurs exemples de ce qu'Ibn Janâḥ *musta'mil* [usage habituel] au début de notre discussion sur les sens analogues du mot " 'idâfa". Nous avons démontré que ces exemples d'annexion avec les particules [*hurûf al-jarr*] ont été inclus par Ibn Janâḥ et Ḥayyûj l'ont également fait. Dans la discussion du Psaume 132:4 ci-dessus, il est spécifiquement mentionné que le Psaume 58:5 est un exemple comparable où le texte pourrait être ouvert à l'harmonisation en raison de la nécessité d'écrire avec éloquence, *balâḡa*. La phrase "Leur venin (*ḥamaṭ lāmô*)" (Psaumes 58:5), semble être une 'idâfa. Cette position est adoptée par Ibn Janâḥ, mais Ibn Chiquitilla n'est pas d'accord.

La raison pour laquelle une ellipse est nécessaire, si elle l'est, n'est abordée dans aucun des avis susmentionnés. Cela pourrait suggérer qu'Ibn Chiquitilla et ses contemporains ont abusé du *taqdîr* en attribuant une signification sémantique aux mots sans tenir compte de ce que le texte tente de dire. Cependant, le Psaume 40:3 a déjà démontré que sous le langage technique complexe se cache la reconnaissance du fait que la communication éloquente privilégie la forme éloquente au détriment du sens (mais n'est généralement pas incompréhensible). La représentation *taqdîr* d'Ibn Chiquitilla de l'irrégularité syntaxique va un peu plus loin que le simple réarrangement du texte ; au lieu de cela, il ajoute des informations qu'il estime avoir

été omises. En outre, l'attribution d'un sens ou d'une intention au texte sans en déformer le sens n'est possible qu'avec un usage prudent du *taqdîr*, qui évite de déformer la narration du texte. Mais s'il devait altérer le sens au nom du *taqdîr*, cela prouverait qu'il ne connaît pas ou ne s'intéresse pas à la relation entre le locuteur et l'auditeur qui sous-tend toute communication humaine. Nous

devrions convenir que le zèle d'Ibn Chiquitilla pour l'harmonie viole l'interdiction d'Ibn Jinnî de changer le sens du texte parce qu'il vient "d'ailleurs".

L'une de ces violations présumées dans laquelle l'analyse d'Ibn Chiquitilla est critiquée par ses pairs est son explication de 2 Chron. 31:3. Ibn Chiquitilla propose que la vocalisation du nom féminin *mənāṭ* avec $\bar{A} + \underline{T}$ ($Q\bar{a}m\bar{a}\bar{s} + \underline{T}\bar{a}w$) indique un suffixe pronominal élide, comme s'il disait "*Ma portion (mənāṭī)*". À première vue, son *taqdîr* découle du parallélisme ; *ḥelqî* et *kôṣî* signifient tous deux "part" et sont formes annexées avec des suffixes. Par extension, *mənāṭ*, qui signifie aussi une "part", est le diminutif de *mənāṭī* (ma part). Le verset est composé de trois mots parallèles qui signifient tous la même chose : "Le Seigneur est ma part, mon attribution et mon partage. " Cet arrangement est plausible dans le Psaume 16:5 mais appliquée à *mənāṭ* dans le verset "*La part du roi (mənāṭ ha-mēḷēḵ)*" (2 Chron. 31:3), elle est problématique, car elle affecte le sens du verset.

Une ellipse est lue dans la forme *mənāṭī*, car il s'agit d'une vocalisation avec $\bar{A} + \underline{T}$ ($Q\bar{a}m\bar{a}\bar{s} + \underline{T}\bar{a}w$), comme s'il était dit : "*Ma part, celle du roi (mənāṭī ha-mēḷēḵ)*".

Le verset entier se lirait alors : '*Ma part, celle du roi, de ses biens, pour l'holocauste, l'holocauste du matin et du soir, et les holocaustes des sabbats, des nouvelles lunes et des fêtes, selon les prescriptions de l'enseignement du Monseigneur.*' Dans cette disposition, le roi Ézéchias se présente à la première personne, puis passe à la troisième personne. Le sens du texte est déformé par la lecture qu'Ibn Chiquitilla Le sens du texte est déformé par la lecture qu'Ibn Chiquitilla fait des signes sémantiques. Ses pairs lui reprochent cette harmonisation excessive du texte biblique avec un ordre des mots idéal.

Ibn Chiquitilla s'écarte de ce qui semblait jusqu'à présent être une règle grammaticale, en insérant un suffixe pronominal après les noms féminins se terminant par un \bar{A} ($Q\bar{a}m\bar{a}\bar{s}$). Il choisit entre plusieurs catégories grammaticales qui correspondent au sens logique du verset. Ce qui distingue 2 Chron. 31:3 de

tous les autres exemples d'utilisation de l'ellipse par Ibn Chiquitilla, c'est son incohérence aux yeux de ses contemporains.

Pour en revenir à notre question initiale, est-ce que l'usage qu'Ibn Chiquitilla de *taqdîr* se limite-t-il à la traduction du texte ? Peut-on le qualifier de pragmatique ? A ces questions, nous pouvons répondre par oui et par non. Si les explications d'Ibn Chiquitilla sont des traductions plausibles des textes, alors son *taqdîr* récupère la structure du texte en conformité avec ses valeurs esthétiques et est pragmatique. D'autre part, la critique adressée à son *taqdîr* de 2 Chron. 31:3 par ses pairs pour l'incohérence qui en résulte, va dans le sens d'une compréhension sémantique du *taqdîr*. En vérité, aucun de ses détracteurs n'attaque ses méthodes (qu'ils partagent), la seule raison plausible de rejeter son *taqdîr* est l'incohérence du sens généré par l'adhésion stricte à la forme structurelle idéale de l'hébreu biblique. Dans ces conditions, le "*solipsisme*" d'Ibn Chiquitilla est une violation de l'adjuration d'Ibn Jinnî qui demande au grammairien de ne pas toucher au sens. Cela indique une prise de conscience de quelque chose au-delà des mots du texte comme définissant le sens, même si ce n'est pas explicite. Cela suggère également que le problème de l'adéquation de la grammaire et de la syntaxe au sens est un produit des limites de la connaissance grammaticale médiévale, construite autour des notions de *balâğa* dérivées de la grammaire arabe.

Les textes discutés ci-dessus se sont concentrés sur les suffixes pronominaux manquants, la vocalisation des noms féminins avec un $\bar{A} + \text{T}$ (*Qāmāṣ + Tāw*), et les exemples de substitution d'un T (*Tāw*) à la place d'un H (*Hē*). En outre, lorsque nous avons vu des ellipses, elles sont liées à la présence d'un article défini superflu et d'un mot déjà fourni dans le texte. Ce que nous n'avons pas discuté, ce sont les exemples où le mot fourni pour l'ellipse ne se trouve pas dans le texte biblique. Dans ces cas, d'où vient le choix d'Ibn Chiquitilla ? Où vient le choix du mot d'Ibn Chiquitilla pour l'ellipse ? Provient-il du contexte dans lequel les mots sont prononcés ou d'une assignation sémantique formelle ? Par exemple,

en ce qui

concerne la phrase "Comme un noble indigène (*'ezraḥ ra'nān*)" (Psaumes 37:35), l'ellipse correspond à un autre verset biblique contenant l'expression "arbre robuste (*'eṣ ra'nān*)" (Deut. 12:2). Ibn Chiquitilla l'utilise comme preuve corroborant, car il considère la Bible comme un répertoire de formes d'expression poétiques. Malgré cela, la sélection doit toujours correspondre au sens des mots choisis, à la logique qui entoure le texte, y compris l'ellipse. Dans le Psaume 37:35 le contraste est entre le noble avec sa famille nombreuse et l'étranger sans racines (*gēr*). Le sens de *'ezrāḥ ra'nān* là est un arbre rempli de fruits et de feuilles. Dans ces conditions, le *taqdîr* d'Ibn Chiquitilla d'Ibn Chiquitilla ne présente rien de plus qu'une analyse cohérente de la syntaxe. Il se peut qu'il appartienne à une longue tradition de traduction de *'ezraḥ*.

Les exemples examinés jusqu'à présent se sont concentrés sur les tensions entre les *lafẓ* et *ma'nâ* pour des mots uniques dont la signification a été limitée à un ou deux versets. Mais comme l'a déjà suggéré Ibn Qutayba (9^e siècle) dans son introduction au *Kitâb al-ši'r wal-šu'arâ*. *La ma'nâ* décrit parfois l'effet social sur ceux qui l'écoutent. Ibn Qutayba demande si la *ma'nâ* d'une ode est destinée à susciter des émotions en fonction de ses thèmes ou de ses motifs. Cette question est également abordée par Ibn Chiquitilla à propos du premier verset du Psaume 45 Un maskil. Un chant d'amour. (*maškil. Ha-Šîr Yedîdûṭ*). Ibn Chiquitilla interprète "un chant d'amour (*Ha-Šîr Yedîdûṭ*)" comme appartenant à un genre poétique dont le thème et la musique évoquent une relation amoureuse. Héman, Asaph et Korah commémorent la conquête de Tyr par David et la capture de sa princesse. Le psaume 45 est un chant de séduction, chanté pour persuader la princesse de tomber amoureuse de David. Le genre amoureux inclut le souvenir des exploits militaires passés de David (1 Sam. 15:26) dans le style de la poésie arabe du désert, ainsi que de la fondation historique de la dynastie davidique.

Cette interprétation thématique soutient la croyance rabbinique en la légitimité éternelle de la Maison de David en tant que souveraine d'Israël, selon Ibn Chiquitilla mais ne s'étend pas à la date du psaume. Selon Ibn Chiquitilla, le Psaume 45 appartient à la période exilique, son messianisme étant placé dans la bouche de Héman, d'Asaph et des descendants de Koré, sans prophétie. Par exemple, il explique le Psaume 45:7 comme faisant référence à l'héritage durable de la maison davidique, et non au roi David. L'historicisation des Psaumes par Ibn Chiquitilla est liée à la signification polysémique de la particule L (*Lāmēḏ*). Elle correspond à la datation historique et à l'interprétation du Psaume 4, du Psaume 61 et du Psaume 39.

Dans le Psaume 4 *nəḡînaṭ* apparaît au pluriel *nəḡînôt* à la suite de *mənaṣṣēah* (chef d'orchestre). Ibn Chiquitilla glose *nəḡînaṭ* comme un instrument de musique, en citant des exemples tirés d'autres titres de Psaumes où il apparaît à côté d'instruments connus appelés *səmînîṭ* ou *gittîṭ*. Dans ces exemples, la particule L (*Lāmēḏ*) signifie "pour", plutôt que "par", car elle correspond au rôle du *mənaṣṣēah* en tant que chef d'orchestre. David est le compositeur des paroles, de l'instrument et de la mélodie.

De même, la particule L (*Lāmēḏ*) dans le Psaume 39:1 est définie par la perspective plus large du livre. Dans cet exemple, Jeduthun remplace David en tant que compositeur de la musique. Ibn Chiquitilla renvoie ses lecteurs à une discussion plus longue, mais celle-ci n'existe plus. Malgré cette perte regrettable, Abraham Ibn Ezra fournit une description assez précise de l'image qu'Ibn Chiquitilla se fait des Psaumes en tant que prières non prophétiques dans ses deux introductions aux Psaumes. Selon Ibn Ezra, Ibn Chiquitilla attribue et date les Psaumes individuels à diverses familles exiliques et préexiliques Jeduthun est un chanteur-compositeur [*mullaḥin*] dont les descendants appartiennent à une famille de chanteurs professionnels qui ont mis en musique des compositions poétiques du roi David.

En tant que tel, le L (*Lāmēḏ*) n'indique pas la paternité, "*par*", mais soit "*pour*", soit "*dédié à*", le roi David.

L'examen d'autres auteurs ibériques et non ibériques montre également leur volonté

d'expliquer la particule L (*Lāmēḏ*) en fonction de leur conception globale du livre. Ibn Bal'am affirme le contenu prophétique de tous les Psaumes et rejette Asaph et Héman comme noms de plusieurs auteurs de Psaumes. Ce sont des musiciens à qui l'on a attribué des psaumes à chanter, comme dans le Psaume 39 et le Psaume 61. La définition d'Ibn Bal'am définit le L (*Lāmēḏ*) précédant celui de Jeduthun comme "*pour*", car Jeduthun et Asaph sont des contemporains du roi David, qui chantent ses prières prophétiques. Il déduit cela de la citation biblique des noms Jeduthun et Asaph dans 1 Chron. 15:17 comme étant des familles lévétiques. Le nom de Jeduthun apparaît aux côtés d'Ethan et d'Asaph comme

membres de la garde musicale dans 1 Chron. 16:37-41. Dans les Psaumes, cependant, Jeduthun n'apparaît qu'avec Héman et Asaph. Il est donc identique à Ethan, mais n'a pas de mélodie propre.

Un autre exemple révélateur de la manière dont le sens du texte fournit à la particule sa signification se trouve dans la glose d'Ibn Bal'am sur le Psaume 77:1.

Dans ce texte, le sens de la particule '*al* (*sur*) est compris comme s'il était équivalent au L (*Lāmēḏ*), qui signifie "*pour*" ou "*par*". Deux autres exemples sont cités où l'inverse se produit ; le L (*Lāmēḏ*) signifiant '*al* (*sur*). Dans ces deux exemples, le sens est déterminé par la connaissance du monde en général, mais dans les Psaumes, le contexte est informé par la conception d'Ibn Bal'am qui considère le livre comme une prophétie. En revanche, Ibn Chiquitilla interprète la particule '*al* (*sur*) en fonction de son affirmation selon laquelle Jeduthun a vécu après la vie du roi David.

Ni Ibn Chiquitilla ni Ibn Bal'am ne nient le sens polysémique des particules, de sorte que le problème doit porter sur la paternité des Psaumes. Il en va de même

pour Abraham Ibn Ezra dont l'analyse des titres du livre des Psaumes rejette les conclusions de ses prédécesseurs lorsqu'elles ne correspondent pas à sa conception du livre. Dans ce que U. Simon appelle une compréhension unique des titres, Ibn Ezra développe une thèse selon laquelle les Psaumes sont les vestiges d'un répertoire perdu d'anciennes mélodies israélites. Sa glose de *nəḡînaṯ* dans le Psaume 4:1 soutient qu'elle se termine par un *Ṭ* (*Ṭāw*) parce qu'il s'agit d'une citation

tronquée, dans laquelle le nom de la mélodie est absent. Selon Simon, cela est dû au fait qu'Ibn Ezra n'applique la substitution de lettres qu'aux adjectifs. Bien que cela soit vrai, Ibn Ezra explique clairement son raisonnement dans ses remarques sur le Psaume 4:1. Ibn Ezra reconnaît que l'analyse grammaticale du *nəḡînaṯ* par ses prédécesseurs est plausible, mais ce qui importe, c'est de savoir si leurs suggestions correspondent à sa vision du livre.

Tanḥûm Yerushalmi attache lui aussi une signification polysémique aux particules qui correspondent à son point de vue selon lequel certains textes datent de David et d'autres non. Dans le Psaume 6:1 il estime que les particules *L* (*Lāmeḏ*) et *B* (*Beṭ*) désignent le *mənāṣṣeah*, qui était chargé d'apprendre les mélodies du roi David. Cette interprétation de Tanḥûm Yerushalmi comme l'exemple précédent, interprète la particule *L* (*Lāmeḏ*) conformément à sa vision du rôle du *mənāṣṣeah* dans la production de la musique. De même, le *L* (*Lāmeḏ*) dans le Psaume 61 fait référence à la mélodie de David écrite pour le *mənāṣṣeah*. Malgré ces remarques, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi suit une ligne plus souple que celle de Se'adyah à l'égard de la paternité des Psaumes, acceptant certains Psaumes comme babyloniens et d'autres comme davidiques.

Dans toutes ces interprétations, Ibn Chiquitilla (et ses pairs) utilise *ma'na* pour désigner le sens sémantique du texte, les thèmes ou le sens de la langue choisie. Dans ces conditions, la connaissance émique joue un rôle important dans la détermination de la *ma'na* du texte biblique. Dans les titres des Psaumes, cela est assez clair, car chaque titre est étroitement lié à la perspective d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur

le livre. D'autres exemples de *ma'nâ* sont moins clairs quant à la connaissance émiqque manquante pour justifier une ellipse ou une interprétation contextuelle. Ils semblent s'appuyer sur le *balâḡa* pour justifier leur présence. Malgré cela, Ibn Chiquitilla tente clairement de suivre le conseil de Qudâma Ibn Ja'far de n'ajouter qu'une ellipse qui ait un sens pour l'auditeur, même si parfois sa fixation sur la structure déforme le

sens évident du texte biblique. Cela n'est nulle part plus évident que dans son interprétation de 2 Chron. 3:13 qui aboutit à une interprétation peu convaincante du texte que ses pairs rejettent. Peut-être que parfois il ne fait pas de l'exégèse, mais qu'il enseigne à l'étudiant comment analyser les données et écrire selon un idéal hébraïque. Si nous acceptons cette mise en garde, nous pouvons conclure qu'Ibn Chiquitilla est motivé par le pragmatisme et qu'il adhère largement à la maxime d'Ibn Jinnâ d'accepter le sens tel qu'il est reçu par la tradition et de se concentrer sur l'élaboration d'un argumentaire cohérent en faveur de sa morphosyntaxe. Il reflète ainsi la double motivation du *taqdîr* dans la grammaire arabe et la théorie rhétorique : retrouver une analyse cohérente de la structure du texte et fournir une traduction adéquate du sens du texte.

Dans la suite du chapitre, nous discutons d'autres problèmes qui reflètent les limites de l'analyse grammaticale médiévale de l'hébreu. Ces exemples montrent qu'Ibn Chiquitilla s'efforce de respecter le sens du texte. Cela est plus clair lorsque ces catégories sont déficientes, auquel cas il adopte la logique naturelle du texte. Elle est plus aiguë lorsque les catégories existantes sont insuffisantes pour expliquer le sens du texte, ou que la forme du texte serait plus claire avec une lecture différente. Cependant, lorsqu'il s'agit du langage figuratif, Ibn Chiquitilla abandonne cette sensibilité à une lecture attentive du texte en faveur de l'intention abstraite du texte et de la métaphore grammaticale à l'ancienne. Dans la section suivante, nous examinons l'utilisation de *majâz* et d'autres termes pour expliquer la relation entre le sens sémantique propre d'un mot et ses déviations.

Chapitre 5

Dans ce chapitre, nous examinons la sous-catégorie de la dichotomie forme-sens, *majâz*. Ibn Chiquitilla utilise ce terme de deux manières qui se rapportent au *lafẓ-ma'na*. Le premier sens de *majâz*, le plus ancien, désigne ce qui s'écarte de la forme vraie ou paradigmatisée d'un mot, *lafẓ al-ḥaqîqa*. Dans ce contexte, *majâz* remplace *taqdîr* et *ḥaqîqa* et est un raccourci pour *ḥaqîqa 'alâ al-lafẓ* [la forme propre du mot]. Le second sens de *majâz* est utilisé comme terme général pour les tropes figuratifs, qui contrastent avec le *ḥaqîqa al-ma'na* sens propre. L'adoption du *majâz* est modérée par des explications contextuelles bayâniyyûn et, selon Heinrichs, elle doit correspondre au sens sémantique de la *ḥaqîqa*. Dans cette section, nous examinons l'utilisation par Ibn Chiquitilla des termes *ḥaqîqa*, *ḥaqq*, *lafẓ*, *ma'na* comme de concert avec *majâz*.

Dans sa glose sur le Psaume 55, il écrit que la phrase *mûwajjaz bi-ma'na* [dévie, avec le sens], décrit la dichotomie syntaxique entre le sens datif de demeurer avec toi *yaġûrêka* et la forme dative plus fréquente, avec ou sans la particule B (*Be*).

En revanche, dans le Psaume 18:25, Ibn Chiquitilla utilise le terme *ḥaqq* pour décrire la forme morphosyntaxique correcte du texte biblique - ce que le texte aurait dû dire pour se conformer à la forme paradigmatisée. Il écrit que selon Ibn Chiquitilla, l'accord verbe-sujet en hébreu signifie que la phrase aurait dû être écrite au pluriel *NiḤaTû* (pl.), et non *NiḤaTâ* puisque la phrase concerne la défaite des ennemis de David. Dans ces circonstances, *ḥaqq* est le diminutif de *ḥaqq al-lafẓ* et *ma'na* décrit la divergence de sens qui en résulte.

D'autres exemples d'une telle déviation du *ḥaqq* sont discutés dans le Psaume 68:14. Ibn Chiquitilla justifie la divergence par rapport à la forme grammaticale comme un style biblique acceptable. Il y a un accord substantif-attributif irrégulier dans la phrase "Les ailes d'une colombe gainée d'argent (*kanpê yônâ neḥpâ bakṣep*) ", le substantif féminin pluriel *kanpê* (les ailes) est modifié par un attribut féminin singulier *neḥpâ* (gainée). Ibn Chiquitilla explique que la proximité [*majrûr*] du nom

féminin *yônâ* (*colombe*) avec *nehpâ* le fait passer de l'attribut masculin pluriel habituel à un attribut féminin singulier.

Dans le Psaume 45:5 le terme plus familier *ḥaqîqa* est utilisé pour expliquer une déviation par rapport à la forme annexée de *ʿanwâ* (*humilité*). En fournissant la *ḥaqîqa* de *ʿanwâ* Ibn Chiquitilla indique une déviation de la forme. *ʿAnwâ* semble être jointe à *şēḏeq* (*droiture*), bien qu'il manque le marqueur féminin se terminant par un w. En outre, le sens du vers ne se prête pas facilement à l'annexion, car il signifierait la douceur du juste ou la douceur de la droiture. La question de l'intelligibilité conduit Ibn Chiquitilla à rejeter soit une ellipse, soit le remplacement du W (*wāw*) par un Y (*yôḏ*).

Cette volonté d'accepter le *bayân* [*explication*] du texte malgré l'absence d'alignement strict de la forme et du sens est mise en évidence dans une discussion sur le Psaume 26:1. De même, Ibn Chiquitilla commence sa glose sur les Ps. 21:1, 37:31 et Prov. 25:19 avec le sens sémantique de base, pour la racine M-ʿ-D (glisser, instable ou chancelant). En outre, le Psaume 21:1 est une expression figurative pour les humains qui gagnent la confiance de Dieu par la constance. Ce problème de sens étant résolu, Ibn Chiquitilla se concentre sur la classification de la morphologie de *mû ʿāḏeq̣* (Prov. 25:19). La complexité du débat implique de discuter la contribution d'Ibn Chiquitilla à la lumière de ses prédécesseurs, Ḥayyûj, Ibn Janâḥ et Ibn Nağrîla. Ibn Chiquitilla supprime *Mû ʿāḏeq̣* de la liste. Tous les exemples de la racine M-ʿ-D sont intransitifs, il ne peut donc pas s'agir d'un parfait passif interne *Qal* qui doit avoir une forme transitive active. *Mû ʿāḏeq̣* doit être un attribut, mais analogue dans son sens, *ʿalâ sabîl al-majâz* [*par analogie (morphosyntaxique)*] au verbe passif interne *Qal*.

Cela confirme que la forme grammaticale fonctionne largement indépendamment du sens. Dans la section suivante, nous examinerons des exemples où *majâz* renvoie à des significations divergentes ou à des tropes figuratifs.

Le deuxième sens de *majâz* (abréviation de *majâz ʿalâ al-maʿnâ*) appartient au domaine de la rhétorique et constitue une moitié de la dichotomie *ḥaqîqa-majâz*. En

écrivain sur le second sens, al-‘Askarî affirme que chaque expression figurée doit avoir un équivalent littéral. C'est la métaphore du grammairien à l'ancienne.

L'usage médiéval de *majâz* pour décrire les déviations par rapport au sens réel conventionnel d'un mot, puisque son sens réel n'existe que dans un monde contrefactuel. Fenton identifie un ordre dans la relation entre *ḥaqîqa* et *majâz*.

Ḥaqîqa est le sens conventionnel, *ṭaba‘* naturel, tandis que la langue *majâz* en est une excroissance, *taṭabbu‘* résultante.

Contrairement à cela, l'analyse moderne de la métaphore n'implique pas le *bayâniyyûn*. Selon Donaldson, aucune règle ne peut être élaborée qui ne soit pas subjective par rapport aux goûts de l'individu. Il conclut qu'il n'en existe pas et que toutes les descriptions de métaphores sont distinctes de la métaphore elle-même. Les critiques littéraires prémodernes parlent de la métaphore, mais ce n'est pas la même chose que la métaphore, car quelque chose est perdu lorsque le langage figuratif est transformé en langage littéral. Cela n'est nulle part mieux illustré que dans la discussion sur les anthropomorphismes d'Ibn Chiquitilla.

Comme beaucoup d'autres érudits bibliques médiévaux et modernes, Ibn Chiquitilla propose une compréhension conceptuelle de l'intention des textes plutôt qu'une lecture attentive de la langue du texte. Dans cette section, nous nous concentrons sur les questions philosophiques/théologiques de l'anthropomorphisme et nous montrons comment l'utilisation de *bayâniyyûn* [*explication*] du sens du texte ignore la relation entre la teneur et le sujet de l'image. Certaines idées rationnelles trouvées dans Ibn Chiquitilla sont *mu‘tazilites*, la pensée néo-platonicienne, l'astronomie ptolémaïque et la physique aristotélicienne. Ces sujets sont les préoccupations principales de tout penseur rationnel de l'époque et rendent l'identification d'Ibn Chiquitilla à une doctrine unique difficile à déterminer.

Ibn Chiquitilla, en tant que rationaliste, résout le problème de l'anthropomorphisme biblique par une analyse rhétorique. L'introduction de l'abstraction *mu‘tazilite* de l'anthropomorphisme biblique fait de David un poète-philosophe médiéval.

L'histoire

biblique de David et de Dieu dans le Psaume 16:7 a été interprétée par Ibn Chiquitilla comme une déclaration du *maḏhab* correct - un Dieu incorporel indivisible. Au verset 7, David est affligé par des doutes avant de trouver le bon chemin [*maḏhab*] vers *'ilhām Allāh* [*l'amour de Dieu*]. La signification littéraire des reins est associée à la recherche de la vérité doctrinale par David. L'attribution pertinente n'est pas liée à la fonction physiologique des reins en tant que siège du désir sexuel, mais au thème contextuel des Psaumes passant du doute à la certitude que l'accomplissement de la volonté divine [*'irāda*] sera récompensé.

Dans le Psaume 7,10, la tendance d'Ibn Chiquitilla à glisser sur la teneur de l'image est plus explicite. Les reins sont associés au siège de la conscience, mais aucune tentative n'est faite pour expliquer la forme et la signification. Le trope figuratif est transformé en termes abstraits, *ṣidq ḍamīr* [*vraie conscience*].

Dans Psaumes 55:16, l'analogue de l'image-sujet est les pensées cachées des méchants, représentées par les organes internes. Dans aucun de ces exemples, Ibn Chiquitilla ne s'engage correctement dans la teneur de l'image, qu'il définit plutôt comme *majāz* la croissance du mal en eux, dérivée de sa *ḥaqīqa* et s'applique à l'éloquence littéraire. Cette image du rein comme doute s'oppose à celle du *rāṣṣōn* (volonté, envie, désir) (Psaumes 40:9), qui est l'accomplissement du désir de Dieu.

Rāṣṣōn fait allusion à la tradition philosophique du raffinement de l'intellect *'aql* comme l'accomplissement de la volonté de Dieu. D'autres exemples de ce type de discussion incluent la greffe par Ibn Chiquitilla de la vision géocentrique ptolémaïque de l'univers sur les Psaumes en tant qu'interprétation métaphysique des passages anthropomorphiques clés du texte biblique.

Dans les exemples précédents, la relation entre les mots et leur sens était simple et ne nécessitait aucune explication grammaticale ou sémantique. Dans le Psaume 39,6 Ibn Chiquitilla parvient à l'intention du *majāz* en commençant par la relation grammaticale entre le *ḥaqīqa al-lafẓ* et le *majāz*. Puisqu'une vie ne peut être mesurée

physiquement, l'intention [*ḡaraḍ*] de la phrase doit être contrefactuelle comme dans "un peu".

Dans Psaumes 6:8, la connaissance extralinguistique du cycle de vie d'un papillon de nuit est essentielle pour comprendre la logique conversationnelle qui lie l'usage littéral et figuré de *ʿAṣṣā* (*usé*). De même, dans Psaumes 121:5, la connaissance médicale de la cause de l'arthrite rhumatoïde dans l'Ibérie du XIe siècle est impliquée par l'explication d'Ibn Chiquitilla.

La connaissance du monde rationnel est essentielle à la méthode d'analyse d'Ibn Chiquitilla. Dans l'un des exemples les plus intéressants d'analyse structurale d'un grand corpus de textes, Ibn Chiquitilla explique l'intention d'une série d'expressions figuratives trouvées dans le Psaume 7:15. Ibn Chiquitilla utilise l'ordre chronologique de l'image du verset 15, de la conception à la naissance, pour définir le mot ambigu *yāḤaBBel* "conçoit" (Cantiques 8:5). Le *majâz* est un mode d'expression qui aborde la divergence par rapport aux formes de communication plus habituelles. Dans ce type de glose, le *majâz* correspond au rôle du *taqdîr* dans la tradition grammaticale, qui accepte le sens tel qu'il est reçu des locuteurs d'une langue. Dans ces circonstances, Ibn Chiquitilla suit l'usage que fait al-Askârî du *ḡaraḍ* pour exprimer l'intention figurative.

L'histoire du terme *ʿistiʿāra* [*métaphore*] dans l'exégèse du coranique provient de deux traditions intellectuelles. L'"ancienne" métaphore est illustrée par un célèbre vers de Labîd (m. 660/1/2), "la main du vent du nord". Pour ceux qui adhèrent à la "nouvelle" métaphore, l'accent est mis sur la création d'un nouveau sens sémantique, tandis que ceux qui s'accrochent à l'"ancienne" métaphore s'attachent à décrire l'intention de l'auteur. L'analyse des exemples permet d'identifier Ibn Chiquitilla comme étant, au moins formellement, un partisan de l'attribution imaginative et un opposant au transfert de nom.

Cette volonté d'éviter l'excès sémantique se manifeste par l'adoption d'une position hostile aux transferts de noms, car elle permet à Ibn Chiquitilla d'établir une

distinction nette entre le sens linguistique-sémantique reçu et l'usage littéraire ponctuel. Une telle réponse confirme l'origine prédéterminée du sens, ancrée dans l'usage communautaire et non issue d'une recherche linguistico-sémantique. Cependant, le souci de la tradition s'applique également aux adeptes du transfert de nom et de l'attribution imaginative, et nous ne pouvons donc pas prendre l'hostilité d'Ibn Chiquitilla à l'égard du transfert de nom pour argent comptant. Nous devons identifier pourquoi et comment Ibn Chiquitilla évite l'expansion sémantique et décider s'il effectue le transfert de nom sous une autre forme.

L'introduction formelle du transfert de nom dans les cercles juifs commence avec Ibn Janâḥ, qui emprunte le sens à la tradition herméneutique de l'exégète islamique du Xe siècle Ibn Qutayba dans son *Tawîl Muškil al-Qurân*. Le transfert de nom est le processus qui consiste à emprunter le nom d'un objet à son contexte habituel ou propre et à le positionner dans un nouveau contexte, à juxta-positionner deux définitions autonomes et à identifier le point de similitude qui fournit le nouveau sens. Lorsqu'une métaphore se produit, un nouveau sens sémantique est généré. Par exemple, dans *Zayd est un lion*, le lion est emprunté pour signifier soit la bravoure, soit la férocité. Par conséquent, le transfert de nom conduit soit à un grand nombre de transferts de nom, soit à de faux polysèmes, soit à des significations plus spécifiques qui ne sont pas étayées par des preuves. Au moment où Ibn Chiquitilla rédige ses commentaires, une évolution vers la minimisation des définitions s'est produite.

Une confusion supplémentaire existait quant à ce qu'il fallait inclure sous le terme *'isti'âra*. L'influence d'Ibn Qutayba sur Ibn Janâḥ était forte, mais pas exclusive. L'utilisation de *'isti'âra* par Ibn Qutayba diffère de celle d'Ibn Janâḥ, car elle englobe un large éventail de tropes figuratifs qui ne sont pas identiques à l'utilisation "non appropriée" des mots. Ibn Janâḥ a élargi le "bon usage" des mots pour y inclure l'euphémisme, la métonymie et la contronymie. Ibn Janâḥ remplace le terme *'isti'âra*, par *badal* [*substitution*].

Le chapitre d'Ibn Janâḥ sur le *badal* est une recherche de l'intention du texte biblique, où certains exemples génèrent de nouveaux sens lexicaux. *Badal* est utilisé par les deux auteurs, mais il est parfois remplacé par *ma 'nâ* chez Ibn Chiquitilla. Le chapitre d'Ibn Janâḥ s'étend au-delà des exemples de métaphores, suggérant que le but du *badal* est l'intention sémantique des mots.

Abraham Ibn Ezra impose cependant des contraintes exégétiques à la réattribution d'un sens sémantique aux mots utilisés par l'interprète, tandis qu'Ibn Janâḥ utilise la substitution pour maximiser le sens d'un mot ou d'une phrase. L'analyse en deux étapes d'Ibn Ezra de "*circoncire le cœur*", qui vise Ibn Janâḥ, Se'adyah et Menaḥem, en est un bon exemple. Il soutient que les mots ont des significations fixes, liées à leurs formes. Il utilise *lašôn kinnuy* (*euphémisme*) pour discréditer les conclusions sémantiques les plus extrêmes de Se'adyah, Menaḥem ou Ibn Janâḥ. Son ancêtre intellectuel est Ibn Chiquitilla.

Ibn Chiquitilla attaque l'utilisation par Ibn Janâḥ du transfert de nom dans le Psaume 77:3 comme étant "*irrationnelle et absurde*". Il estime que le texte biblique n'a pas besoin d'être manipulé sans fondement dans son sens sémantique pour être compris. Un examen des sources le prouve, ainsi que le rôle historique d'Ibn Chiquitilla et Ibn Janâḥ dans le débat actuel sur le transfert de nom.

Ibn Ezra et Ibn Chiquitilla ont débattu de l'utilisation du transfert de nom, qui repose sur le principe coopératif du pragmatisme gricéen. Ibn Ezra a soutenu qu'il est inexistant dans le langage profane et d'autant plus dans le langage sacré, et que toute signification est créée selon le principe coopératif des circonstances spécifiques. C'est faux, comme le savaient Ibn Ezra et Ibn Chiquitilla. Par exemple, le Psaume 10:2 a deux interprétations : L'interprétation de Se'adyah de *BeReK* comme "dons" et l'interprétation d'Ibn Chiquitilla de *BeReK* comme "*malédiction*". L'interprétation de Seadyah reflète le sens habituel de "cadeaux" et celle d'Ibn Chiquitilla suggère que *BeReK* est un euphémisme pour "malédiction". L'explication d'Ibn Chiquitilla déplace le moment du transfert du nom à un moment antérieur, par un appel direct à la *luḡa* [*lexique*] de ses locuteurs, transmis par les textes rabbiniques.

Ibn Chiquitilla s'oppose au transfert de nom en décrivant *šāqṭā* Psaume 76:9 en termes d'expressions figuratives trouvées dans Job. Ibn Chiquitilla interprète *šāqṭā* comme l'effet glacial du décret céleste de Dieu, qui agite le psalmiste mais le rend immobile. Cette explication évite le recours au transfert de nom par Ibn Janāḥ qui identifie des significations opposées pour la racine Š-Q-Ṭ.

L'adoption par Ibn Chiquitilla du modèle poétique arabe de la *'isti'āra* en fait un processus dynamique unique reliant l'ancien environnement, le sujet, au nouvel environnement, l'image, par le biais d'une analogie sous-jacente - *tamṭīl*. Ibn Chiquitilla en tant qu'adepte du *tamṭīl* basé sur le *'isti'āra* identifie un "*ensemble d'éléments*" permettant de relier l'image contrefactuelle et le sujet sans transformer le sens sémantique des mots des phrases. En Is. 58:11 l'intention du sujet et des images est liée à la connaissance contrefactuelle du monde. Dans le Psaume 32:4 en revanche, une dérivation de l'intention est développée en tant que sujet-image par Ibn Chiquitilla dans sa glose sur la "graisse". Il fait la distinction entre le sens sémantique du texte et ce qui est communiqué par l'image, la "graisse" indiquant la richesse. Ibn Chiquitilla s'attache à établir le fondement sémantique de l'anthropomorphisme, en soulignant le lien entre sa signification et ses éléments.

Les premiers écrivains ibériques utilisent *tašbīh* et *tamṭīl*, mais ne recherchent pas un thème et une image unique pour assurer la cohérence. Le fait qu'Ibn Chiquitilla n'utilise pas de terme pour la formulation d'un langage spécifique le rattache à ce que Cohen appelle l'approche ornementale. Cela signifie qu'il ignore la teneur du langage figuratif dans la Bible. Par exemple, les métonymies "pied arrogant" et "main méchante" (Psaumes 36:12). Le sujet de la métaphore, la main et le pied, est utilisé pour créer les images d'une attaque violente. Ibn Chiquitilla identifie l'ensemble des éléments qui relient le sujet à l'analogie dans chaque exemple, sans terme pour exprimer la raison du choix des mots. Ailleurs, les commentaires d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur le langage figuré se limitent à l'identification de l'analogie entre le sujet et l'image. Ce n'est qu'avec David Qimḥī (1160-1235) que l'exégèse biblique

dépasse l'ornementalism de l'exégète ibérique en adoptant la métaphore interactive, qui lie l'image (ou le véhicule) au sujet (ou à la teneur).

La métaphore *tašbîh* est une comparaison d'un seul élément au sein d'une métaphore, où Y signifie une qualité ou un attribut commun à X. Ibn Chiquitilla se concentre sur la comparaison physique de la dégustation de la nourriture à la compréhension dans sa glose sur le Ps. 34:9, et ne traite pas du langage de l'analogie. Un autre exemple de l'approche ornementale est l'analyse d'Ibn Chiquitilla de la morphosyntaxe du Psaume 62:4. Sa critique s'adresse à l'analyse de Se'adyah sur le thème et l'image de l'analogie. Dans cet exemple, l'analyse grammaticale clarifie l'analogie du sujet-image.

Le *tamṭîl* est l'analogie qui fonde le sujet et l'image d'une métaphore. Il est associé à *'isti'âra* et sert à identifier une analogie soutenue entre les multiples éléments du sujet. *'isti'âra*. Le terme *'isti'âra* est utilisé comme l'attribution imaginée et sert à identifier une analogie sous-jacente soutenue entre les multiples éléments du sujet. Par exemple, la ligne 62 du *mu'allaqa* de Labîd utilise le *tamṭîl* comme élément descriptif, représentant l'élément analogue entre l'image et le sujet.

La faiblesse de l'attribution imaginée réside dans le fait que les métaphores sont multiples et que l'analogie unificatrice est difficile à percevoir. Par exemple, Heinrichs a examiné l'allégorie de Dû al-Rumma, où le *tamṭîl* est construit à partir du *tašbîh* initial. La *'isti'âra* d'Al-Jurjânî unifie à la fois le *tašbîh* et le *tamṭîl*. Avant al-Jurjânî les termes sont utilisés de manière interchangeable par les rhétoriciens arabes. Cependant, Ibn Chiquitilla utilise de manière assez cohérente *tašbîh* et *tamṭîl* pour distinguer les comparaisons physiques des comparaisons non physiques. Par exemple, dans le Psaume 32:9 un *tašbîh* compare le psalmiste à un cheval ou à une mule insensée qui sont physiquement retenus, incapables de faire du mal. Dans Psaumes 66:10-12 Ibn Chiquitilla utilise les termes *yušabbih* et *tamṭîl* pour décrire une mini-allégorie. Ainsi, *tašbîh* est une comparaison physique de l'image et de son sujet, mais si l'on ne donne pas au feu et à l'eau le sens d'épreuves, on perd l'unité de la métaphore.

La non-inclusion du transfert de nom persiste implicitement tout au long de l'exégèse d'Ibn Chiquitilla de l'exégèse de l'allégorie d'Ibn Chiquitilla, déguisée par divers termes. Dans les premiers versets sur les Psaumes 1:1-3 une allégorie soutenue est formée, mais il omet le terme *tamṭīl* mais il omet le terme *tamṭīl*, ne retenant que *tašbīh*. Le problème de l'allégorie et du transfert de nom refait surface dans les gloses d'Ibn Chiquitilla sur le Psaume 58:9. Il évite d'associer le terme *'isti 'âra* avec le transfert de nom. Néanmoins, il est clair que malgré les tentatives de maintenir le transfert de nom en dehors de son analyse de la *'isti 'âra* (*attribution imaginaire*), il ne peut pas l'éviter.

La réticence d'Ibn Chiquitilla à reconnaître le changement de sens sémantique nécessaire pour forger une relation sujet-image unique à travers l'allégorie reflète les théories des rhétoriciens arabes contemporains sur *'isti 'âra*, *tašbīh* et *tamṭīl*. Sa gamme de termes pour décrire l'hyperbole se concentre sur la définition de la raison et de la nature de l'hyperbole.

La formule talmudique "La Bible parle dans la langue des hommes" a été introduite par Se'adyah, Menahem Ibn Sarûq et Juda Ibn Qurayš pour expliquer la présence d'anthropomorphismes et d'autres expressions contrefactuelles dans la Bible. Le choix des termes par Ibn Chiquitilla est incohérent et illustre la confusion qui régnait parmi les premiers rhétoriciens quant à ce qu'il convenait d'inclure dans cette sous-catégorie de métaphores. Il utilise les termes *'igây* et *'ablâḡ* pour décrire l'hyperbole et l'exagération, et propose une rationalisation de l'image pour ce qui ne peut exister dans le monde physique.

L'approche d'Ibn Chiquitilla concernant le langage figuratif en tant que style poétique, *faṣṭḥ* [ne se limite pas aux métaphores et aux hyperboles. Elle s'étend également au parallélisme biblique et à l'utilisation de synonymes. Il n'est pas le premier exégète ibérique à observer cette tendance dans la poésie biblique. Ibn Janâḥ rejette les synonymes en tant que concept poétique - *faṣâḥa* [*discours*] et *balâḡa* [*éloquence*]. La répétition de deux mots similaires, "fait" et "fait", n'est rien

d'autre qu'un style - les ornements d'un poète. Ibn Chiquitilla adopte la même méthode lorsqu'il passe en revue les nuances du parallélisme biblique.

Conclusion

Dans le premier chapitre, nous avons déterminé que la contribution d'Ibn Chiquitilla à l'exégèse biblique et à la grammaire hébraïque comprenait à la fois des idées nouvelles et une reproduction des arguments de ses prédécesseurs ou un renforcement de leurs positions. Son interprétation des prophéties comme se référant au Second Temple et sa justification des miracles comme étant des événements naturels conformes à la nature du monde sont des exemples de sa créativité. Il s'agit de l'un des plus anciens exemples connus de rationalisation des miracles, qui a eu un impact sur Maïmonide et Abraham Ibn Ezra. Il a été critiqué par des penseurs plus traditionnels comme Moïse Ibn Ezra et Judah Ibn Balam, qui le considéraient comme un dahiri [éternaliste] et de lawṭa [confusion]. Le contexte socioculturel du XI^e siècle s'est donc perpétué au cours des siècles suivants.

Ces critiques du rationalisme radical d'Ibn Chiquitilla ne s'appliquent toutefois pas à ses contributions à la grammaire hébraïque ni à la manière dont il a utilisé cette grammaire et la rhétorique pour exégéter la Bible. Dans les chapitres deux et trois, nous avons retracé le développement intellectuel d'Ibn Chiquitilla en remontant à la tradition pragmatique des grammairiens et rhétoriciens arabes. Nous montrons comment, en préférant les premiers aux seconds, Ibn Chiquitilla reflète une extension logique des contributions de Ḥayyūj et d'Ibn Janāḥ. Cependant, Ibn Chiquitilla n'est pas un simple épigone des pionniers de la recherche grammaticale ibérique. Les améliorations apportées aux questions clés de la période sont le fruit de son travail, en particulier son identification de la forme passive *Qal* interne et des noms masculins et féminins irréguliers.

Sa contribution la plus importante à l'exégèse est le resserrement du lien entre *lafẓ* [forme] et *ma'na* [sens] dans l'exégèse biblique, en mettant davantage l'accent sur le sens sémantique correspondant à la forme du mot. Il est cependant ouvert à d'autres

interprétations du texte, en particulier lorsque le sens du texte est incohérent, même si elles défient la forme sémantique et le sens du mot. De telles considérations non sémantiques ne peuvent pas prouver que le sens provient "d'ailleurs" que des mots eux-mêmes.

La préoccupation d'Ibn Chiquitilla pour la forme indique qu'il considère que sa tâche consiste à aligner la relation entre les termes grammaticaux et le sens qui confirme le mieux le sens reçu traditionnel du judaïsme rabbinique. Cependant, comme nous l'avons vu au chapitre 5, cela l'amène à ne pas tenir compte du choix linguistique du texte biblique original lorsque le texte est contrefactuel. Il considère les anthropomorphismes comme des formes élégantes qui cachent un sens et une intention internes. Ce sens interne doit adhérer aux lois naturelles et constitue un sous-ensemble du langage figuratif. En raison de cette combinaison de grammaire et de rationalisme, toute déclaration contrefactuelle, tout problème philosophique ou théologique est traité comme un problème rhétorique à résoudre en termes de forme grammaticale et syntaxique. Ibn Chiquitilla rejette le développement par Ibn Janâh de développer de nouvelles significations sémantiques pour le langage figuratif, car il met l'accent sur la précision morphologique et sur une signification sémantique correspondant à la signification rabbinique traditionnelle. Ibn Chiquitilla insiste défend l'ancienne interprétation de *'isti 'âra* comme de l'attribution imaginative, la tâche des exégètes étant d'expliquer le sens interne du texte. Il réussit cependant mieux à éviter le transfert de nom dans le nom que dans la pratique. Par conséquent, Tanḥûm Yerushalmi a rapidement identifié une acceptation tacite du transfert de nom dans les écrits d'Ibn Chiquitilla sans l'identifier.

Compte tenu de ces considérations, la conception d'Ibn Chiquitilla ne peut être considérée comme entièrement pragmatique, mais elle n'est pas non plus entièrement sémantique. Il s'agit d'un alignement sophistiqué de rationalisme, de grammaire et de rhétorique qui fournit généralement une interprétation cohérente du texte biblique en accord avec une tradition rabbinique, mais qui s'égare parfois dans une analyse sémantique excessive de la signification des mots.

Résumé

La thèse analyse le commentaire du Psaume de Moïse ben Samuel Ha-Kohen Ibn Chiquitilla, né à Cordoue vers le début du XI^e siècle. La thèse étudie l'incorporation de l'herméneutique coranique-arabe dans les méthodes exégétiques d'Ibn Chiquitilla et le situe dans le contexte intellectuel de l'époque. N'étant pas une analyse historique, il se demande s'il existe un lien entre l'intérêt herméneutique des grammairiens et des rhéteurs pour la dichotomie forme-sens et la linguistique pragmatique communicative.

Il analyse leur introduction dans l'exégèse rabbinique par des exégètes ibériques formant ce qui est devenu la méthode d'exégèse peshat. Ce terme, introuvable chez Ibn Chiquitilla, est sous-entendu par ses méthodes et son intérêt pour la forme et le sens grammaticaux. Nous proposons de suivre la tradition grammaticale arabe selon laquelle Ibn Chiquitilla ne confond pas le sens avec la grammaire ou la syntaxe, mais l'accepte comme faisant partie d'une tradition reçue. Le sens opère dans des domaines distincts de la grammaire, mais les deux sont réunis pour expliquer l'intention derrière le texte. Cette idée est élargie pour inclure la déviation grammaticale et lexicale et/ou le langage figuré. Nous demandons si les origines de ces déviations peuvent être attribuées à l'exégèse rabbinique de la période talmudique ainsi qu'aux idées philosophiques contemporaines de l'Ibérie médiévale et du monde islamique en général. Ce faisant, il essaie de prouver que les exégètes ibériques sont moins sur l'innovation et plus sur l'introduction de nouvelles méthodes d'exégèse dans le judaïsme rabbinique médiéval.

Résumé en anglais

The thesis analyses the commentary of the Psalm of Moses ben Samuel Ha-Kohen Ibn Chiquitilla, born in Cordoba around the beginning of the 11th century. The thesis studies the incorporation of Qur'anic-Arabic hermeneutics in the exegetical methods of Ibn Chiquitilla and situates it in the intellectual context of the time. Not being a historical analysis, it questions whether there is a connection between the hermeneutic interest of grammarians and rhetoricians in the form-meaning dichotomy and communicative pragmatic linguistics.

It analyses their introduction into rabbinic exegesis by Iberian exegetes forming what has become the peshat method of exegesis. This term, not found in Ibn Chiquitilla, is implied by his methods and his interest in grammatical form and meaning. We propose to follow the Arabic grammatical tradition according to which Ibn Chiquitilla does not confuse meaning with grammar or syntax, but accepts it as part of a received tradition. Meaning operates in separate areas of grammar, but the two come together to explain the intent behind the text. This idea is expanded to include grammatical and lexical deviation and/or figurative language. We ask whether the origins of these deviations can be traced to the rabbinical exegesis of the Talmudic period as well as contemporary philosophical ideas in medieval Iberia and the Islamic world in general. In doing so, we try to prove that Iberian exegetes are less about innovation and more about introducing new methods of exegesis into medieval Rabbinic Judaism.